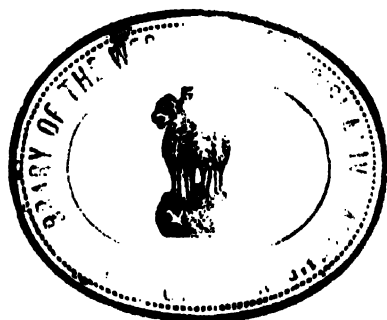


THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY
OF
ENGLISH LITERATURE



THE PERIOD OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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London: FETTER LANE, E.C.

Edinburgh: 100, PRINCES STREET

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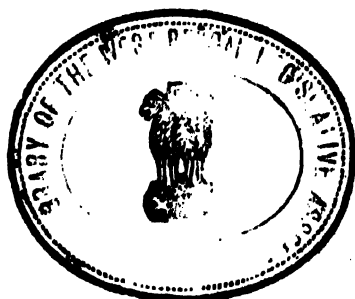
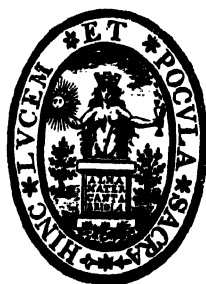
SIR A. W. WARD, LITT.D., F.B.A., Master of Peterhouse

AND

A. R. WALLER, M.A., Peterhouse

VOLUME VI

THE PERIOD OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

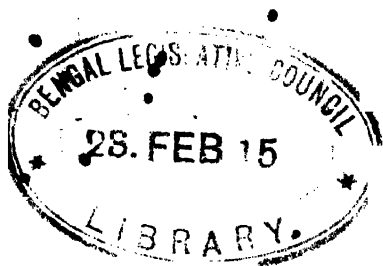


CAMBRIDGE :
at the University Press
1914

Cambridge:

PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A.

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS



PREFATORY NOTE

OUR thanks are due to Mr A. T. Bartholomew, Mr G. A. Brown and Mr H. V. Routh for specific assistance in respect of the bibliographies to which their several initials are appended, and to Mr Bartholomew for bibliographical help in other directions.

The twelfth volume, dealing with the earlier years of the nineteenth century, is in the press; the concluding volumes (XIII and XIV), dealing with the Victorian age, will be published together, as in the case of the two volumes which were concerned with the Elizabethan drama.

A. W. W.

A. R. W.

18 June 1914

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

EDMUND BURKE

By HERBERT J. C. GRIERSON, M.A., LL.D., Chalmers Professor of English Literature in the University of Aberdeen

	PAGE
Early Life and Work. <i>A Vindication of Natural Society. The Sublime and Beautiful.</i> Political Career. Writings on Public Affairs. <i>Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents.</i> The American Controversy. Writings on Ireland. Indian Speeches. Warren Hastings. The French Revolution. Burke's Political Philosophy. His Temperament. His Prose. The Speech on Economical Reform. <i>A Letter to a Noble Lord.</i> Burke as an Orator	1

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL WRITERS AND SPEAKERS

By C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, M.A., Fellow of St John's College

Light, Short, Satiric Verse. <i>The Rolliad.</i> John Wolcot (Peter Pindar). George Canning. <i>The Anti-Jacobin.</i> George Ellis. John Hookham Frere. William Gifford. <i>The Baviad. The Maeviad. The Needy Knife-grinder.</i> Richard Payne Knight. Erasmus Darwin. <i>The Rovers. The New Morality.</i> William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft. <i>Political Justice. Caleb Williams. St Leon. Vindication of the Rights of Woman.</i> Thomas Paine. <i>The Rights of Man. The Age of Reason.</i> William Cobbett. <i>Weekly Political Register. Rural Rides.</i> Orators. Charles James Fox. The Younger Pitt. Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Henry Grattan	33
---	----

CHAPTER IX

BLAKE

By J. P. R. WALLIS, M.A., Assistant Lecturer in English Literature in the University of Liverpool

	PAGE
Early Career. <i>Poetical Sketches. An Island in the Moon. Beginnings of Mysticism. Songs of Innocence and Thel. Tiriel. Revolutionary writings. The Marriage of Heaven and Hell and the earlier 'Prophecies.' The later Lambeth books. Songs of Experience. Europe and The Song of Los. The Urizen group. The crisis in Blake's spiritual development. The Four Zoas. His mystical Christianity. Milton and Jerusalem. His Theory of Imagination. Lesser Verse and Prose. Blake and the Romantic Revival</i>	181

CHAPTER X

BURNS

LESSER SCOTTISH VERSE

By T. F. HENDERSON

BURNS

The Old School of Scottish Verse. Burns's Indebtedness to his Predecessors. The Kilmarnock volume. *The Cotter's Saturday Night.* Burns's 'English' poems. His six-line stave. *Death and Doctor Hornbook. The Address to the Deil. Holy Willie's Prayer. The Auld Farmer's New Year Salutation to his Mare Maggie. The Christis Kirk stave. The Holy Fair. Halloween. The Cherrie and The Slae stave. The Jolly Beggars. Tam o' Shanter.* Burns at Edinburgh. His Songs and Adaptations. •

LESSER SCOTTISH VERSE

Joanna Baillie. Lady Anne Lindsay of Balcarres. Susanna Blamire. Mrs Grant of Carron. Mrs Grant of Laggan. Elizabeth Hamilton. Mrs John Hunter. Mrs Maclellan ('Clarinda'). Caroline Oliphant. Lady Nairne. Dr Blacklock. Richard Gall. John Hamilton. John Lapraik. John Lowe. Hector MacNeil. James Tytler. John Mayne. Sir Alexander Boswell. Robert Tannahill. Alexander Wilson. William Motherwell. James Hogg. <i>The Queen's Wake.</i> John Leyden. Allan Cunningham. Thomas Mounsey. Cunningham. William Tennant. John Hyslop. Robert Gilfillan. William Nicholson. William Glen. William Watt. Michael Bruce and John Logan. <i>The Cuckoo.</i> James Grahame. Robert Pollok	203
---	-----

CHAPTER XI

• THE PROSODY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A.

Changes in the Heroic Couplet of Dryden. The Octosyllabic Couplet. The Spenserian Stanza. Blank Verse. Lyric Poetry of the Eighteenth Century. Edward Bysshe's <i>Art of Poetry</i> . Eighteenth Century Prosodists. Joshua Steele. Young. Shenstone. Gray. Johnson. John Mason. Mitford. Cowper. Summary .	PAGE 245
---	-------------

CHAPTER XII

THE GEORGIAN DRAMA

By HAROLD V. ROUTH, M.A., Peterhouse, Lecturer in English Literature at Goldsmiths' College, London

The Decay of the Drama and the Advance of the Actor. The Theatre in the Eighteenth Century and its Audiences. Richard Cumberland. <i>The Brothers</i> . <i>The West Indian</i> . Lesser Playwrights. Oliver Goldsmith. <i>She Stoops to Conquer</i> . Richard Brinsley Sheridan. <i>The Rivals</i> . <i>A Trip to Scarborough</i> . <i>The School for Scandal</i> . Hannah More. <i>Percy</i> . Hannah Cowley. General Burgoyne. <i>The Heiress</i> . Thomas Holcroft. <i>The Road to Ruin</i> . <i>The Deserted Daughter</i> . Elizabeth Inchbald. George Colman the Younger. <i>Inkle and Yarico</i> . Thomas Morton and others. Cumberland's <i>Jew</i> . Realism and the Drama	257
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII

• THE GROWTH OF THE LATER NOVEL

By GEORGE SAINTSBURY

Thomas Amory. <i>John Bunce</i> . <i>Memoirs of Several Ladies</i> . William Beckford. <i>Vathek</i> . William Godwin. <i>Caleb Williams</i> . <i>St Leon</i> . Thomas Holcroft. <i>Autobiography</i> . Novels. Mrs Inchbald. <i>A Simple Story</i> . <i>Nature and Art</i> . Robert Bage. <i>Hernsprong</i> . Maria Edgeworth. <i>Belinda</i> . <i>The Absentee</i> . <i>Ormond</i> . <i>Tales for the Young</i> . Charlotte Smith. Regina Maria Roche. Eaton Stannard Barrett. Clara Beeve. Ann Radcliffe. <i>The Mysteries of Udolpho</i> and other works. Matthew Gregory Lewis. <i>The Monk</i> . Charles Robert Maturin. <i>Melmoth the Wanderer</i> . Jane and Anna Maria Porter. <i>Thaddeus of Warsaw</i> . <i>The Scottish Chiefs</i> . Thomas Hope. <i>Anastasius</i> . Thomas Love Peacock .	285
--	-----

CHAPTER XIV

BOOK PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, 1625—1800

By H. G. ALDIS, M.A., Peterhouse, Secretary of the
University Library

PAGE

Attempts at State Control under Charles I and the Commonwealth.	
The Censorship of L'Estrange. Lapse of the Licensing Laws.	
Copyright before 1709. The first Copyright Act. The battle for	
Perpetual Copyright. The relations between Author and Publisher	
in the Seventeenth Century. Milton, Baxter. Earnings of play-	
wrights. Literature becomes a Profession. Increase of the Reading	
Classes. Patrons and Dedications. The Publisher as Patron and	
Employer. Leading Publishers in Commonwealth and Restoration	
times. The Eighteenth Century. Tonson, Lintot, Dodsley, Millar.	
Trade books. Society for Encouragement of Learning. Bell's	
<i>Poets</i> and Johnson's <i>Poets</i> . Paternoster Row Numbers. Book-	
sellers' Clubs. Cadell, Strahan. Literary Booksellers. Curll	
and Grub Street. 'The Trade' in London. Little Britain. Scot,	
Bateman, the Ballards. Other Localities. Westminster Hall.	
Literary Coffeehouses. Payne, Davies. Popular Literature.	
Practical Divinity, Chapbooks. The Retail Bookseller. Sale by	
auction. Printed Catalogues. James Lackington. Circulating	
Libraries and Book Clubs. Trade Lists of Current Publications.	
Trade sales. The Provincial Trade. Scotland and Ireland . . .	311

CHAPTER XV

THE BLUESTOCKINGS

By Mrs H. G. ALDIS

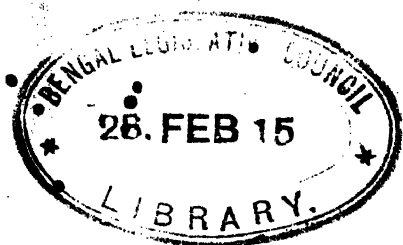
The term 'Bluestocking.' Conversation parties. Mrs Vesey. Mrs	
Montagu. Her share in Lord Lyttelton's <i>Dialogues of the Dead</i> .	
Her <i>Essay on Shakespeare</i> . Mrs Montagu and Voltaire. Mrs	
Elizabeth Carter. Her Translation of <i>Epictetus</i> . Hannah More.	
Her friendship with Horace Walpole. Mrs Chapone . . .	343

CHAPTER XVI

• CHILDREN'S BOOKS

By F. J. HARVEY DARTON, sometime Scholar of St John's
College, Oxford .

	PAGE
Schoolbooks. The Hornbook. Books of Courtesy. Hell-fire tales. 'Exemplary' Compilations. Bunyan's <i>Divine Emblems</i> . Watts's <i>Divine Songs</i> . The Chapbook. Fairy Tales. Nursery Rimes. John Newbery. Dorothy Kilner. Sarah Trimmer. Mrs Sherwood. Maria Edgeworth. Thomas Day's <i>Sandford and Merton</i> . The Moral Tale in Verse. Ann and Jane Taylor's <i>Original Poems</i> . Miss Turner's <i>Cautionary Stories</i> . Charles and Mary Lamb. Later Writings for Children	366
 Bibliographies	 388
Table of Principal Dates	493
Index of Names	496



CHAPTER I

EDMUND BURKE

EDMUND BURKE, the greatest of English orators, if we measure greatness not by immediate effect alone but by the durability and the diffusive power of that effect, and one of the profoundest, most suggestive and most illuminating of political thinkers, if we may not call a philosopher one who did not elaborate any system and who refrained on principle from the discussion of purely theoretical issues, was an Irishman of the usual blended native and English strain, born (1729) in a family which united the two creeds that divide Ireland more profoundly and fatefully than any distinction of race. His father, a small Dublin solicitor, was a protestant, his mother a catholic. Burke himself was educated in the protestant faith, but his sister adhered to the religion of her mother, and his wife was a catholic who conformed to the Anglican church after her marriage. Burke always professed his protestantism frankly and sincerely—'We are protestants not from indifference but from zeal'—and the charges that were brought against him of having, at one time or other, been a catholic are without foundation, but his attitude towards the catholic church was at once tolerant and sympathetic. To him, she and every other church were allies in the defence of the religious conception of life which was the centre of all his thought about morals and politics, and of which atheistical Jacobinism was the antithesis. In the last years of his life, he fought for the cause of catholic emancipation in Ireland no less ardently than he opposed a 'regicide' peace with France. The 'directory of Ireland' which upheld protestant ascendancy at Dublin was hardly less odious to him than the Jacobin directory in Paris.

Burke's education was received at Ballitore, under a quaker, whose son, Richard Shackleton, became the chief friend of his early manhood, and at Trinity college, Dublin. Fox believed that Burke 'had not any very nice critical knowledge even of

Latin, still less of Greek, but was well read in Latin authors, especially Cicero, Vergil, Ovid, Horace and Tacitus, and 'that he imitated the first mentioned of these authors most particularly, as well in his turn of thinking as in his manner of expression.' What survive of Burke's letters to Shackleton, point to the same conclusion as Fox's observation, that Burke was a wide and curious reader rather than a minute scholar. Mathematics, logic, history were, each in turn, he tells Shackleton, in one letter, a passion, and all, for a time, yielded to poetry. The letter affords a vivid glimpse into the education of one to whom knowledge, knowledge varied and detailed, was always to be a passion, and who was seldom or never to pen a sentence that has not something in its form to arrest the attention or to give delight. But Burke was not a poet. He could do many things that were beyond the power of his less strenuous and less profound fellow student, Oliver Goldsmith, but he could never have written *The Deserted Village* or *The Vicar of Wakefield*. Nor, magnificent as Burke's prose was to be, picturesque, harmonious and full of cadence, is it ever the prose which affects us as poetry. It is always the prose of an orator, addressed to an audience and aiming at a practical effect. Beauty, as in the meditations of Browne or the oratory of Taylor, is never to Burke an end in itself.

The wide and varied reading which began at Trinity college was, apparently, the chief activity of the nine obscure years (1750—59) which Burke spent as a student of law in London, eating dinners at the Middle Temple, sojourning at country inns or rooms during the vacation with his namesake and, perhaps, kinsman William Burke, and making tentative excursions into letters with an ironical answer to Bolingbroke's posthumous writings in *A Vindication of Natural Society* (1756) and an essay in aesthetics after Addison in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1756). Fulness of mind was the quality of Burke's conversation which impressed Johnson and all who came to know him in these and later years—knowledge and the power of applying that knowledge, 'diversifying the matter infinitely in your own mind.' 'His stream of mind is perpetual,' was Johnson's comment; 'Burke is the only man whose common conversation corresponds with the general fame which he has in the world. Take up whatever topic you please, he is ready to meet you.' Burke owed his success in the House of Commons and its committees not more, perhaps, to his eloquence than to this fulness of mind,

to the fact that, whatever topic he handled, America, India, Ireland, finance or trade, he spoke from a copious and close knowledge of the subject.

The works which Burke composed during these years are not of great importance. A *Philosophical Enquiry* is an unequal, and, in the main, rather jejune, treatise of which the fairest criticism is probably Lessing's, that it 'is uncommonly useful as a collection of all the occurrences and perceptions which the philosophers must assume as indisputable in inquiries of this kind.' Burke distinguishes the sublime so sharply from the beautiful that his description of the latter includes little which goes beyond the pretty. More interesting and suggestive is the analysis of the pleasure we take in terrible and painful spectacles—whether a tragedy in the theatre or an execution in the street. But, perhaps, most interesting of all is his discussion of the aesthetic and emotional qualities of words, which he finds to depend less on the images which they evoke than their other properties of sound and association. The business of poetry and rhetoric is 'to affect rather by sympathy than imitation; to display rather the effect of things on the mind of the speaker, or of others, than to present a clear idea of the things themselves.' The germ of *Laocoon* is contained in these paragraphs.

A *Vindication* is a much more characteristic and significant document. In parodying the eloquence of Bolingbroke, Burke caught some of the first tones of his own more sonorous and varied harmonies. The conception of the essay, a defence of religion by the application of a *reductio ad absurdum* to Bolingbroke's method of attack, revealed the deep religious spirit in which all Burke's political and social speculation bottoms and roots itself. Bolingbroke had indicted revealed religions by pointing to some of the consequences which, in history, had flowed from dogmatic creeds, and Burke answers him by applying the same method to the criticism of political society.

Shew me an absurdity in religion, and I will undertake to shew you an hundred for one in political laws and institutions. . . . If after all, you should confess all these things, yet plead the necessity of political institutions, weak and wicked as they are, I can argue with equal, perhaps superior, force concerning the necessity of artificial religion; and every step you advance in your argument, you add a strength to mine.

But, perhaps, the most interesting quality of the essay is the sidelight that it throws on Burke's temperament, the sensitive, brooding imagination which, coupled with a restless, speculative

intellect, seeking ever to illuminate facts by principles, gives tone to Burke's speeches and pamphlets; for it is this temperament which imparts vividness and colour to the dry details of historical and statistical knowledge, and it is this temperament which at once directs, keeps in check and prescribes its limits to, that speculative, enquiring intellect. In the sentences in which Burke paints the lot of those who bear the burden of political society, the unhappy wretches employed in lead, tin, iron, copper and coal mines, who scarce ever see the light of the sun, the *enfants perdus* of the army of civil society; in these vivid paragraphs, and not less in his failure to draw from them any but an ironical conclusion, a *reductio ad absurdum* of Bolingbroke's paradoxes, we get an insight into one of the most radical characteristics of Burke's mind. In his later works, he did not often touch directly on the subject of the poor and their lot, though it was a theme, he says, on which he had 'often reflected and never reflected without feeling from it'; but his sensibility was not more acute than his conviction was profound that legislation and political adjustment could do little or nothing to alleviate their lot. Burke's whole life was a prolonged warfare against the folly and injustice of statesmen; but there was no admixture in his nature of what the old physiologists called the sanguine temperament. His political life was inspired by no gleam of the confidence which animated a statesman like Gladstone. The connection between revealed religion and political society was, to him, a deeper one than the superficial irony of *A Vindication* might suggest. If we confine our view to this life, the lot of humanity must always seem a dubious one. Wise government may lighten the lot of men, it can never make it more than tolerable for the great majority. The effect of this cast of mind on Burke's attitude towards the French revolution, and the interval which it creates between him and the great poets of the romantic revival, with whom he has otherwise much in common, will appear later.

In closing *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), Burke declares that

they come from one, almost the whole of whose public exertion has been a struggle for the liberty of others; from one in whose breast no anger durable or vehement has ever been kindled, but by what he considered as tyranny.

In all those struggles, he declared in 1795, when his hopes for catholic emancipation in Ireland were shattered by the dismissal of Lord Fitzwilliam, he had been unsuccessful.

My sanguine hopes are blasted, and I must consign my feelings on that terrible disappointment to the same patience in which I have been obliged to bury the vexation I suffered on the defeat of the other great, just, and honourable causes in which I have had some share, and which have given more of dignity than of peace to a long laborious life.

A brief enumeration of these 'great, just, and honourable causes' will indicate sufficiently for the purposes of this *History* the outlines of Burke's public career.

After a brief time as secretary to William Gerard Hamilton, then chief secretary for Ireland, Burke entered public life as member for Wendover (1765), to which he was presented by Lord Verney, the friend and fellow-speculator of Burke's kinsman and namesake mentioned above. At the same time, he became secretary to Lord Rockingham, then in power and engaged in repealing Grenville's unfortunate Stamp act. Thenceforth, through the life of that short administration and in the sixteen years of opposition which followed, Burke was the animating spirit of the Rockingham section of the whigs, the germ of the subsequent liberal party. The two chief causes for which he fought during these years were those of the freedom of the House of Commons against the designs of George III and the 'king's friends,' and of the American colonies against the claim of the home government to tax them directly. The writings in which Burke's views in these conflicts are most fully preserved are *Observations on a late publication entitled 'The Present State of the Nation'* (1769), *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* (1770), the speech *On American Taxation* (1774), that *On moving his Resolutions for Conciliation with the Colonies* (1775) and *A Letter... to... [the] Sheriffs of... Bristol* (1777)¹. These, of course, are only those utterances which Burke thought fit to issue to the public. Of his innumerable speeches on these and other subjects, including the great speech against employing Indians in the war, we have only the scantiest records.

Two other topics interested Burke during these years: Ireland and India, and, as the American war drew to an end, they became his chief preoccupation. He had early reflected and written on the iniquity of the penal laws—though the draft which he prepared about 1760—5 was not issued till much later—and he supported and watched with sympathy the policy or revolution which emancipated Irish trade and secured the independence

¹ To these may be added the posthumously published *An Address to the King*, drawn up when a secession of the whigs from parliament was contemplated in 1777 and an *Address to the British Colonists in North America*.

of the Irish parliament (1778—82). By reason of his support of Irish trade, he lost, in 1780, the representation of Bristol, which his opposition to the American war had gained for him in 1774; and *Two Letters... to Gentlemen in the City of Bristol* (1778), with the *Speech at the Guildhall, in Bristol, previous to the late Election* (1780), are the noble record of his courage, independence and wisdom in this hour of defeat. In the years following the outbreak of the French revolution, Burke advocated, with unabated ardour, the cause of catholics, his views being expressed, not in speeches, but in long letters to Sir Hercules Langrishe, Thomas Burgh, his son Richard Burke, Dr Hussey and others.

In the government of our East Indian dominions, Burke was early interested. It is usual now to affirm dogmatically that he participated in the speculations of his brother Richard, his kinsman William and Lord Verney, in East India stock. It may be so, but is not proved; and Burke himself declared, in 1772, 'I have never had any concern in the funds of the East India company, nor have taken any part whatsoever in its affairs, except when they came before me in the course of parliamentary proceedings.' During the attempts made by Lord North's government to regulate the East India company, Burke was the warm supporter and diligent adviser of the company (1766—74). It was after 1780 that he became an active member of the committees which investigated the affairs of India, and, in consequence of what was revealed, the relentless foe of Warren Hastings and of the privileges and powers of the company. In the East India bill of 1783, he flung to the winds that fear of increasing the influence of the crown which had dictated his earlier support of the company, and proposed to transfer to parliament and the crown the whole administration and patronage of India. In 1785, he entered upon the attack upon Hastings which was to occupy him for ten years. In the same year, he delivered the famous *Speech on the... Nabob of Arcot's Private Debts*. The articles of indictment against Hastings, with the speeches delivered by Burke, fill some six volumes of the collected works. With the speeches of 1783 and 1785, they are the record of his labours in this cause, in conducting which he exhibited at once all the vast range of his knowledge, the varied powers of his eloquence and the worst errors of taste and judgment of which his great and increasing sensibility of mind made him guilty in the years from 1780 onwards.

The last great cause in which Burke fought his usual splendid but losing battle was that of resistance to the French revolution

and the philosophy and spirit of atheistical Jacobinism. Beginning with a speech on the army estimates (9 February 1790), the crusade was continued with ever increasing indignation through the famous *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), *A Letter... to a Member of the National Assembly* (1791), *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* (1791), *Thoughts on French Affairs* (1791), *Remarks on the Policy of the Allies* (1793), *A Letter... to a Noble Lord* (1795) and *Letters... on the Proposals for Peace with the Regicide Directory of France* (1795—7). Burke died in 1797 with his last hopes for justice to Irish catholics shattered, and believing that his country was on the eve of a peace which could be no peace but only a humiliating truce while the enemy made ready to pursue their destructive crusade.

These, in outline, are the campaigns of Burke. Whatever be now our judgment on the questions of a bygone age with which he was concerned, the importance of the principles to which his mind always gravitated, his preoccupation at every juncture with the fundamental issues of wise government, and the splendour of the eloquence in which he set forth these principles, an eloquence in which the wisdom of his thought and the felicity of his language and imagery seem inseparable from one another, an eloquence that is wisdom (not 'seeming wisdom' as Hobbes defined eloquence), have made his speeches and pamphlets a source of perennial freshness and interest.

The first of the pamphlets on public affairs was a brief statement of what had been achieved by the Rockingham administration to restore order and good government at home and in the colonies. The *Observations* are a more detailed defence of that administration against the attack of an anonymous pamphlet, attributed to George Grenville. Grenville, in this pamphlet, defended his own government, which was responsible for the peace of Paris and the first proposal to tax the colonies, and criticised the repeal of the Stamp act. Both the peace and the resolution to tax America were the consequence, he argued, of the charges incurred by the great wars. Burke's reply consists in showing that Grenville had underestimated the power of England and her expanding trade to support these increased charges, and especially had exaggerated the sufferings of this country when compared with those of France, the condition of whose lower classes, and the 'straitness and distraction of whose finances,' seemed, to Burke, at this period, to forbode 'some extraordinary convulsion... the effect of which on France, and

even on all Europe, it is difficult to conjecture.' But much of the ground that is covered in this first controversial pamphlet was again traversed with a more confident step, with a wider outlook and a loftier eloquence, in the writings which followed it. Less hampered by the necessity of controverting an opponent, Burke addresses himself to the fundamental constitutional and imperial questions at issue in a spirit of elevated political wisdom.

The position which Burke adopts in *Present Discontents* (1770) is eloquent of the temper in which he ever approached questions affecting the constitution. The conflict which raged round Wilkes and the Middlesex election was, he saw clearly, 'a conflict between the crown and the constituencies, 'the crown acting by an instrumental house of commons.' He admitted the ultimate authority of the people. 'Although government certainly is an institution of divine authority, yet its forms, and the persons who administer it, all originate from the people.' But he shrank from the inference that, if government were emancipating itself from the control of the people, if the crown were threatening to deprive the House of Commons of its peculiar 'virtue, spirit and essence,' namely, to be 'the express image of the feelings of the nation,' it was because the constituencies themselves had ceased to represent the people. The proposals to enlarge the number of constituents, coupled, as they were, with the expedient of triennial parliaments, he always resisted. To Burke, a constitutional state was one in which, in some degree, a balance had been secured between the various powers which, in the state, represent the complex nature of man, and, in the British constitution, as it had taken shape in history; and especially with the revolution, he saw, if not an ideal, yet, the weak and imperfect nature of man considered, a wonderful balance of powers, aristocracy (the power which springs from man's natural regard for inherited distinction and privilege) and property exerting in a healthy and not sinister fashion their natural and inevitable influence, while the popular will made itself felt directly and indirectly, by actual and by 'virtual' representation, as a controlling and, at times, an inspiring influence. He would not do anything to disturb this balance. 'Our constitution stands on a nice equipoise with steep precipices and deep waters upon all sides of it. In removing it from a dangerous leaning towards one side there may be a risk of over-setting it on the other.' He would rather 'by lessening the number add to the weight and independency of our voters.'

Unable, therefore, to acquiesce in the only practical means by which the people were to recover the control of parliament, and enforce loyalty to principle and party, Burke could only indicate the chief symptom of the disease, the disintegration of party, and elaborate a philosophic defence of party-government, which, since Bolingbroke, it had become the fashion, and was now the interest, of many to decry.

Characteristically, Burke defends party as an indispensable instrument of practicable statesmanship, and as an institution which has its roots in some of the profoundest and most beautiful instincts of the heart; for utility, but utility rooted—if one may so speak—in man's moral constitution, is Burke's court of appeal in all questions of practical politics. Bolingbroke's condemnation of party as identical with faction, and his dream of a patriot king who should govern without reference to party, must have seemed to Burke the result of a view of human nature that was at once too cynical and too sanguine. Party-loyalty might degenerate into self-seeking factiousness, but, in its idea, party is 'a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed'; and the feelings which cement a party are not purely selfish, but include and 'bring into the service and conduct of the common-wealth' 'the dispositions that are lovely in private life.' To be unable to act in loyal concert with others is to condemn ourselves to ineffectiveness, and 'all virtue which is impracticable is spurious,' for 'public life is a situation of power and energy: he trespasses against his duty who sleeps upon his watch, as well as he that goes over to the enemy.' 'In the way which they call party,' he declared, when, at a later juncture, he was charged with factiousness, 'I worship the constitution of your fathers; and I shall never blush for my political company.'

Though not one of the best, and certainly the most inconclusive, of all Burke's political writings, *Present Discontents* reveals the chief characteristics of his thought and style—the tendency to go at once to the root of the matter, to illuminate facts by principles, and to clothe these in felicitous images and phrases which seem to shed a new light, to 'pour resistless day,' on the moral and political constitution of man. In these things, Burke is without a rival. His aphorisms crowd upon one another and rise out of one another (as was noted by one who heard his first speech in the House of Commons) until the reader can hardly go forward, so many vistas of fresh thought are opened before him.

And Burke's political aphorisms are so pregnant that they distend the mind with the same sense of fulness with which Shakespeare's lines affect the student of the passions and movements of the human heart.

But Burke's oratory was not here illumined by the vision of a large concrete issue in which the future of an empire and the fate of peoples depended on the wisdom or unwisdom of the policy chosen and pursued. That came with the American controversy. It may be clear to the student of history that the causes of that conflict, and of the ultimate separation of the colonies from the mother country, lay deeper than in the schemes of taxation by which Grenville, Townshend and North precipitated matters. It is yet equally certain that, at a great juncture, English statesmanship was found wanting in the wisdom, imagination and sympathy requisite to solve the problem of governing a growing overseas empire. It was his gifts of sympathy and imagination, combined with a wise spirit of practicable statesmanship which distinguishes Burke among all who discussed the colonial question on one side or the other, and have caused his words to bear fruit in the long run, fruitless as, at the moment, they seemed to be.

Two or three principles underlie all that Burke said or wrote on the question. The first of these is that, in practical politics, the guiding star of statesmanship is expediency, not legal or abstract right. Our arguments on political questions may often be

'conclusive as to right, but the very reverse as to policy and practice.' 'Politics ought to be adjusted not to human reasonings but to human nature; of which the reason is but a part and by no means the greatest part.' 'The opinion of my having some abstract right in my favour would not put me much at my ease in passing sentence; unless I could be sure that there were no rights which in their exercise were not the most odious of all wrongs, and the most vexatious of all injustice.'

Such quotations could be multiplied. It is the principle which dictated the coupling of the Declaratory act with the repeal of the Stamp act in 1766, the assertion of a legal right which, in some conceivable emergency, it might be necessary to assert, but the general exercise of which was to be regulated by an entire regard for liberty and the spirit of the British constitution. When the word 'expediency' is given its full moral significance, this principle may be said to be the foundation-stone of Burke's political philosophy.

The second position reiterated in these speeches is that, in the search for what is expedient and, therefore, right, the statesman

must be guided by circumstances, of which the most important is the temper and character of the people for whom he is legislating. The statesman, like Bacon's natural philosopher, rules by obeying. The principle is obvious, but its application requires sympathy and imagination, and George III, with his entire lack of both, was a better representative of the average Englishman than either Burke or Chatham. Burke's imagination was filled with the greatness of the American people, the wild, irregular greatness of a people who had grown up to manhood nurtured by a 'wise and salutary neglect.' 'Nothing in history is parallel to it,' he declares in his earliest reply to Grenville. 'All the reasonings about it that are likely to be at all solid must be drawn from its actual circumstances.' And such reasoning will include the all-important consideration that these people are Englishmen with the inherited tradition of political liberty and self-government. The magnificent paragraphs, in the speech *On Conciliation*, devoted to the Americans, their numbers, their enterprise, their spirit and the sources from which it is sustained, are not a purple patch of diffuse, descriptive oratory alone. Like the similar paragraphs on the peoples and civilisation of India, in a later speech, they are an appeal to the imagination of the speaker's audience, that, realising the magnitude of the issue at stake, they may rise above a narrow legalism to the contemplation of what is greater even than America, namely an empire which shall include free peoples, and different civilisations.

But, to discover what is expedient in the complexity of circumstances, which include the tempers of people, is no easy task, and, hence, Burke's third principle, that our safest guide is experience. The past illumines the future, it may be but a few feet in advance, yet sufficiently to walk by.

Again and again and again revert to your own principles—leave America, if she has taxable matter in her, to tax herself.... Leave the Americans as they anciently stood, and these distinctions born of our unhappy contest will die along with it.... Be content to bind America by laws of trade; you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burthen them with taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are arguments for states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools; for there only they may be discussed with safety.

Such are the principles which guided Burke in adumbrating in these speeches the lines to be followed in solving the problem the character and complexity of which he alone seems to have grasped, the problem of governing and maintaining the great

empire which Chatham's successful wars had called into existence,

of reconciling the strong presiding power that is so useful towards the conservation of a vast, disconnected, infinitely diversified empire, with that liberty and safety of the provinces, which they must enjoy (in opinion and practice at least) or they will not be provinces.

He was provided with no theoretical plan that would suit all circumstances, 'the natives of Hindustan and those of Virginia alike, the Cutchery court and the grand jury of Salem.' His appeal was to the wisdom of experience, the spirit of the English constitution and the magnanimity of statesmen.

Of the American speeches, the greatest, as it is the most elaborate, is, doubtless, the second, *On Conciliation*; but the first, *On American Taxation*, which has more the character of being, as, indeed, it was, the spontaneous product of debate, combines, in a wonderful manner, simplicity and directness of reasoning with ardour and splendour of eloquence. There is something of Rubens or Rembrandt in the easy, broad, bold strokes with which Burke paints the history of English policy in America; the rich, diffused, warm colouring of the whole; the concentration of the high lights and more brilliant tints on the chief episodes and figures—the upright but narrow-minded Grenville; Conway, whose face in the hour of victory was as the face of an angel; the tessellated ministry of Chatham; the passing of that great and theatrical figure, and the dazzling advent of Townshend. Such 'characters' had been a feature of earlier oratory and history like that of Bolingbroke and Clarendon—both of them writers with whose work Burke was intimately acquainted—but these, again, are, in Burke's speeches, no mere rhetorical device or literary ornament. They illustrate his conviction that politics have their roots in human character; that, to understand policies, we must study personalities, whether individuals or corporate bodies like the House of Commons and the National Assembly.

The speech *On Conciliation* is the most greatly builded of all Burke's speeches, not excepting those on India, which belong rather to forensic than deliberative oratory. Perhaps its structure is too elaborate for its immediate purpose. The sonorous parade of the parallel cases of Wales, Chester and Ireland was not likely to have much weight with the House of Commons. It is rather a great *concio ad populum et regem*, a last impassioned, elevated and conciliatory appeal to the government and the nation; and, if delivered under the conditions of a later period, when it would

have been read in every household on the day following, could not but have reacted with power on both House and government. As it is, it remains some compensation to English literature for the dismemberment of the British empire. Whether we reflect on the art with which it is constructed, the skill with which the speaker winds into the heart of his subject¹ and draws from it the material of his splendid peroration on 'the spirit of the English constitution' and its power to unite, invigorate and vivify the British empire in all its diverse members; or reflect on the temper, passionate and moving yet restrained and conciliatory, in which the argument is conducted; or recall simply the greater flights of picturesque eloquence, the description of American industry and enterprise, the imagery in which the speaker clothes his conception of the spirit of the English constitution and the sovereign authority of parliament—the speech takes its own place beside the greatest masterpieces of our literature, the plays of Shakespeare and the poems of Milton. It produces the same impression of supremacy in its own kind; it abounds, like these, in phrases which seem to enrich our language with a new felicity and dignity: 'enjoyments which deceive the burthen of life,' 'a wise and salutary neglect,' 'I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people,' 'man acts from adequate motives relative to his interest, and not on metaphysical speculations,' 'magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together.'

In these speeches, Burke is the orator following consciously the ancient tradition of oratory; combining all the styles, the plain, the ornate, the impassioned, each used as the theme requires, in the manner which Cicero, in the *Orator*, describes as constituting the authentic Attic and Demosthenic eloquence. In Burke's *Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol*, the style is more uniform and unadorned, a vigorous and straight hitting polemic. He sweeps aside with the scorn of which he was a master the cant charges which, in time of war, are levelled at those who question either the foolish policy or arbitrary tyranny of the government, and defines, more clearly than ever, what had always been his conception of the nature of the problem presented by the government of a complex and scattered empire, and the entire competence in the matter of 'prudence, constituted as the god of this lower world,' and prudence only.

What Burke deplored in the American policy of George III

¹ See Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (ed. Hill, G. B., vol. II, p. 260).

and his ministers was the entire absence of this prudence. He did not take any side in the battle of 'rights,' natural and legal, but stood firmly upon the basis of experience and expediency. In the cases of Ireland and India, he showed that, by a policy based on expediency he understood something very different from opportunism; that, if he disdained discussion of metaphysical rights, it was not that he did not believe in the existence of rights prior to and above all human conventions and laws, but because he deemed that their abstract definition was either an impossible or a useless labour, apt to hinder, rather than to promote, their practical realisation. But that there is an eternal law of which human law is, at its best, but declaratory is the assumption and the express affirmation underlying his attacks on the tyranny of the penal laws in Ireland and on the claim to arbitrary power in India put forward by Warren Hastings, as the vindication of his treatment of the rajah of Benares. There is a law which neither despot nor people may violate; any law in contradiction of it not only may, but must, be resisted,

because made against the principle of a superior law, which it is not in the power of any community, or of the whole race of men to alter—I mean the will of Him who gave us our nature, and in giving impressed an invariable law upon it. It would be hard to point out any error more truly subversive of all the wonder and beauty, of all the peace and happiness of human society, than the position—that any body of men have a right to make what laws they please, or that laws can derive any authority from their institution merely and independent of the quality of the subject-matter. No argument of policy, reason of state, or *preservation of the constitution* can be pleaded in favour of such a practice.

So he wrote between 1760 and 1765 in *Tracts relative to the Laws against Popery* in Ireland and his position is unchanged in 1788 when he denounces Warren Hastings.

Arbitrary power is a thing which neither any man can hold nor any man can give.... We are all born in subjection... to one great, immutable, preexistent Law, prior to all our devices, and prior to all our contrivances, paramount to all our ideas, and all our sensations, antecedent to our very existence, by which we are knit and connected in the eternal frame of the Universe, out of which we cannot stir.... Those who give and those who receive arbitrary power are alike criminal, and there is no man but is bound to resist it to the best of his power whenever it shall show its face in the world.

It is in view of this fundamental doctrine that we must interpret Burke's appeals to experience and expediency. In the last resort, Burke's politics are religious, and rest on the conviction that human authority and laws derive from an ultimate Divine authority and law. The bearing of this conviction on Burke's attitude to the incidents and doctrines of the French revolution will appear

later. It accounts for the deeper note of passion audible in the speeches and pamphlets on Irish and Indian questions when these are compared with the more persuasive and conciliatory defence of the Americans and the cause of prudence and her great teacher experience.

Ireland, indeed, though perhaps closer to Burke's heart than any other country, fills a comparatively small part of his collected works, though, to a student of his mind and thought, not the least interesting part. He had studied Irish history, and knew from what a tissue of falsehoods the prevalent English view of the rebellion in 1641 and other episodes in that history was woven. He knew the working of the penal laws from within, and for the ancient church whose worship and creed were barred and penalised he had an understanding and sincere respect. None of his writings is less touched with the faults of Burke's great qualities, occasional rhetorical parade, an extravagant sensibility, a tendency to factious exaggeration, than are the letters *To a Peer of Ireland on the Penal Laws* (1782), *To Sir Hercules Langrishe* (1792) and to others which Matthew Arnold collected and republished in 1881, including, with these, the *Speech at the Guildhall, in Bristol* (1780) when Burke closed his connection with that great mercantile constituency. No better and more triumphant *apologia* was ever written. Burke had his back to the wall and, in the end, declined the election. But he was fighting, also, with the consciousness that what he foretold had come true. America was lost. England had sown the wind and was reaping the whirlwind. And part of that harvest was Ireland. The refusal to grant those concessions, for supporting which Burke forfeited the confidence of his constituents (despite *Two Letters* (1778) in defence of his vote), had resulted in a practical revolution in Ireland and 'a universal surrender of all that had been thought the peculiar, reserved, uncommunicable rights of England... We were taught wisdom by humiliation.' And from the same source had flowed the other cause of complaint in Bristol, the repeal of the penal laws. When Burke turns from the justice of the policy of repeal to vindicate its expedience, his argument is summarised in an aposiopesis, 'Gentlemen, America—.' He does not spare his critics nor disguise the humiliation of England any the more that he approves of the measures of justice which that humiliation has exacted from an unwilling country. And he is equally fearless in his defence of his conduct as regards the defeated bill for the relief of debtors, and the amendment of the 'gross and cruel facts in our law.' The only purple patch in the speech, is the brief

panegyric upon Howard, the reformer of prisons. Otherwise, the style is as simple and nervous as the prose of Swift, but fired with a nobler passion and illumined by a wider vision of general principles.

If Ireland were a subordinate though a very real interest to Burke, India was the centre of his activity from 1780 until the French revolution came, not to supersede India but to share with it and Ireland his thoughts and labours. From the problem of the government of colonies peopled by Englishmen, habituated to freedom and jealous of authority, he turned to the other problem with which Chatham's wars had also embarrassed England, the problem of governing a great empire of peoples who had never known any other rule than an absolute despotism, a despotism which, through an era of anarchy, was passing, or had passed, to a trading company and its ill-controlled and ill-remunerated servants. 'The proud day of Asia is passed.' The relaxation and dissolution of the Mogul government had made the Indian company what the Roman law had supposed 'irreconcilable to reason and property—*eundem Negotiatorem et Dominum* ; the same power became the general trader, the same power became the supreme lord.'

The Indian speeches are distinguished from the American not alone by the greater passion that inspires them but by partaking more of the nature of forensic and, occasionally, epideictic or panegyric, than of deliberative oratory¹. Each of them is an indictment—that *On Mr Fox's East-India Bill* (1783) of the East India company and its administration; that *On the Nabob of Arcot's Debts* (1785) of Dundas's India board for its protection of the nabob's creditors; and the series of speeches with which Burke opened and closed the trial of Warren Hastings, an impeachment which, for variety and vehemence of oratory, has no parallel except in Cicero's *Verrines*. And they are not only indictments—like the speech on the employment of Indians in the American war—but legal indictments, in which proof is interwoven with narrative and exposition.

The distinction is of importance, because it explains the fact that these speeches, despite the occasional splendour of their eloquence, are of less vital interest than the American, Irish, or French revolution speeches and pamphlets; and because, in oratory of this description, the faults of Burke's judgment and temperament made themselves, at times, only too apparent. It is impossible to read the most eloquent of indictments, especially of

¹ Adopting Aristotle's classification in *Rhetoric*.

individuals, based on alleged facts, without the wish to hear the other side. The force of the indictment, we feel, depends on the strength of the evidence advanced in support of the speaker's charges, and these, in Aristotle's phrase, are ἀτεχνολογίαι, proofs which depend neither on the arguments nor the eloquence of the orator but on the credibility of witnesses, and the authenticity and interpretation of documents. And the more vehement, the less judicial in tone, the orator, the more insistent becomes the thoughtful reader's demand for relative evidence. But, in the Indian speeches, Burke's tone is never judicial; when Hastings is in question, it is never either temperate or fair. The Verrine orations of Cicero are not more fiercely vituperative than the speeches of Burke before the House of Lords. But, from what we know otherwise of Verres, he was all that Cicero tells us. The history of Warren Hastings's government has been the subject of careful investigation, and, whatever we may think of his faults, he was certainly no Verres. Burke's whole treatment of that great case was vitiated by his determination to find the sole motive of every crime with which Hastings was charged in a base, selfish, corrupt cupidity,—'Money is the beginning, the middle, and the end of every kind of act done by Mr Hastings—pretendedly for the Company, but really for himself.' But, of all charges, this is the least true. Hastings was not scrupulous in his choice of means, and he was responsible for acts both of extortion and cruelty, but the motives which actuated them were public not private, the service of the company and the preservation of British rule in India at a season of the utmost peril. The fury with which Burke assailed Hastings's character was, therefore, misdirected. He fledged the arrows of his eloquence with the vindictive malice of Francis, and, in so doing, obscured and weakened what is the main burden and justification of his indictment, and of all his labours in the cause of India—the distinction, which he places in the forefront of his opening addresses to the House of Lords, and recurs to in his final replies, between absolute authority and arbitrary power. In so far as he meets Hastings's claim to arbitrary power by an appeal to the authority of law as formulated in the codes of the Hindoos, the Mohammedans and the Tartars, the argument is more interesting ('there never was such food for the curiosity of the human mind as is found in the manners of this people' i.e. the Gentils or Hindoos) than relevant, for, at the time when Warren Hastings was struggling with the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali, all law in India was in suspension. If, in the anarchy which

prevailed, Hastings had fettered himself by the ideal prescripts of Timur or Mohammed, the British power in India would, indeed, have been Swift's 'single man in his shirt' contending with eleven armed men. But, in his appeal to the eternal laws which no human power may abrogate any more than it may dispense with physical laws, Burke (as has been already indicated) was stating the fundamental principle of his political philosophy, and, at the same time, helping, almost as effectively as Hastings himself, to lay the foundation of British rule in India. In the American and Indian speeches of Burke is contained, one might say without exaggeration and making full allowance for the faults of the Indian series, the grammar of British empire—the free self-government of white communities, the just rule of peoples for whom representative government is impracticable, the qualification of absolute government by an entire regard for the welfare and the prejudices of the governed.

The great instrument of Burke's oratory in the Indian, as in the American, speeches is the philosophical imagination. The same faculty that evoked a vivid and instructive picture of the spirit and enterprise of a people 'yet in the gristle' elaborates, in the speech on Fox's East India bill, a sublimer and more moving vision of the ancient civilisation of India,

princes once of great dignity, authority, and opulence...an ancient and venerable priesthood, the depository of their laws, learning and history, the guides of the people while living and their consolation in death...millions of ingenious manufacturers and mechanics; millions of the most diligent and not the least intelligent, tillers of the earth...almost all the religions professed by men, the Braminical, the Mussulman, the Eastern and the Western Christian.

And, over against this picture, he places that of English rule, the rule of merchants intent only on profits and corrupt gain. The sentences seem to ring for ever in the ear, in which the orator describes the young men who ruled India, with all the avarice of age and all the impetuosity of youth, rolling in wave after wave, birds of prey and passage who leave no trace that England has been represented in India 'by any thing better than the ourang-outang or the tyger,' for 'their prey is lodged in England; and the cries of India are given to seas and winds, to be blown about at every breaking up of the monsoon over a remote and unhearing ocean.' But the most terrible and the most faithful picture of British misrule which Burke painted, and of what that misrule meant for the wretched natives, is that in the speech *On the Nabob of Arcot's Debts*;* and nothing in Burke's speeches is more Miltonic in its sublimity and gloom than the description of the vengeance taken by Hyder Ali

on the 'abused, insulted, racked and ruined' Carnatic. Of the epideictic or panegyric oratory with which Burke occasionally illumines his tenebrous and fiery denunciations of waste and oppression, the Indian speeches afford the most sustained and elaborate example in the eulogy of Fox which closes the speech on the East India bill, 'a studied panegyric; the fruit of much meditation; the result of the observation of nearly twenty years.'

These words were spoken in 1783. In 1791, that friendship was formally terminated, and Burke and Fox met as strangers in the conduct of the long impeachment. It was not a private quarrel which alienated them. It was the French revolution. That great upheaval agitated Burke's sensitive and passionate imagination certainly no less than the misgovernment of India, but it did so in a way that has left a more interesting record in his work, for it quickened and intensified the activity of his speculation. In judging of events and persons, his mind was, perhaps, not less prejudiced; but, in the main, the controversy which he waged was not forensic but deliberative, a discussion not of facts and proofs but of principles and the spirit that inspires or is inspired by principles. He was at war with the philosophy and with the temper of the revolution. He was driven back on first principles; and the flame which was kindled in his imagination served to irradiate and illumine every vein and nerve in the complex and profound philosophy of human nature and political society which had underlain and directed all that, since he entered public life and earlier, he had done or written as statesman and thinker.

It is a mistake to represent Burke as by philosophical principle and temperament necessarily hostile to revolution or rebellion. Politically, he was the child of the revolution of 1688, and an ardent champion of the principles of that revolution. He condoned and approved the revolution (for as such he regarded it) by which Ireland, in 1781, secured freedom of trade and legislative independence. He believed that the Americans had done right in resisting by arms the attempt to tax them directly. Moreover, the fundamental principle of Burke's political philosophy, his conviction that behind all human law was a divine law which human authority could never override, carried with it, as the same principle did for the Calvinists of Holland or for the puritans of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the possibility that it might be a duty to rebel. Burke and Rousseau are agreed on one point, that force is not right, that no *force majeure* can justify a man in renouncing his

liberty, or, what is the same thing, his responsibility to God. It was not a revolt against legitimate authority, it was not even any radical reconstruction of the machinery of the state (though Burke always distrusted the wisdom and, even, the possibility of radical reformation), which made him the enemy of the revolution. He admits, in his *Reflections*, that such reconstruction was required, and would have had the Assembly set to work with an eye upon their old constitution to guide them, and, where that failed them, on the British constitution. What roused Burke's passionate antagonism was the philosophy of the revolution and the spirit of the revolution, an abstract philosophy which seemed to him false to the fundamental facts of man's moral and political nature, a spirit which he detested as the relentless enemy alike of liberty and religion—of that religion which alone can teach men to subordinate power to duty, to accept the mysterious dispensation which assigns to each of us his place in society, which alone can guide us in life and console us in death. His foe was the same in this as in all his previous conflicts,—arbitrary power, not claiming legal right for its justification, as the British parliament had claimed it in the case of America, nor inherited absolute authority, as Hastings had in the case of Cheyte Sing and the begums, but asserting the indisputable authority of the people, of democracy. Compared with such a tyranny, every other seemed less deplorable.

Under a cruel prince men have the balmy consolation of mankind to assuage the smart of their wounds; they have the plaudits of the people to animate their generous constancy under suffering; but those who are subjected to wrong under multitudes are deprived of all external consolations. They seem deserted by mankind; overpowered by a conspiracy of their whole species.

Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790) is the most important manifesto of Burke's anti-revolutionary crusade. A critic has remarked, with some justice, that the writings on the revolution 'are perhaps the worse written for not being speeches... they did not call out Burke's architectonic faculty¹.' But Burke was not less a master of disposition than of invention, and there is an art in the loosely ordered sequence of his *Reflections*. Such an elaborate architecture as that of the speech *On Conciliation* would have been out of place in dealing with what was still fluid. None of the fatal issues of the revolution had yet emerged, but, studying its principles and its temper, the trend of its shifting and agitated currents, Burke foresees them all, down to the advent of the popular general as the saviour of society. Beginning with Price's

¹ Oliver Elton, *A Survey of English Literature* (1912), vol. 1.

1] Reflections on the Revolution in France, 21

sermon; the occasion of his pamphlet, he endeavours to show that the revolution of 1688 did not involve any breach of the hereditary principle, or invalidate the inherited right of the king to govern independent of the choice of the people. He recurred at great length to this in the later *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*. The argument is necessarily inconclusive¹, yet not without importance as establishing the fact that the success of the revolution was due to the skill with which its managers had succeeded in transferring unimpaired to the new government the authority of the old. This was just what the assembly had failed to do; and, hence, the necessity for the authority of the guillotine and the sword. A brief contrast of the English revolution with the French leads, naturally, to just such a sketch of the personal factor in the Assembly—the classes from which it was drawn—as, at an earlier date, in the speech *On American Taxation*, when discussing the source of colonial discontent, he had given of English statesmen and the House of Commons. Recurring to Price's eulogy of the French revolution, he is led rapidly on to what was the distinctive character of that revolution, the subject of Price's approval and Burke's condemnation. It lay in the fact that, unlike all other revolutions, the French started from no mere desire for the redress of grievances or shifting of the centre of gravity of government, but promulgated a new philosophy, a new gospel, judged by which all governments are usurpations, and that its watchword was 'the rights of man.'

Against these there can be no prescription; against these no argument is binding: these admit no temperament and no compromise: anything withheld from their full demand is so much of fraud and injustice.

The paragraphs on the abstract rights of man and the inevitable tendency of such a doctrine to identify right with power leads Burke back again to Price and his exultation over the leading in triumph of the king and queen from Versailles. And, thence, he passes to an impassioned outburst on the spirit of the revolution, the temper of those in whom the religion of the 'rights of man' has 'vanquished all the mean superstitions of the heart,' has cast out all the sentiments of loyalty and reverence which constitute 'the decent drapery of life,' serving 'to cover the defects of our naked shivering nature, and to raise it to dignity in our own estimation.' From these two sections, on 'the rights of man' and the spirit of their devotees,

¹Burke had himself declared, in 1777, that 'to the free choice therefore of the people, without either king or parliament, we owe that happy establishment, out of which both king and parliament were regenerated.' *An Address to the King*. This was not published till after Burke's death.

naturally flows all that follows—the vindication of prejudice, the importance of religion in the state and defence of an established church, the review of the progress of democratic tyranny in France in the abolition of nobility and confiscation of the church and the examination of the constitution set up by the Assembly—the legislature, executive, judicature and army, their consistence with the doctrine of ‘the rights of man’ and their probable doom.

To the charge of inconsistency which the publication of *Reflections* and his speeches in the House brought upon him, Burke replied in *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* (1791), published anonymously and written in the third person. From a general defence of the consistency of his denunciation of the French revolution with his defence of the American colonies and proposals for economic reform, Burke proceeds to elaborate his defence of the view he had put forward in *Reflections* of the revolution of 1688, as preserving, not destroying, inherited, prescriptive rights; and closes with an elaboration of his views on the prescriptive, inherited character of all the institutions and rights which constitute a state; the involuntary, inherited nature of all our most sacred ties and duties. Taken together, these two pamphlets form the most complete statement of Burke’s anti-revolutionary philosophy, which his other writings on the subject serve only to amplify and adorn.

It is in his attack on the abstract and individualistic doctrine of the ‘rights of man’ that Burke develops most fully this philosophy of society, and breaks most decisively with the mechanical and atomic political theory which, inherited from Locke, had dominated the thought of the eighteenth century. Over against the view of the state as the product of a ‘contract’ among individuals, whose ‘rights’ exist prior to that contract, and constitute the standard by which at every stage the just claim of society on the individual is to be tested, he develops the conception of the individual as himself the product of society, born to an inheritance of rights (which are ‘all the advantages’ for which civil society is made) and of reciprocal duties, and, in the last resort, owing these concrete rights (actual rights which fall short in perfection of those ideal rights ‘whose abstract perfection is their practical defect’) to convention and prescription. Society originates not in a free contract but in necessity, and the shaping factor in its institutions has not been the consideration of any code of abstract preexistent rights (‘the inherent rights of the people’) but ‘convenience.’ And, of these conveniences or rights, two are supreme, government

and prescription, the existence of 'a power out of themselves by which the will of individuals may be controlled,' and the recognition of the sacred character of prescription. In whatever way a particular society may have originated—conquest, usurpation, revolution ('there is a sacred veil to be drawn over the beginnings of all government')—in process of time, its institutions and rights come to rest upon prescription. In any ancient community such as that of France or Britain, every constituent factor, including what we choose to call the people, is the product of convention. The privileges of every order, the rights of every individual, rest upon prescription embodied in law or established by usage. This is the 'compact or agreement which gives its corporate form and capacity to a state,' and, if it is once broken, the people are

a number of vague, loose individuals and nothing more. Alas! they little know how many a weary step is to be taken before they can form themselves into a mass which has a true politic personality¹.

There is, therefore, no right of revolution, or rebellion at will. The 'civil, social man' never *may* rebel except when he *must* rebel. Revolution is always the annulment of some rights. It will be judged in the last resort by the degree in which it preserves as well as destroys, and by what it substitutes for what it takes away. At its best, revolution is 'the extreme medicine of the constitution,' and Burke's quarrel with the Assembly is that they have made it 'its daily bread'; that, when the whole constitution of France was in their hands to preserve and to reform, they elected only to destroy.

Burke's denunciation of the spirit or temper of the revolution follows as naturally from his philosophy of the state as that from the doctrine of the revolutionists. 'The rights of man' was a religion, a fanaticism expelling every other sentiment, and Burke meets it with a philosophy which is also a religion, no mere theory of the state but a passionate conviction. He and the revolutionists were at one in holding that there is a law, a principle superior to positive law, by which positive law must be tested. Had he not declared that there were positive rights which, in their exercise, were 'the most odious of all wrongs, and the most vexatious of all injustice'? But, whereas they sought this law in abstract rights prior to, and independent of, the state, for Burke, the essential condition of every 'right' is the state itself. There can be no right which is incompatible with the very existence of the state. Justice is not to be sought in or by the destruction of

¹ *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*

that which has given us the idea of justice, has made us the moral beings we are, for it is the privilege of 'that wonderful structure Man' 'to be in a great degree the creature of his own making,' and 'He who gave our nature to be perfected by our virtue willed also the necessary means of its perfection; He willed therefore the state¹.' The state is no mere prudential contract for material ends, security of property and life (though these are its primary ends and fundamental conditions); it is the partnership between men from which has sprung science and art and virtue—all human perfection; a partnership which links one generation to another, the living to the dead and the unborn. It is more; 'each contract of each particular state is but a clause in the great primeval contract of eternal society,' which is the law of God and 'holds all physical and all moral natures, each in their appointed place.' To the religion of the natural man, Burke thus opposes the religion of the state, of man as civilisation has made him, for 'Art is man's nature.' The established church is the recognition of the sacred character of the state. The prejudices and sentiments which attach us to the community are not to be abolished by the 'conquering light of reason,' but cherished as the very substance of the moral reason. It is this thought which underlies Burke's defence of prejudice. Following, as it does, the highly coloured threnody on the fate of the queen of France and the decay of the sentiments of loyalty and chivalry, Burke has exposed himself to the charge of identifying moral feeling with fleeting and artificial sentiments. But this is only partly just. Burke does not really confound the sentiments which adorn life with those which sustain life, the draperies of the moral life with its flesh and blood. His defence of prejudice against the claims of a fanatical abstract reason is just such a recognition of the nature of moral reason as that which turned Wordsworth from Godwin's 'political justice' to the emotions and prejudices of the peasant.

To Burke, thus encountering the philosophy and fanaticism of the French revolution with a deeper philosophy and an equal zeal, war with France was a crusade; and he pressed for it passionately

¹ It must be admitted, too, that, at this stage, Burke is more disposed than when he wrote the *Tracts relative to the Laws against Popery* (see the first quotation at p. 14), or defended the American rebellion or the Irish 'revolution,' to identify the state with the particular constitution of a concrete state, Britain or France; to refuse to consider any claim of 'right' which is incompatible with this—a position which comes near to denying any right of reform at all. It is against this view that Wordsworth protested in his early *Apology for the French Revolution*. But it is a mistake to take this rejection of reform as the cardinal article of Burke's political creed. His thought, in its whole drift and content, has a deeper significance.

before Pitt's hand was forced by the invasion of Holland. The rest of Burke's life was mainly devoted to the crusade against Jacobinism at home and abroad, and it is well to understand what he understood by the term. It is not republicanism, nor even democracy, though it is, he seems to think, that to which a pure democracy inevitably tends. Burke did not believe that this country was at war with the French people, for there was no French public. 'The country is' composed but of two descriptions; audacious tyrants and trembling slaves.' By Jacobinism, he understood the tyranny of unprincipled and irresponsible ability or talent¹—talent divorced from religious awe and all regard for individual liberty and property, supporting itself by appealing to the passions and ignorance of the poor. This was the character of the government of France as one set of rulers succeeded another in what he calls 'the tontine of infamy,' and the war which it waged was a war of conquest essential to its own existence. Peace with such a power could only be made on the same conditions as it was to be made with the Saracens in the full tide of conquest. This is the burden of the impassioned and lurid *Letters on a Regicide Peace* (1797), which, like the denunciations of Warren Hastings, tend to weary us, by the reiteration of shrill vituperation, the want of coolness and balance of judgment. Burke was, in himself, 'the counter-revolution,' and, as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, excess begat excess.

This is not the place for a full discussion of Burke's treatment of the French revolution. He died before any final issue was even in sight. It might be urged, with some justice, that he was so moved by the furious symptoms of the disease that he never thoroughly gauged its deeper sources or foresaw the course it must ultimately run, clearly as he did foresee its immediate issues. It might be contended that, fleeing from one abstraction, he drew near to another, and consecrated prescription, inherited right, when judged and condemned by that expediency which is the sanction of prescription. In a history of literature, it is more interesting to note that he had not enough faith in his own principles; for the deficiency reveals the writer's temperament. Believing, as he did, that society and the particular form which society has taken is of divine origin, that in the history of a nation was revealed the working of providence shaping the moral and spiritual being of those who composed it, he is singularly fearful of the issue.

¹ Letter to William Smith (1795) and the first of the *Letters on a Regicide Peace* (1797).

Was the British constitution which the political wisdom of generations had shaped so wanting in elasticity that it could endure no change, adapt itself to no new conditions? Could the folly of the Assembly, the madness of the Terror, the cynical corruption of the Directory undo, in a few years, the work of centuries and permanently alter the character of the French people? The France which emerged from the revolution was, in all essential respects, De Tocqueville has argued, the France of the *ancien régime*. What disappeared was already dead. In the *Code Napoléon*, which embodied the legal outcome of the revolution, law became 'the expression of settled national character, not of every passionate and casual mood.'

We touch here on a trait of Burke's character which is evident in his earliest pamphlet, the ironical reply to Bolingbroke, the want of any sanguine strain in his mental constitution, or, if one cares to put it so, of faith. Despite all that he had said of the wisdom latent in prejudice; despite the wonder and admiration with which, in the speech *On Conciliation*, he contemplated a people governing themselves when the machinery of government had been withdrawn; the advent of democracy inspired him with anxiety qualified neither by faith in the inherent good sense and rectitude of human nature, nor by any confidence in the durability of inherited sentiment and prejudice. Nothing, it seemed to him, but the overruling providence of God could have evolved from the weak and selfish natures of men the miracle of a free state with all its checks and balances and adjustments to the complex character and manifold wants of the physical and spiritual nature of man; and, in a moment, the work of ages might be undone, the 'nice equipoise' upset, the sentiments and prejudices of ages destroyed, and 'philosophy' and 'Jacobinism' be among us, bringing with them anarchy and the 'end of all things.' Nothing marks so clearly the interval between Burke's temperament and that of the romantic revival as it is revealed in Wordsworth. What Burke has of the deeper spirit of that movement is seen not so much in the poetic imagery of his finest prose as in the philosophical imagination which informs his conception of the state, in virtue of which he transcends the rationalism of the century. His vision of the growth of society, his sense of something mysterious and divine at work in human institutions and prejudices, of something at once sacred and beautiful in the sentiments of chivalrous loyalty and honour, in the stately edifice of the British constitution with all its orders, in the ancient civilisation

of India—all these have in them more than Sir Walter Scott's love of a romantic and picturesque past. There is in them the same mood of mind as is manifest in Wordsworth's sense of something mysterious and divine in the life of nature and the emotions of simple men, which links the eternal process of the stars to the moral admonitions of the human heart. But there is a difference. The illusion or faith, call it what one will, which made lyrical the prose of Rousseau and inspired the youthful Wordsworth when he hailed the French revolution as a new era in the history of the race,

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven,

was a stranger to Burke's mind; nor has the stoicism with which he contemplates the successive defeat of all his undertakings anything in common with the soberer optimism, the cultivation of a steadfast hopefulness, which, in Wordsworth's mind, succeeded to disillusionment, and rested on his faith in the invincibility of the moral reason. Wordsworth the post-master did not remain a democrat, but Wordsworth the poet derived from his early experiences of the peasantry a faith in human nature, in those who go to make the people, which Burke's experience of 'the swinish multitude' at contested elections, and in Gordon riots, never permitted to his reflective mind and sensitive temperament. In his crusade against Jacobinism and a regicide peace, Burke appealed to kings and nobles and the duty of a government to guide the people; in continuing the crusade against Napoleon, Wordsworth delighted to note that the firmest opposition came from the peasantry of Spain and the Tyrol: 'In the conduct of this argument,' he writes, in *The Convention of Cintra*, 'I am not speaking to the humbler ranks of society: it is unnecessary: they trust in nature and are safe.'

This temper of Burke's mind is reflected in his prose. In essential respects, in idiom, structure and diction, the prose of Burke is that of his period, the second half of the eighteenth century. To the direct, conversational prose of Dryden and Swift, changed social circumstances and the influence of Johnson had given a more oratorical cast, more dignity and weight, but, also, more of heaviness and conventional elegance. From the latter faults, Burke is saved by his passionate temperament, his ardent imagination and the fact that he was a speaker conscious always of his audience. Burke loves a generalisation as much as Johnson, and his generalisations are profounder, more philosophic, if, like Johnson's,

imagination. As a master of pure irony, Burke is surpassed by Swift, who is at once more unscrupulous and less elaborate, more inventive and venomous. Except when he had to deal with those whom he regarded as the enemies of the human race, the professors of 'the cannibal philosophy of France,' Burke could never have attacked anyone with the venom with which Swift assailed Wharton. It is the truth which gives such deadly force to Burke's ironical description of the duke of Bedford, this noble champion of the rights of man, as himself the creature, the Leviathan, of royal favour and prescriptive right. Burke has but to elaborate the fact with the art of the rhetorician, and to point the contrast between the merits which earned these favours in the ancestor of the house of Russell and the services which he himself has rendered to his country and to the constitution on whose preservation depends the security of all the duke of Bedford's inherited property and privileges. The pamphlet is a masterpiece of its kind, but is not untouched with the overelaboration of Burke's later rhetoric when the perils of Jacobinism had become something in the nature of a fixed idea.

Of the three chief means by which Cicero, following the Greeks, declares that the orator achieves his end of winning over men's minds, *docendo, conciliando, permovendo*, tradition and the evidence of his works point to Burke's having failed chiefly in the second. He could delight, astound and convince an audience. He did not easily conciliate and win them over. He lacked the first essential and index of the conciliatory speaker, *lenitas vocis*; his voice was harsh and unmusical, his gesture ungainly. The high qualities, artistic and intellectual, of his speeches are better appreciated by readers and students than by 'even the most illustrious of those who watched that tall gaunt figure with its whirling arms, and listened to the Niagara of words bursting and shrieking from those impetuous lips¹.' And, even in the text of his speeches there is a strain of irony and scorn which is not well fitted to conciliate. The most persuasive of all his speeches are the American; yet, in these too, there is comparatively little effort to start from the point of view of his audience, to soothe and flatter them, to win them over by any artifice other than an appeal to the rare qualities of wisdom and magnanimity. And, when he speaks at Bristol on the eve of his rejection, the tone is the same, not egotistic or arrogant, but quite unyielding in his defence of principles, quite unsparing in his exposure of error and folly.

¹ Johnson, Lionel, *Postliminium*, p. 261.

Of Burke's power *permovendi animos*, of the passionate quality of his eloquence, there can be no question, yet here, too, it is necessary to distinguish. We have evidence that he could do both things on which Cicero lays stress—move his audience to tears and delight them by his wit. In the famous speech on the employment of Indian auxiliaries, he did both, the first by the manner in which he told the story of the murder of a Scottish girl on the eve of her marriage, the second by his parody of Burgoyne's address to the Indians. Yet, neither pathos nor humour is Burke's *forte*. His style wants the penetrating simplicity which is requisite to the highest effects in pathos. His tendency in the Indian speeches is to overelaboration; his sensibility carries him away. There is more of sublime pathos alike in the image, and in the simplicity of the language in which it is conveyed, in Bright's famous sentence on the Angel of Death than in all that Burke ever wrote. Of irony and scorn, again, there is abundance in Burke; of the *cavillatio*, the raillery which is diffused through the speech, there are examples in all the chief speeches; but, of pure wit, which conciliates an audience by delighting it, there is little or none in the speeches as we know them, and Johnson would never admit that, in conversation, Burke's wit was felicitous.

Burke's unique power as an orator lies in the peculiar interpenetration of thought and passion. Like the poet and the prophet, he thinks most profoundly when he thinks most passionately. When he is not deeply moved, his oratory verges towards the turgid; when he indulges feeling for its own sake, as in parts of *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, it becomes hysterical. But, in his greatest speeches and pamphlets, the passion of Burke's mind shows itself in the luminous thoughts which it emits, in the imagery which at once moves *and* teaches, throwing a flood of light not only on the point in question but on the whole neighbouring sphere of man's moral and political nature. Such oratory is not likely to be immediately effective. 'One always came away from Burke with one's mind full,' Wordsworth declared; but it was necessary first to have a mind. The young men who jeered at Burke and interrupted him did so because they could not understand him; and Pitt and Dundas found it unnecessary to reply to the speech *On the Nabob of Arcot's Debts*. The successful orator moves most safely among the topics familiar to his audience, trusting for success to the art with which he adapts and adorns them. But Burke combined the qualities of the orator with

those of the seer, the logical architecture of western oratory with qualities which we find in the Hebrew prophets—moral exaltation, the union of dignity with trenchancy of language, vehemence, imagery that ranges from the sublime to the degrading. As the accidents of his political career recede into the distance we perceive more and more clearly for what he stood. He is the enemy of the spirit of Macchiavelli and Hobbes, which would exempt politics from the control of morality, and, in so far, is at one with Rousseau and the revolutionists. But, he is equally opposed to the new puritanism of the revolutionists, which claimed in the eighteenth century, as the puritans claimed in the sixteenth and seventeenth, to break in pieces the state or church that they might reconstruct it after an abstract and ideal pattern. His attitude to the doctrinaires of the 'rights of man' is very similar to that of Hooker towards the followers of Cartwright. Yet, the first opposition is the more fundamental of the two. He is the great champion of the control of politics, domestic and foreign, by moral considerations. Philosophy was not so much the foe of his latter days as Jacobinism; and Jacobinism was simply Macchiavellism come back to fill the void which the failure of philosophy had created. It may be that, in his defence of moral prejudices and inherited institutions, he sometimes mistook the unessential for the vital; that his too passionate sensibility rendered his conduct at times factious, unjust and unwise. He brought into politics the faults as well as the genius of a man of letters and a prophet. When all is said, his is one of the greatest minds which have concerned themselves with political topics, and, alike, the substance and the form of his works have made him the only orator whose speeches have secured for themselves a permanent place in English literature beside what is greatest in our drama, our poetry and our prose. Of his many literary and artist friends, Johnson, Goldsmith, Reynolds and others, the foremost is Johnson. They differed radically in party politics, but they were knit together by a practical philosophy rooted in common sense and religious feeling.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL WRITERS AND SPEAKERS

THE growth and improvement of the daily newspaper, in itself not a strictly literary event, had a natural and marked effect on political literature. In some ways, that effect was merely temporary. The supersession of the weekly essay, of *The North Briton* type, by the effusions of the letter-writers of 1760—75 in a genuine newspaper¹ was soon cancelled; for the newspapers introduced a daily essay, the leading article, and letter-writers sank into the subordinate rôle they have held ever since. But, in political verse, a more permanent effect of the new conditions is noticeable. In 1760, we have still the pamphlet-poem and the decadent ballad. Some twenty years later, beside these there flourishes an almost new form, that of light, short, satiric verse, altogether slighter in immediate purpose and more playfully teasing in its objects and manner than its predecessors. It has flourished in the nineteenth century and has been marked by an ever-increasing attention to form, ending in a lyric precision surpassing, in some cases, that of serious poetry. For long, however, this new kind of verse was barely aware of its own existence, and wavered tentatively in methods and in choice of models; and, as often happens, in its careless youth it possessed a virility and fire not to be found in the perfected elegance of a later day.

Its rise seems traceable to the year 1784. At that time, the whigs were smarting under their utter rout in the recent general election. The king, their enemy, was victorious: the youthful Pitt was triumphant master of parliament; and revenge, though trifling and ephemeral, was sweet. The whig lampooners, indeed, were not without a serious object. The nation had ratified the king's choice of an administration. The whigs were concerned to show that the choice was wrong; and, in default of evidence derived from the acts of Pitt's ministry, they were reduced to

¹ See vol. x, chap. xvii.

merely personal mockery of him and his followers. Ministers were to be discredited by whig satire, if not by their own actions. And a number of brilliant devotees of Fox formed themselves into a club, *Esto Perpetua*, with the intent to mar the king's success.

Someone hit on the happy idea of a mock review of a mock epic, and thus *Criticisms of the Rolliad* began. The successive numbers of this production appeared, from time to time, in *The Morning Herald*, and won instantaneous popularity; when collected in book-form, they ran through twenty-two editions. Each number professed to be a commentary on a new epic that had just appeared. This mythical composition, *The Rolliad*, took its name from one of the chief butts of its wit, John Rolle, M.P. for Devonshire, whose stolid toryism had latterly found vent in an attempt to cough down Burke. He was provided with an ancestor, the Norman duke Rollo, whose adventures were a burlesque version of the *Aeneid*, and who, in due course (in the sixth book), is shown by Merlin in the House of Commons amid his party friends. The contemporary House of Lords, on the other hand, is revealed to Rollo by the dying Saxon drummer whom he has mortally wounded at Hastings. With the advent of fresh matter for ridicule, fresh editions of the epic were feigned to appear, and the topical insertions its author was supposed to make were quoted in prompt reviews, till, at last, even the dying drummer is allowed to die:

Ha! ha!—this soothes me in severest woe;

Ho! ho!—ah! ah!—oh! oh!—ha! ah!—ho!—oh!!!

Although their vivacity and wit, very different from Churchill's solemn tirades and the steely passion of Junius, had captivated the public, the authors of *The Rolliad* were too wise to overdo a happy invention. After a while, they transferred their efforts to another style of railing. This took the form of *Political Eclogues*, where prominent ministerialists lament or strive in rime after the fashion of the outspoken, yet literary, shepherds of Vergil. The new vein, in its turn, was worked out, and was succeeded by a series of *Probationary Odes* for the laureateship, vacant by the death of Whitehead in 1785, and filled by the appointment of Thomas Warton. The victims thus made to submit specimen odes to the lord chamberlain were by no means chosen from purely literary circles. Politicians and divines are burlesqued together with poets of lesser rank. To be a supporter of Pitt was a sufficient ground for the fathership of an ode, in which

the peculiarities of 'the author' were gaily ridiculed. All these compositions had to submit to some sort of plan, epic, or collection of Eclogues and odes; but, naturally, were accompanied by a number of scattered *jeux d'esprit* which had no such bond of connection between them. They were afterwards republished as *Political Miscellanies*, and, never very amusing, grew duller and feebler as the zeal of *The Rolliad* clique declined.

Not many of the members of the *Esto Perpetua* club, who took part in this baiting, were of the first rank of politicians. Two of them, and two only, were ex-ministers: general Richard Fitzpatrick, man of fashion and intimate of Fox, whose 'cheerful countenance' and 'gay voice' are curiously apparent in his printed page, and Lord John Townshend, less jovial but quite as witty. Of higher literary eminence was the antiquary George Ellis, a harbinger, in his way, of the so-called romantic movement. Other members were journalists, of whom Joseph Richardson was the chief; while French Laurence was professor of civil law at Oxford, and Richard Tickell a librettist of repute. The names now appeal to few; the importance of *The Rolliad's* creators, in spite of their ability, was as fugitive as their verses; but, working in unison, they obtained a collective interest otherwise denied them.

Nice respects and goodnature were not to be expected and not called for in the rough and tumble of political battle; but the vindictive feelings of the ousted whigs spurred them on, sometimes, to venomous railing and, sometimes, to scurrility, and it is characteristic of *The Rolliad* that personalities and barbed gossip not only abound but form nearly the whole of its matter. One and all of its authors are irresistibly diverted from the public demerits of their quarry to his mannerisms, his oddities and his private life. Pitt's continence and the dissoluteness of Dundas, the piety of one minister, the profanity of another, anything personal, in fact, form the staple of the jokes. Yet it is impossible not to relish the humorous satire of Ellis's critique on Pitt's style of eloquence or the similar squib by Laurence:

crisply nice
The muffin-toast, or bread and butter slice,
Thin as his arguments, that mock the mind,
Gone, ere you taste,—no relish left behind.

A whole gallery of caricatured portraits comes before us, each touched with party malice and etched with cynical knowledge.

On one occasion, for instance, Richardson explored the kitchen of the parsimonious duke of Richmond:

Whether thou go'st while summer suns prevail,
To enjoy the freshness of thy kitchen's gale,
Where, unpolluted by luxurious heat,
Its large expanse affords a cool retreat¹.

It is one of the merits of *The Rolliad* to have abandoned the tragedy airs and desperate wrath of the political satire that immediately preceded it. Severe and rasping as are its flouts, they seldom lose the tone of club-room pleasantry, and its rimed heroics recall Gay's *Eclogues* rather than the polished verse of Pope. Being so much concerned with the personal foibles of forgotten men, its lines, for the most part, fall flat on a later generation, since they lack the finish which would make them interesting. The exceptions, like Fitzpatrick's couplets on the bishops,

Who, still obedient to their Maker's nod,
Adore their Sov'reign, and respect their God—

are few and far between. Very seldom is any squib complete in the verse alone; they are supported by a less epigrammatic raillery in the prose comment; which, however, for humour and sly fun, not infrequently surpasses the satire it is supposed to criticise.

To nothing more, perhaps, was *The Rolliad* indebted for its success than to the high spirits of its authors. They were gay; they seem to accompany their jokes with an infectious laugh. In consequence, the longer we read them, the more we fall into their humour; and their thin voices seem to gather volume as one after another takes up the theme and adds his quota to the burlesque. This may be one reason why the five *Political Eclogues*, in continuous verse and isolated in subject, have lost their savour, with the exception of Fitzpatrick's immortal *Lyars*, where two of Pitt's henchmen strive for the prize of mendacity. But, in *The Probationary Odes*, all ringing changes on the same caricature, they regain audience, whether it is George Ellis scoffing:

Oh! deep unfathomable Pitt!
To thee Ierne owes her happiest days!
Wait a bit,
And all her sons shall loudly sing thy praise!
Ierne, happy, happy Maid!
Mistress of the Poplin trade!

¹ Probably suggested by Dryden's line: "Cool were his kitchens though his brain were hot." *Absalom and Achitophel*, 1, l. 621.

or another of the club penning an Ossianic duan!

A song shall rise!
 Every soul shall depart at the sound!!!
 The wither'd thistle shall crown my head!!!
 I behold thee, O King!
 I behold thee sitting on mist!!!
 Thy form is like a watery cloud,
 Singing in the deep like an oyster!!!!

This admirable fooling was succeeded by the still more amusing drolleries of a clerical black sheep, whose real talent, allied with certain respectable qualities, is obscured by his sordid life and offensive compositions. Peter Pindar was the pseudonym of John Wolcot, a country surgeon's son, who hovered during a long life on the dubious confines of society and Bohemia. He began his career as a physician, but, while well employed in Jamaica, was ordained in the hope of a living. Later, when practising as a doctor in his native county Cornwall, he discovered the painter Opie, helped to train him and came with him to London in 1781. He was to receive half Opie's profits, and they soon quarrelled. Wolcot's good judgment in art and his skill in minor verse, however, enabled him to make an income by a series of severe squibs on the royal academicians. Thus, he was led to satirise their patron, the king, and *The Rolliad* gave him the cue for further achievements in the same style. In 1785, he scored considerable success in his mock-heroic poem, *The Lousiad*, which now, at least, reads very tediously. He followed this up, in 1787, by his profitable *Ode upon Ode*; it had an enormous, and, in a way, deserved, vogue. The absurdities of the yearly official ode-writing and the painful vagaries, together with some real faults, of George III were well known; and Wolcot, hampered by few convictions and fewer scruples, found a ready market among indignant whigs for his small scandal. What with legal threats and negotiations for a pension, which broke down, he decided, in two or three years, to choose less potent objects of attack; but he found his profits dwindle, and returned to the king and Pitt in 1792. His powers, of no uncommon vigour at best, were, however, waning; he was worsted by the surly Gifford, both in fisticuffs and in abusive verse. His later satire and his serious rimes were not of any merit, and he subsisted on a fortunate sale of his copyrights. When blindness overtook him, he displayed a stoical good humour, which makes us regret that a musical, artistic man, of a 'kind and hearty disposition,' played so scurvy a literary rôle.

Peter Pindar's verse is not of the kind that appears in anthologies, from which the immense length of his rambling drollery tends to bar him out. Still, the nature of his talent is the chief reason for his exclusion. He lacks altogether elect phrase, musical rhythm and any charm of imagination or thought. He sins constantly in baseness and vulgarity. As an imitator of La Fontaine, whose irregular verse was his chief model, and as a precursor of *The Ingoldsby Legends*, he takes a position of hopeless inferiority. None the less, one cannot but admire his positive ability. A mixture of good sense and mischievousness transpires successfully through his elaborately roguish airs. His shrewd hits at the king's stinginess and obtuseness went home. He is, perhaps, the very best of English caricaturists in verse, reaching his highest level in his account of the royal visit to Whitbread's brewery¹. In its kind, it was delicate work; the lines of his drawing are very little out of their natural position; but the whole forms a glaring comic exaggeration. *Bozzy and Piozzi*, the amoebean strife of the two worshippers of Dr Johnson in rimed quotations from their books, is another masterpiece in this style. Each absurdity of his two victims is emphasised with an adroit legerdemain of words, and Wolcot, for once, suppresses his irritating snigger. The pair are left to tell their own tale. Bozzy, for instance, says:

But to return unto my charming child—
About our Doctor JOHNSON she was *wild*;
And when he left off speaking, she would flutter,
Squall for him to begin again, and sputter!
And to be *near* him a strong wish express'd,
Which proves he was not such a horrid beast.

As appears in this instance, Peter Pindar's strength lies in his power of realising for his reader a comic situation; polished epigram and the keener arrows of wit are not in his quiver. He loves to slip one or two sly colloquialisms into verses written in the formal eighteenth century style, and, thus, brings out the broad fun of his conceptions. But his tricky method could only secure a temporary success; and, since his humour was not many-sided and depended on one or two foibles in his subject, he lost his hold on the public, when his lucky pocket of ore was exhausted. Nor could the scolding, dull invective, to which he then resorted, restore his popularity in an age that, after 1789, became engrossed in greater matters than the tattle of the servants' hall at Windsor.

¹ *Instructions to a celebrated Laureat.*

The French revolution was essentially a proselytising movement. Republicanism, liberty, equality and fraternity, became a kind of creed, which was zealously propagated by pen and sword. Thus, the opposition to it in England was, at the same time, an effort to maintain the ancient social order, with its ideals and institutions, and a struggle to preserve national independence from the universal aggressions of the new France. And the champion of both endeavours was the younger Pitt. The times seemed to grow more and more dangerous. In 1797, cash payments were suspended at the Bank of England; seamen were mutinying at the Nore; Ireland was seething with discontent; the French arms were victorious against their continental foes; while, in England itself, a violent revolutionary propaganda was being carried on, which, if it were more potent in appearance than in real significance, might still decoy the younger generation. It was to combat this propaganda and to hearten the national resistance that George Canning, Pitt's ablest lieutenant, founded his periodical, *The Anti-Jacobin*. The new journal, in addition to the customary contents of a newspaper, was to contradict systematically the statements of the other side, to ridicule any prominent person well-disposed towards the revolution, and to hold up to honour the old ideals of English polity. These objects it fulfilled. In contrast to its trivial predecessors, *The Anti-Jacobin* breathed a proud conviction and a religious fervour which lift it above mere party polemics. It is, indeed, bigoted in tone; for was it not fighting in the cause of righteousness and human happiness? To its authors, the favourers of the revolution are miscreants whom it is necessary to pillory and deride, and thus to render harmless. They themselves are confessors of the true political faith.

The men who wrote this fiery periodical may surprise us by their mundane character. There was the many-sided, brilliant Canning, then in the heyday of his youth; George Ellis, the amiable antiquary, by this time, a fervent tory and repentant of *The Rolliad*; and John Hookham Frere, the ideal of a cultivated country gentleman, whose striking literary achievement it was to introduce the satiric Italian epic into English. The editor was a man of literary mark, William Gifford. No one, perhaps, of the tribe of poor authors has gone through a more bitter struggle than his with the obstacles and misfortunes in his way, although they were not spread over a long term of years. He was the son of a ne'er-do-well, whose main occupation was that of a glazier at Ashburton in Devonshire. After a miserable boyhood, obsessed

by a passionate and seemingly hopeless desire for learning amid the handicraft work to which he was forced, he was befriended by William Cookesley, a surgeon, and sent to Oxford by subscription. While there, he came to the notice of earl Grosvenor, and was appointed travelling tutor to his son. He was able to make something of a name, in 1794 and 1795, by his mediocre satires, *The Baviad* and *The Maeviad*, directed against the ridiculous Della Cruscan school¹ of poets and the small dramatic fry of the day. Although their merit was not great, his ample quotations from his victims made his conquest easy. When *The Anti-Jacobin* was set on foot, his sledge-hammer style and industry made him a fit editor for it; but he was mainly concerned with its prose. He did his task well, and, when *The Quarterly Review* was started in 1809, he was selected as its editor, a post he occupied for fifteen years, in despotic fashion, even finding it in his heart to mutilate an essay by Lamb. Meanwhile, he did yeoman service to literature by his translation of Juvenal in 1802 and by some editions of older English dramatists. Sound common-sense redeems his commonplace ability, while his sour, fierce criticisms find an explanation in his early hardships and constant ill-health. He seems to have written verse because it was, then, a regular accomplishment of literary men.

Even in its own day, *The Anti-Jacobin* was chiefly notable for its poets' corner, which contained the best political satire since the age of Dryden. The greater part of these compositions developed their wit in some form or another of parody. Jacobins were supposed to write them—Jacobins, who always preferred the most blatant version of extreme opinions. As usual, the idea was not quite new. *The Rolliad* had feigned to be the work of a ministerialist, and there was an element of parody in *Political Eclogues* and in *Probationary Odes*, although the veil was exceedingly conventional. Now, in *The Anti-Jacobin*, caustic parody was the essence of the satire. Among the earliest victims was the later tory poet laureate, Southey, who was just recovering from a severe attack of revolutionary fever. His conversion did not influence Canning and Frere, if they knew of it, and to their hostility we owe the verses among which *The Needy Knife-grinder* stands chief. Southey's sentimentalism and his halting accentual sapphics and dactyls were mercilessly imitated and surpassed. It was not only parody and ridicule of a particular victim, but humorous mockery of a type of

¹ See *post*, chap. VIII.

thought, and, as such, has continued to live by reason of its admirable combination of inventive power, metre, phrase and artful contrast:

Wearied Knife-grinder! Little think the proud ones,
Who in their coaches roll along the turnpike-
road, what hard work 'tis crying all day 'Knives and
Scissars to grind O!'

The scholarly *négligé* of the form, the whimsical plight of the unlucky knife-grinder and the comedy of his 'hard work' make us indifferent to the temporary politics which inspired this immortal skit.

More body, if less *bouquet*, is to be found in two longer contributions. It was a time when the genuine muse had retired to her 'interlunar cave,' and massive didactic poems enjoyed a transitory reign. Two authors of note took the lead, Richard Payne Knight and Erasmus Darwin¹. Both were *philosophes* in their opinions and broached a variety of doctrines most obnoxious to *The Anti-Jacobin*. And, however invulnerable to attack they might be in their serious work, they were mortal in their verse. Knight's *Progress of Civil Society* was pompous and humourless; Darwin's machine-turned couplets glittered with a profusion of inappropriate poetical trappings. Knight's turn came first. *The Progress of Man* traced, with mischievous assurance, the decline of the human race from the days of the blameless savage, who fed 'on hips and haws.'

Man only,—rash, refined, presumptuous man,
Starts from his rank, and mars creation's plan.
Born the free heir of nature's wide domain,
To art's strict limits bounds his narrow'd reign;
Resigns his native rights for meaner things,
For faith and fetters—laws, and priests, and kings.

Darwin's *Loves of the Plants* was taken off as *The Loves of the Triangles*. The merit of both these parodies consists, not only in their sparkling wit, but in their genuine exaggeration of the original authors' foibles. They are not a forced, ridiculous echo; only the real traits are accentuated to caricature.

Burlesque of the same high rank appears in *The Rovers*. This delicious mock-play parodies certain productions of the German drama, then only beginning to be known in England by translations. Like its fellow-satires, it derived assistance from the extravagances to be found in some of the works it derided. These extravagances differed from one another in kind as well as in degree;

¹ See *post*, chap. VIII.

but Goethe, Schiller and Kotzebue seemed alike fair game to the satirist, and the result was a spirited farce, which has remained amusing long after the close of the literary controversy which was its occasion.

The series of parodies surpass the other poetry of *The Anti-Jacobin* in that they were perfect in their kind. None the less, in absolute merit, they fall behind its most serious piece, *The New Morality*. In 1798, *The Anti-Jacobin* had done its office of cheapening and discrediting the revolutionary propagandists, and its gall and licence of satire were in danger of alienating less fervent supporters. So it was decided to cease its publication. Canning gathered together all his power for a final, crushing blow. With but little assistance from his friends, he composed a formal satire in the manner of Churchill; and, although *The New Morality* is hardly the work of a great poet, yet its sincerity of passionate conviction, no less than its admirable rhetoric and skilful versification, raises it above the ill-formed genius of its model. Canning was not a cosmopolitan philosopher; he was full of insular patriotism, and produced his best when giving full-hearted expression to it. From his sneering contempt of sympathisers with France and of halfhearted—perhaps impartial—‘candid friends’ of the ministry, he rises, through fierce denunciatory scorn of the French publicists, to an appeal to maintain the older England of law and right. Burke is his prophet:

Led by thy light, and by thy wisdom wise;

he urges the claims of the native past—

Guard we but our own hearts; with constant view
To ancient morals, ancient manners true;
True to the manlier virtues, such as nerv'd
Our fathers' breasts, and this proud isle preserv'd
For many a rugged age: and scorn the while
Each philosophic atheist's specious guile;
The soft seductions, the refinements nice,
Of gay Morality, and easy Vice;
So shall we brave the storm; our 'stablish'd pow'r
Thy refuge, EUROPE, in some happier hour.

Thus, *The Anti-Jacobin*, at its close, bade farewell to the burlesque spirit which had guided political satire since the days of *The Rolliad*. The utmost in that style of writing—after all, not a lofty style, not an important species of literature—had been achieved, and the exhausted wave drew back again. Canning's own subsequent political verse, scanty in quantity as it was, never

attained the excellence of his contributions to his famous newspaper; and the successors to *The Anti-Jacobin*, which borrowed its title, were unable to supply verse of real merit.

One of the butts of *The Anti-Jacobin*, who was treated with a tolerant good-humour which he well deserved, was 'Mr. Higgins of St. Mary Axe.' In real life, he was the most extreme of the English revolutionary philosophers, William Godwin. This amiable commonplace man, who, however, possessed a marvellous capacity for reasoning without regard to experience, was born in 1756, a younger son of a dissenting minister. He obtained his education, first at a Norfolk grammar school, and then at Hoxton academy in London. In 1778, he became, in his turn, a minister, but he never stayed long at one place and soon adopted the more congenial profession of authorship. Much conscientious, ephemeral work was done by him in history and literature; but he was brought into sudden prominence by a book of startling opinions, *Political Justice*, published in 1793. The influence of this book was great among the younger generation, which, indeed, Godwin was naturally able to attract and advise in private life as well as by political speculation. His kindly sympathy and almost boyish optimism were never better applied than in his friendships with young men. Bred a Calvinist, he had become a believer in materialism and necessity, passing, in 1792, to atheism, and renouncing it somewhere about 1800. He was, above all things, a system-maker; philosophy and politics were, for him, indistinguishable; and, of his views on both, he was an eager advocate in public and private, whenever he had the opportunity. Meanwhile, he was obliged to earn a living besides propagating his opinions. So, we find him writing proselytising novels, *Caleb Williams* and *St Leon*, which he hoped would insinuate his views in the public mind. During these years, he met and married another writer of innovating beliefs. Mary Wollstonecraft, to use her maiden name, is a far more attractive person than her placid husband. She was of Irish extraction, and had the misfortune to be one of the children of a ne'er-do-well. In 1780, at the age of twenty, Mary Wollstonecraft took up the teaching profession, as schoolmistress and governess. She was almost too successful, for, in 1788, she lost her post as governess for Lady Kingsborough, in consequence of her pupils becoming too fond of her. The next four years she passed as a publisher's hack, till, at last, her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* made her name known in 1792. Shortly after

its publication, she made the mistake of her life by accepting the 'protection' of Gilbert Imlay, an American, during a residence in France. Marriage, in her eyes, was a superfluous ceremony, and it was not celebrated between her and Imlay, who, in the end, became unfaithful beyond endurance. Thus, in 1796, she began single life again in London with a daughter to support. She had written, in 1794, a successful account of the earlier period of the French revolution, and her literary reputation was increased by letters written to Imlay during a Scandinavian tour. Very quickly, she and Godwin formed an attachment, which, in accordance with their principles, only led to marriage in 1797 in order to safeguard the interests of their children. But the birth of a child, the future wife of Shelley, was fatal to the mother, in September 1797. She had been a generous, impulsive woman, always affectionate and kind. Godwin's second choice of a wife was less fortunate and conduced to the unhappy experiences of his later years, which fill much space in the life of Shelley. Pursued by debt, borrowing, begging, yet doing his best to earn a living by a small publishing business, and by the production of children's books, novels, an impossible play and divers works in literature, history and economics, he at last obtained a small sinecure, which freed his later years from pecuniary anxiety. He died in 1836.

While both Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft were rebels against the established order, and contemned the traditional usages of mankind, not only as obsolete and calling for improvement, but as, in themselves, of no account, Godwin was, by far, the greater visionary of the two. Mary Wollstonecraft, in spite of the pompous energy of her expressions in her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, was essentially an educational reformer, urging schemes all of which were, possibly, practicable, if not necessarily advisable. Girls should be educated in much the same way as boys, and the two sexes should be taught together. Thus, she says, women would become genuine companions of men, and would be fitted to share in the rights, both civil and political, of which they were deprived. The opposition which the book aroused, however, was not only due to its definite proposals, but, also, to the slashing attack on her own sex, as she conceived it to be, and to the coarseness with which she described certain social evils. But it reveals an amiable spirit, characteristic of the writer, and its fire and somewhat shrill enthusiasm make some amends for the lack of exact reasoning and the excess of unrestrained, glittering rhetoric. As a landmark in the evolution of social ideas, and a

sign of revolt against a then prevailing sexual cant, it has an importance which it cannot be said to possess in literature or, perhaps, as a statement of historical facts : there was, at the time, much more education of women, both separate and in conjunction with the male sex, than she was willing to allow. As a governess, she had had too vivid an experience of the fine lady and the conventional miss of the eighteenth century.

The visions of Godwin, however, were visions indeed. He dreamed of a new-made world, of perfect or nearly perfected beings with no government, scarcely any cooperation, no laws, no diseases, no marriage, no trade, only perfect peace secured by a vigilant, and, in truth, perpetually meddling, public opinion. This programme, in Godwin's eyes, was rendered practicable by his views on human nature. Men's actions were due to a process of reasoning, founded on their opinions, which, in turn, were formed by a process of reasoning.

'When' a murderer 'ultimately works up his mind to the perpetration, he is then most strongly impressed with the superior recommendations of the conduct he pursues.'

Free-will, he denied : thus, if a man's reason were really convinced, no doubt remained as to his actions. The reformer, in consequence, was not to be a revolutionary ; since, by means of revolution, he would only introduce measures to which he had been unable to convert his fellow-countrymen. The real way to change the world for the better was a continuance of peaceful argument, wherein truth, naturally having stronger reasons in its favour than error, would prevail. Incessant discussion would gradually alter the general opinions of men. Then, the changes he desired would be made. The obvious counter-argument, that, by his own theory, error had won in the contest with truth up to his time and that the actual course of human politics had been a mistake, did not occur to him ; and the attractiveness of his optimistic outlook combined with the rigidity of his deductive logic, much incidental shrewdness and a singular force of conviction to gain him a numerous following. His style, too, deserved some success. He was always clear and forcible ; his sentences convey his exact meaning without effort, and display a kind of composed oratorical effect. In curious contrast to Mary Wollstonecraft, who advocated what might be described as a practical, if novel, scheme of education with the enthusiasm of a revolutionary, her husband outlined the complete wreck of existing institutions, with a Utopia of the simple life to follow, in a calm philosophising manner, which

ignored even the lukewarm emotions felt by himself. The passion he lacked was to be supplied, later, by his son-in-law, Shelley.

Godwin's *Political Justice* escaped suppression owing to the small number of readers whom a costly book¹, even one which passed through several editions, could reach. He gained a larger audience for his novels, which were intended to lead to the same convictions. The only one of these which still finds readers is *The Adventures of Calib Williams, or, Things as They Are*, published in 1794. Here, Godwin is concerned with two aspects of the same thesis; first, the oppression which a poor man could suffer under the existing institutions, and, secondly, the perversion of character in a member of the ruling class through his acceptance of the ideals of chivalry. With these ingredients, the tale, as a whole, is most bizarre. Its personages act in a very unlikely way. Falkland, the virtuous villain, who, because of a chivalric regard for his reputation, has allowed two innocent men to be executed for a murder he himself committed, shows a persistent ingenuity in harassing his attached dependent, Williams, who has guessed his secret, into accusing him; a brigand band, led by a philanthropic outlaw, establishes its headquarters close to a county town; Williams surpasses the average hero in prodigies of resource and endurance; Falkland, in the end, confesses his guilt in consequence of the energy with which his victim expresses the remorse he feels at making the true accusation. Yet, with all this, the story is put together with great skill. In spite of its artificial rhetoric and their own inherent improbability, there is a human quality in the characters, and Williams's helplessness in his attempt to escape from his persecutor gives us the impression, not so much of the forced situations of a novel, as of unavoidable necessity. In fact, Godwin's talent as a novelist lay in his remarkable powers of invention, which were heightened by his matter of fact way of relating improbabilities. He was partly aware of it, perhaps, and his other important novel, *St Leon*, attempted the same feat with impossibilities. But, in spite of a temporary vogue, it is now only remembered for its portrait of Mary Wollstonecraft, and the retraction of his theoretic abolition of 'the charities of private life.'

From Godwin, who, in his worst days, kept round him a tattered cloak of magnanimity, it is an abrupt change to his fellow-revolutionary, the coarse-grained, shrewd Thomas Paine. Yet,

¹ Its price was three guineas.

the latter had virtues which were missing in his contemporary. His public spirit led him to disregard all profit from political works which had a large sale; he was not a beggar, and the rewards he was forced to ask from the American governments were the barest payments on account of admitted services to the United States. In fact, he was a born pamphleteer, never happy unless he was divulging his opinions for the welfare of the human race as he conceived it. Dogmatic and narrow-minded, he was not a man to be troubled by doubts: the meaning of history, the best form of government, right and wrong, falsehood and truth, all seemed quite plain to him, and he had no more hesitation than Godwin in making a working model of the universe, as he did of the iron bridge by him invented. It was not till he was well advanced in middle life that he obtained an opportunity of showing his great talents. He was the son of a poor Norfolk quaker, and spent all his earlier years in the struggle to make a decent livelihood. In turn, a staymaker, a seaman, a school-usher, a tobacconist and an exciseman, he moved from place to place, until he was finally dismissed from the excise in 1774, and, in the same year, emigrated to Philadelphia. There, he almost immediately edited *The Pennsylvania Magazine* and proved at once his literary talent and the advanced character of his opinions by attacking slavery and advocating American independence. In 1776, he became famous by his pamphlet, *Common-Sense*, which he, at least, looked on as the principal instrument in consolidating American opinion in favour of war. Having gained the public ear, he continued the work of encouraging resistance to English rule by two series of effective pamphlets, called *The Crisis*, and was soon recognised as the leading writer of his new country, while, with characteristic versatility, he also served as a soldier, as secretary to the congress's foreign committee and as clerk to the Pennsylvania assembly. Peace brought him moderate rewards and a retirement which he could not endure. He returned to England to prosecute his mechanical inventions, the fruit of his leisure hours, and soon became involved anew in politics. The French revolution proved a fresh turning-point in his career. In 1791—2, he took up the cudgels against Burke in the two parts of *The Rights of Man*. The ability, and, still more, the wide circulation, of these tracts brought him in danger of arrest, and he fled to France, where he became a member of Convention, and, after all but falling a victim to the guillotine, was a founder of the new sect of theophilanthropists. Then he dropped into obscurity and, in

1802, went once more to America, only to find that his *Age of Reason*, published in 1794—5, had alienated from him almost all his friends. A thick crop of slanders grew up round him, without, apparently, any foundation save the fact that he was occasionally drunk. Still, he kept a bold front to the world, and continued to write pamphlets almost till his death in 1809.

Paine was a prince of pamphleteers and all his literary talent seems confined to that end. His general ideas were of the simplest, not to say the shallowest; but he grasped them firmly and worked them out with a clear and ready logic. His immense ignorance of history and literature was by no means ill compensated by an intimate knowledge of actual affairs; and his shrewdness made him a formidable critic even of Burke. His style was always clear, and, a little rhetoric apart, unaffected. Quite without charm as it was, his warmth and force and command of appropriate words made it more than passable. Every now and then, he falls into sheer vulgarity, which is most noticeable in his theological writings; but, more usually, he can alternate a mediocre eloquence with trenchant argumentative composition. So far as copying the written word was concerned, Paine was quite original; but, doubtless, he owed much to the debates and casual conversations in which he took part. In *The Rights of Man*, he appears as a narrow doctrinaire; he takes over the theory of the social contract as the basis for his constructive views, and justifies revolution, partly on the ground that no generation can bind its successors, and partly by the argument that the social contract must be embodied in a formal constitution: where such did not exist, a mere tyranny prevailed, which had no basis in right. He was thus, like Godwin, entirely opposed to Burke's doctrine of prescription. To criticise the faults of the existing state of things was easy and obvious; but Paine expounded, also, a radical constructive policy, including parliamentary reform, old age pensions and a progressive income-tax. With these and other changes, he looked forward to a broadcloth millennium. *The Age of Reason* showed all Paine's qualities and an unusual abundance of his defects. His want of taste and the almost complete absence in him of any sense of beauty or grandeur are as conspicuous as his narrow self-complacency. But his reasoning, however limited in scope, was shrewd enough. Generally speaking, he combined a rough historical criticism of the Bible with the argument that the Jewish and Christian conceptions of the Deity were incompatible with the deism revealed to man by external

nature and by his own conscience. In this way, the truculent pamphleteer seems to stand near one of the sources of modern theology.

The heir to the pamphleteering eminence of Paine was a man oddly like, and, again, oddly unlike, his predecessor. William Cobbett, too, rose by his own efforts from the poorer classes. His father was a small farmer and innkeeper in Hampshire, and he educated himself with indomitable pluck while he was serving as a soldier. Owing to his accomplishments, he rose to the rank of sergeant-major and became a kind of clerk-factotum to his regiment; but, in 1791, he suddenly obtained his discharge and attempted to convict several of his former officers of peculation. No facilities for proof were allowed him and he did not appear at the court-martial. Instead, he went to France, and, after a short residence there, occupied in acquiring the language, he emigrated, like Paine, to Philadelphia. Still following Paine's precedent, he had not been settled long in America before he took up the pamphlet-writing trade. Under the apt pseudonym of Peter Porcupine, he conducted a pro-British and anti-French campaign, until he was ruined by libel cases and obliged to return to England, in 1800. He was well received, as was natural, in government circles, and soon started work as a tory freelance. His first venture, *The Porcupine*, failed; but his second, *Cobbett's Political Register*, a weekly newspaper with long leaders, which he began in 1802, gained the public ear. At first tory, then independent, at last strongly radical, he maintained, till his death, an influence of which no persecution and no folly could deprive him. He appealed to the farmer and small trader as no one else could. The composition of his weekly *Register* was not his only occupation. Besides other publishing ventures, including *Parliamentary Debates*, later undertaken by Hansard, and *State Trials*, he combined business and enthusiastic pleasure as a model farmer. All went well until, in 1810, he received a sentence of two years' imprisonment on account of an invective against military flogging. He could keep up writing his *Register*; but his farm went to wrack, and he came out heavily in debt. Still, however, his hold on the public increased, and, when, in 1816, he succeeded in reducing the price to twopence, the circulation of his paper rose to over 40,000 copies. A temporary retreat to America did little to impair the extent of his audience, and, all through the reign of George IV, he was a leader of political opinion. Books from his pen, egotistic in character, on farming, on politics, on the

conduct of life by the young, appeared one after another, had their temporary use and still provide specimens of his character and his literary style. By 1830, his fortunes were reestablished; the Reform act opened the doors of parliament to him, and he sat in the Commons till his death in 1835.

Personal ambition and public spirit had nearly equal shares in the indomitable Cobbett. Enormously and incorrigibly vain, 'pragmatic, busy, bustling, bold,' he loved to be, or to think himself, the centre of the stage, to lay down the law on everything, to direct, praise or censure everybody, to point out how things ought to be done, and, best of all, to spar furiously with those who held opposite opinions. General principles were beyond the limit of his faculties; hence, he completely veered round in his politics with hardly a suspicion of the fact. His explanations of the state of things that he saw round him were hasty guesses, rapidly matured into unreasoning prejudices. It was all due to the funded debt and paper money, aggravated by progressive depopulation (in 1820 !)¹, tithes and the tardy adoption of his improvements in farming. Yet, he was a shrewd and accurate observer, and an expert and fair judge of the state of agriculture and the condition of tillers of the soil. True, he had much good sense and critical faculty to apply to other political matters; but, regarding the land, he was always at his best. Peasant-bred, with a passion for farming, and a most genuine, if quite unpoetic, love of the open country and all that it could offer eye or ear, he depicted, with Dutch honesty, the rural England that he knew how to see, its fertility and beauty, the misery that had descended on many of its inhabitants, the decent prosperity remaining to others. And he was master of a style in which to express his knowledge. It is not one of those great styles which embalm their authors' memory; but it was serviceable. He is vigorous, plain and absolutely unaffected. The aptest words come to him with most perfect ease. His eloquence springs from vivid insight into the heart of his theme, and from a native fervour and energy that do not need art to blow them into flame. Apart from his plebeian virulence, he shows a natural good taste in writing. The flaccid elegance and pompous rotund verbiage then in vogue are, by him, left on one side. If he cannot frame a period, every sentence has its work to do, and every

¹ Cobbett's determination, in spite of the census returns, to consider the population as decreasing, is a remarkable instance of the strength of his prejudices. It is true that he acknowledged the growth of the great towns.

sentence tells. What mars his farmer's *Odyssey*, *Rural Rides*, is, perhaps, the excess of this very disregard for fine writing. They are notes of what he saw, and notes must often be brief, formless and disconnected. Imagination and the charm it gives are, indeed, absent throughout; but his sympathetic realism has an attraction of its own. He scans the look and manners of the labourers; he calculates whether they have bacon to eat; he descants on the capabilities of the soil; and he is able to impress upon his readers the strength of his interest in these things and of his enjoyment of field and woods and streams and the palatable salmon that inhabit the latter. He seems to give an unconscious demonstration how excellent a tongue English could be for a man, who saw and felt keenly, to express the facts as he saw them, and the emotions which possessed him.

The forms of political literature which have been described—verse and prose, solemn treatise, pamphlet or weekly essay—all possess one advantage over oratory. We can judge of their effectiveness from themselves, as well as from what we are told about them. Something we may miss in atmosphere which the contemporary reader enjoyed; but, in all things else, we are under the same conditions as his. In oratory, however, the case is different. We have to piece together scattered reminiscences of those who heard the speaker, and to imagine, as well as we can, the effective delivery, the charm of voice and gesture, and, still more, the momentary appropriateness of argument, phrase and manner which gave life and force to what is now dead or semi-animate matter. It is hardly possible, in fact, to do justice, long after, in cold blood, to debating points, for, unlike the hearers, unlike the speaker himself, we are not strung up, waiting for the retort to an argument or invective. The necessary medium of interest and excitement is not to be conjured up. These considerations, however, represent the least of the disadvantages we are under in estimating English oratory at the close of the eighteenth century. We do not even possess the great speeches of that day in anything like completeness. The merest fragments remain of the elder Pitt, perhaps the first among all English orators. And we do not, apparently, find lengthy reports till about the year 1800, while even these are, possibly, somewhat curtailed. Of some of the greatest triumphs in debate of Fox, of the younger Pitt and of Sheridan, we have only mangled remnants. One doubtful merit alone seems left; in contradistinction to an orator's

published version of his speech, inevitably different from its spoken form and addressed to a reading audience in another mood than that of an excited assembly, they give us, at their best, what was actually said, although in mere fragments, with the reasoning maimed and the fire extinct.

After Burke, Charles James Fox was the senior of the group of great orators in the mid reign of George III. He entered parliament in 1768 while still under age, but it was not till February 1775 that he first showed his powers in a speech in favour of the Americans. Year by year, he grew in ability and debating skill, and Lord Rockingham's death in 1782 left him the undoubted leader of the whigs. But he was now to share his preeminence in oratory with a rival. William Pitt the younger entered the commons in 1781, and his maiden speech at once raised him to the front rank of speakers. Perhaps, English public speaking has never again quite reached the level of those twenty-five years, when Fox and Pitt carried on their magnificent contest. Whichever of the two spoke last, said Wilberforce, seemed to have the best of the argument. Burke, whose eloquence, in his speeches revised for publication, and even in the verbatim report of what he said, stands far higher as literature than theirs, could not compare with them in effectiveness in actual speaking, or in the favour of the House of Commons. It was admitted that their successors, Canning and Grey, belonged to an inferior class of orators. The times were peculiarly favourable. These men spoke on great affairs to a highly critical, cultivated, but not pedantic, audience, which had been accustomed to hear the very best debating and which demanded both efficaciousness of reasoning, clearness of expression and splendour of style. Thus, spurred on by sympathy and success, the two masters of debate established a dual empire over the house. Their powers of persuading those connoisseurs of oratory, whom they addressed, appear, indeed, surprisingly small, when we look at the division-lists; but, at least, they cast a triumphal robe over the progress of events.

Like all great speakers, they were improvisers, and, in this line, Fox was admitted to excel. He could come straight from gambling at Brooks's, and enter with mastery into the debate. He had an uncanny skill in traversing and reversing his opponents' arguments, and in seizing on the weak point of a position. Then, he would expose it to the House with a brilliantly witty illustration. Admirable classic as he was, no one understood better the genius of the English language. His thoughts poured out, for

the most part, in short vigorous sentences, lucid and rhythmical to a degree. Volubility, perhaps, was his fault, as was to be expected in an extemporary speaker, and there was little that was architectural in his speeches. Without any rambling, they showed but small subordination of parts; one point is made after another, great and small together. Even his speech on the Westminster scrutiny in 1784 has this defect, in spite of his cogent reasoning. As a result, he often reads thin, not from spreading out his matter, but from delaying over unimportant aspects of it. He was convinced that he could refute anything, so he refuted everything. But these blots were scarcely observable at the time. To a marvellous extent, he possessed the ability to reason clearly at the highest pressure of emotion.

He forgot himself and everything around him. He thought only of his subject. His genius warmed and kindled as he went on. He darted fire into his audience. Torrents of impetuous and irresistible eloquence swept along their feelings and conviction¹.

On the whole, Pitt was more favoured in his delivery than his competitor. Fox's clumsy figure, negligently dressed in blue and buff, seemed unprepossessing; only his shaggy eyebrows added to the expression of his face; his voice would rise to a bark in excitement. Pitt was always dignified and composed:

In solemn dignity and sullen state,
This new Octavius rises to debate,

wrote George Ellis, carping, in *The Rolliad*. But his musical voice, in spite of its monotony, enchanted the house, and his manner carried authority with it. He was even more lucid than Fox; the whole course of his argument lay clear even in an unpremeditated speech. And he was far more selective in his reasoning. Only the really decisive considerations were enforced by him, and, in expounding a general policy, he was unequalled. He was architectonic by nature; each speech is a symmetrical building, proceeding from foundation to coping-stone. His diction, the 'blaze of elocution' for which he was renowned, was copious and graceful, but, also, prolix almost beyond endurance, and too often leaves the impression that there is nothing in it, and that Pitt himself either did not intend to say anything or was concealing how little he had to say. The matter, indeed, is generally commonplace, though there is a statesmanlike good

¹ Sir James Mackintosh's journal, printed in *Memoirs of the Life of the Rt Hon. Sir James Mackintosh*, ed. by his son, Mackintosh, R. J., 1835, vol. 1, pp. 323-4.

sense about it which is unlike the perverse ingenuity of Fox, adding argument to argument to obtain an unwise conclusion. None the less, if Pitt's style be antiquated and, at times, stilted, it can rise, as it does in his celebrated speech on the slave-trade in 1792, to magnificent declamation. His perorations, growing out of his preceding matter as they do, and containing definite reasoning and not, mere verbal finery, show him at his best. It was in them that he displayed to the full his skill in the then much prized art of Latin quotation. Every speaker, if he could, quoted Latin verse to point his sayings; but Pitt excelled all in his felicitous selection. Long-famous passages seemed hardly quoted by him, it seemed rather that the orator's stately period itself rose into poetry.

While Fox shone especially in the witty humour of an illustration, irresistibly quaint and full of a convincing sound sense, Pitt employed a dry contumelious sarcasm, in which severe irony was the distinguishing trait. Thus, he observed of a hopelessly muddled speech that it 'was not, I presume, designed for a complete and systematic view of the subject.' Both orators, however, so far as mere wit was concerned, were outdone by Richard Brinsley Sheridan¹, who almost turned their dual supremacy into a triumvirate of eloquence. But in spite of all his brilliancy, he was manifestly outweighed; unlike Pitt and Fox, he had entered the period of decline long before he quitted parliament. It is not easy, from the mere reports of his speeches, to give a satisfactory account of his comparative lack of weight and influence. He entered parliament in the same year as Pitt, and his oratorical ability, although, at first, it was somewhat clouded, soon obtained the recognition it deserved; one speech against Warren Hastings, in February 1787, was declared by the auditors to be the best they had ever heard. But, perhaps, he was too frankly an advocate, and he was too clearly bound, by personal attachment, rather than by interest, to the prince of Wales's chariot-wheels. Although his special pleading by no means surpassed that of his contemporaries, it was more obvious, and his changes of opinion, due to fresh developments of Napoleon's action, were not condoned as were those of others. In 1812, the first debater of the day was left out of parliament through the loss of the prince's favour, and his political career was closed.

Wit—brilliant, sustained and polished to the utmost—distinguished Sheridan from his competitors. Many of his impromptu

¹ Concerning Sheridan as a dramatist, see *post*, Chap. XII.

speeches, alone in contemporary literature, have the true Junian ring, and, were they known by later publication or could they have been prepared beforehand, doubtless we should have been told that they were 'tormented with the file.' As it is, we must own that balanced antithesis and mischievous scoffing were native to him and his readiest means of expression, even if the *Letters of Junius* provided him with a favourite model. Nor did his merits end with wit. In the mere physical part of oratory, his animated gay expression and his trained musical voice exercised an 'inconceivable attraction,' although it may be that the absence of 'violence or excess,' which is also recorded, may have led to an impression that he was not in earnest. In spite of this, his gaiety could be very bitter; and, so far as the words went, his higher flights could be as impassioned as any. Yet, his merit was his defect; he is not absorbed in his subject like Fox, or delivering a ruler's oracles like Pitt; we feel, all along, that here is a celebrated author, enjoying the use of his powers, impassioned on principles of taste and arguing with the conscious pleasure of the case-maker. He bears print better than the two greater men; but, in the real test of an orator—the spoken word—he was, admittedly, their inferior.

That weight and respect which Sheridan never gained was amply enjoyed by his fellow-countryman, Henry Grattan. Perhaps, as a statesman from his youth up, whose whole energies were engrossed in politics and government, he had an inevitable advantage over the brilliant literary amateur. But the main causes lie deep, in divergences of genius and temperament. Grattan had none of Sheridan's exterior advantages; his gestures were uncouth, his enunciation difficult. He surmounted these impediments, however, almost at once, both on his entry into the Irish parliament, in 1775, and on that into the parliament of the United Kingdom, in 1805. In the former case, he led the party which obtained Irish legislative independence, and inaugurated a period called by his name; in the latter, at the time of his death, he had become venerated as the last survivor of the giants of debate among a lesser generation. A certain magnanimity in Grattan corresponded to the greatness of his public career. His fiercest invective, however severe in intent and effect, had an old-world courtliness. Of persiflage he knew nothing; his wit, of which he had plenty, was dignified and almost stern. 'You can scarcely answer a prophet; you can only disbelieve him,' he said grimly, in 1800, of the Irish predictions of Pitt. He was always, beyond question, in earnest.

The excellence of his speeches does not depend on any of the pettier artistic canons of composition. Rhythmical sentences and periods are both to seek. There is no architectural arrangement of matter; he forges straight ahead, seizing on the crucial points one by one. But he had a magnificent power of statesmanlike reasoning and of lucid exposition, and, if he had not Fox's capability of making all argument seem to tend his way, he was quite able to make opposing reasons seem of little worth. He could generalise, too, and state, in a pithy way, maxims of practical philosophy. Pithiness and expressiveness, indeed, were at the root of his oratory. His thoughts came out double-shotted and white-hot; his words are the most forcible and convincing for his meaning, rather than the most apt. It was conviction and force at which he aimed, not beauty. Yet, every now and then, he attains a literary charm, more lasting, because more deeply felt, than the considered grace of Sheridan or Pitt.

CHAPTER III

BENTHAM AND THE EARLY UTILITARIANS

JEREMY BENTHAM is famous as the leader of a school of thought and practice which is known sometimes as utilitarianism, sometimes as philosophical radicalism. Before his day, the philosophical school was not a characteristic feature of English speculation. The greater writers influenced the course of ideas without transmitting a definite body of doctrines to a definite group of followers. Bacon proclaimed a philosophical revolution ; but he sought in vain for assistants and collaborators, and the details of his theory were commonly ignored. Hobbes formulated a compact system, but he had no disciples. Locke struck out a new way which many followed to conclusions often very different from his own. Berkeley never lost courage, but he could not open other eyes to his own vision, and the verdict of the day upon his speculations seems to be not unfairly represented by Hume's statement that his arguments 'admit of no answer and produce no conviction.' For his own sceptical results, Hume himself seemed to desire applause rather than converts. The works of these writers never led to a combination for the defence and elucidation of a creed—to any philosophical school which can be compared with peripateticism, stoicism, or Epicureanism in ancient Greece or with the Cartesian, Kantian, or Hegelian schools in modern thought. The nearest approach to such a phenomenon was of the nature of a revival—the new Platonic movement of the seventeenth century, associated with the names of Cudworth, Henry More and other Cambridge scholars¹. In this way, the utilitarian group presents an appearance unknown before in English philosophy—a simple set of doctrines held in common, with various fields assigned for their application, and a band of zealous workers, labouring for the same end, and united in reverence for their master.

Jérémy Bentham was born in 1748 and died in 1832, when his fame was at its height and his party was on the eve of a great

¹ See *ante*, vol. viii, chap. xi.

triumph¹. He was a prodigy from his childhood ; he read history and French, Latin and Greek, when other boys of his years were feeding their imaginations with fairy tales ; at the tender age of thirteen, his religious sensibilities were hurt and theological doubts raised in his mind when he was required to sign the thirty-nine articles on matriculating at Queen's college, Oxford ; he submitted, however, completed his course there and afterwards duly entered upon the study of law in London. His father had marked his abilities and expected them to raise him to the woollack ; he had several causes 'at nurse' for him before he was called to the bar ; and, when Jeremy neglected the practical for the theoretical side of his profession, the father said in his grief that the boy would never be anything more than 'the obscure son of an obscure attorney.' But he made life easy for his son financially, and had some compensation for the disappointment of his ambition in the reputation made by Jeremy's first book, *A Fragment on Government*, which was published anonymously in 1776, and which the public voice ascribed to one or another of several great men, including Burke and Mansfield.

Bentham spent almost his whole life in London or its neighbourhood ; but, for over two years, 1785-88, he made an extended tour in the east of Europe and paid a long visit to his younger brother Samuel, who held an important industrial appointment at Kritchev, in Russia. There, he wrote his *Defence of Usury* (published 1787). There, also, from his brother's method of inspecting his work-people, he derived the plan of his 'panopticon'—a scheme for prison management, which was to dispense with Botany bay. On this scheme, he laboured for five and twenty years ; the government played with it and finally rejected it, giving him a large sum by way of compensation for the still larger sums which he had expended on its advocacy ; but the failure of this attempt to influence administration left its mark on his attitude to the English system of government.

After his return from Russia, Bentham published, in 1789, the work which, more than any other, gives him a place among philosophers—*An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. It had been printed nine years earlier, and only the urgency of his friends induced him to make it public. As an author, Bentham was singularly careless about publication and as to the form in which his writings appeared. He worked assiduously, in accordance with a plan which he formed early in

¹ He died on 6 June, the day before the royal assent was given to the Reform bill.

life; he passed from point to point methodically; each day he produced a number of pages of manuscript, indicated their place in his scheme and then put them aside and never looked at them again. A doubtful proposition would lead him to turn to a new line of enquiry, which might mean a new book. According to one of the friends of his early years, he was 'always running from a good scheme to a better. In the meantime life passes away and nothing is completed.' This method of working had its effect upon his style. His early writings were clear and terse and pointed, though without attempt at elegance. Afterwards, he seemed to care only to avoid ambiguity, and came to imitate the formalism of a legal document. He was overfond, also, of introducing new words into the language; and few of his inventions have had the success of the term 'international,' which was used for the first time in the preface to his *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*.

It was fortunate for Bentham's reputation that he soon came to be surrounded by a group of devoted friends, who were convinced of the value of his ideas and eager to help in making them known. And he was content to leave in their hands the selection, revision and publication of his more important manuscripts. His first work had brought him to the notice of Lord Shelburne (afterwards first marquis of Lansdowne), at whose house he met a number of the statesmen and political thinkers of the day. There, also, he met Étienne Dumont, who, afterwards, gave literary form to the principles of legislation and administration which Bentham elaborated. Dumont was a citizen of Geneva, who had been minister of one of its churches; driven from his native town by political troubles, he settled, for some time, in St Petersburg, and, in 1785, came to London as tutor to Lansdowne's son; in 1788 and, again, in 1789, he visited Paris and was in close relations, literary and political, with Mirabeau. On the earlier of these visits, he was accompanied by Sir Samuel Romilly, with whom he had become intimate and who was already known to Bentham; Romilly showed him some of Bentham's manuscripts, written in French, and Dumont became an enthusiastic disciple and one of the chief agents in spreading the master's ideas. With Bentham's manuscripts and published work before him, and with opportunities for conversation with the author, he produced a series of works which made the new jurisprudence and political theory known in the world of letters. He translated, condensed and even supplied omissions, giving his style to the whole; but he did not seek to do more than put Bentham's writings into literary

form, and, in Bentham's collected *Works*, published after his death, many of the most important treatises are retranslations into English from Dumont's versions. The first of Dumont's treatises appeared in 1802, the last in 1825. It is stated that, by 1830, forty thousand copies of these treatises had been sold in Paris for the South American trade alone.

Other helpers surrounded Bentham during his long life ; but his acquaintance with James Mill, which began in 1808, led, for the first time, to the association of a mastermind with his own in pursuit of common objects. Mill was less of a jurist than Bentham, but more of a philosopher, and better equipped for the defence of their fundamental principles on psychological and general grounds. He was also a man of affairs, familiar with practical business and accustomed to deal with other men, and his influence counted for much in making philosophical radicalism an effective political force. Bentham was a recluse occupied with ideas and projects, infinitely patient in elaborating them on paper, and convinced that they would be carried into effect so soon as he had demonstrated their value. The men who sought him out regarded him as a sage, hung upon his lips and approved his doctrines ; and he expected other men, especially political leaders, to be equally rational. During the first half of his career, he was not a radical in politics ; but the failure of his scheme for a panopticon, which he regarded as an administrative reform of the first importance, and in the advocacy of which he had incurred lavish expenditure, gave him a new—if, also, somewhat perverted—insight into the motives of party politicians, and led to a distrust of the governing classes. His mind was thus fitted to receive a powerful stimulus from James Mill, a stern and unbending democrat, whose creed, in Bentham's caustic phrase, resulted 'less from love to the many than from hatred of the few.'

Up to this time, the utilitarian philosophy had not met with great success as an instrument of political propagandism ; it had failed adequately to influence the old political parties ; an organisation of its own was needed with a programme, an organ in the press and representatives in parliament. The new party came to be known as philosophical radicals. Their organ was *The Westminster Review*, founded by Bentham in 1824 ; their programme laid stress on the necessity for constitutional reform before legislative and administrative improvements could be expected ; and a number of eminent politicians became the spokesmen of the party in parliament. It is not possible to assign to the philosophical

radicals their exact share in bringing about the changes which gradually ensued; many other influences were working in the same direction. Their power was not due to their numbers, but to the great ability of many members of the group and to the clear and definite policy which they advocated. Bentham was the head of this party; but, perhaps, it is not too much to say that James Mill was its leading spirit. Mill, also, joined with others in giving literary assistance to Bentham; he edited, with modifications of his own, *A Table of the Springs of Action* (1817); he prepared, from the author's manuscripts, an *Introductory view of the Rationale of Evidence* (printed, in part, in 1812, and published in the *Works*); and his brilliant son, John Stuart Mill, then just out of his 'teens, edited *The Rationale of Evidence* in five volumes¹ (1827). Another prominent assistant was John Bowring, who was the first editor of *The Westminster Review*, wrote from the author's dictation the *Deontology* (a work whose accuracy, as an expression of Bentham's mind, was impugned by the Mills) and became Bentham's biographer and editor of his collected *Works*.

Bentham's *Fragment on Government* is the first attempt to apply the principle of utility in a systematic and methodical manner to the theory of government; it takes the form of 'a comment on the *Commentaries*'—a detailed criticism of the doctrine on the same subject which had been set forth in Blackstone's famous work. Sir William Blackstone² was born in 1723; he practised at the bar, lectured on the laws of England at Oxford, and, in 1758, was appointed to the newly-founded Vinerian professorship of law; in 1770, he was made a judge, first of the court of king's bench, afterwards of the court of common pleas; he died in 1780. He edited the Great charter and was the author of a number of *Law Tracts* (collected and republished under this title in 1762); but his fame depends upon his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, the first volume of which appeared in 1765 and the fourth and last in 1769. It is a work of many conspicuous merits. In it, the vast mass of details which makes up the common and statute law is brought together and presented as an organic structure; the meaning of each provision is emphasised, and the relation of the parts illustrated; so that the whole body of law appears as a living thing animated by purpose and a triumph of reason. The style of the book is clear, dignified and eloquent. Bentham, who had heard Blackstone's lectures at

¹ Reprinted in *Works*, vols. vi and vii.

² See *ante*, vol. x, p. 499.

Oxford, says that he, 'first of all institutional writers, has taught jurisprudence to speak the language of the scholar and the gentleman.' These merits, however, were accompanied by defects, less obvious to the general reader. The author was more prone to see similarities than differences. His analytical power has been praised; but it was inadequate to the conceptions with which he had to deal. His treatment of natural law, in the second section of the introduction, is a case in point; another instance is the discussion of society and the original contract which Bentham criticises. His emphasis on meaning and purpose adds interest to his exposition, and shows insight into the truth that law is not a haphazard collection of injunctions and prohibitions; but this conception also leads him astray; he does not distinguish clearly enough historical causes from logical grounds; his exposition takes on the character of an encomium; and he is too apt to discover, at every point of the English constitution, 'a direction which constitutes the true line of the liberty and happiness of the community.'

In the preface to his *Fragment*, Bentham offers a criticism of the *Commentaries* in general; but the body of his work is restricted to an examination of a few pages, of the nature of a digression, which set forth a theory of government. In these pages, Blackstone gave a superficial summary of the nature and grounds of authority, in which the leading conceptions of political theory were used with more than customary vagueness. Bentham finds the doctrine worse than false; for it is unmeaning. He wishes 'to do something to instruct, but more to undeceive, the timid and admiring student, . . . to help him to emancipate his judgment from the shackles of authority.' He insists upon a precise meaning for each statement and each term; and, while he reduces Blackstone's doctrine to ruins, he succeeds, at the same time, in conveying at least the outline of a definite and intelligible theory of government. There are two striking characteristics in the book which are significant for all Bentham's work. One of these is the constant appeal to fact and the war against fictions; the other is the standard which he employs—the principle of utility. And these two are connected in his mind: 'the footing on which this principle rests every dispute, is that of matter of fact.' Utility is matter of fact, at least, of 'future fact—the probability of certain future contingencies.' Were debate about laws and government reduced to terms of utility, men would 'either' come to an agreement or they would 'see clearly and explicitly the point on which the disagreement turned.' 'All else,' says Bentham, 'is

that womanish scolding and childish altercation, which is sure to irritate, and which never can persuade.'

In an interesting footnote, Bentham gives an account of the way in which he arrived at this principle. Many causes, he tells us, had combined to enlist his 'infant affections on the side of despotism.' When he proceeded to study law, he found an 'original contract' appealed to 'for reconciling the accidental necessity of resistance with the general duty of 'submission.' But his intellect revolted at the fiction.

'To prove fiction, indeed,' said I, 'there is need of fiction; but it is the characteristic of truth to need no proof but truth.'... Thus continued I unsatisfying, and unsatisfied, till I learnt to see that *utility* was the test and measure of all virtue; of loyalty as much as any; and that the obligation to minister to general happiness, was an obligation paramount to and inclusive of every other. Having thus got the instruction I stood in need of, I sat down to make my profit of it. I bid adieu to the original contract: and I left it to those to amuse themselves with this rattle, who could think they needed it.

It was from the third volume of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* that the instruction came.

'I well remember,' he says, 'no sooner had I read that part of the work which touches on this subject than I felt as if scales had fallen from my eyes. I then, for the first time, learnt to call the cause of the people the cause of Virtue.... That the foundations of all *virtue* are laid in *utility*, is there demonstrated, after a few exceptions made, with the strongest evidence: but I see not, any more than Helvetius saw, what need there was for the exceptions.'

Hume's metaphysics had little meaning for Bentham, but it is interesting to note that his moral doctrine had this direct influence upon the new theory of jurisprudence and politics. Hume was content with showing that utility, or tendency to pleasure, was a mark of all the virtues; he did not go on to assert that things were good or evil according to the amounts of pleasure or pain that they entailed. This quantitative utilitarianism is adopted by Bentham from the start. In the preface to the *Fragment*, the 'fundamental axiom,' whose consequences are to be developed with method and precision, is stated in the words, 'it is the greatest happiness of the greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong.' Half a century earlier, Hutcheson had formulated this 'axiom' almost in the same words; but Bentham does not seem to have been influenced directly by him. Helvétius, whom he had studied closely, comes very near the same doctrine¹, and Priestley had preceded Bentham in using a similar

¹ *La justice consiste... dans la pratique des actions utiles au plus grand nombre. De l'Esprit* (1758), Discours II, chap. 24.

standard in political reasoning. Priestley is not mentioned in this place, though the preface begins with a reference to his scientific discoveries, and Bentham has elsewhere recorded his youthful enthusiasm for his writings. He even says that he had found the phrase 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' in one of Priestley's pamphlets; but, in this, his memory must have deceived him, for the phrase does not seem to have been used by Priestley. So far as Bentham was concerned, its origin (as he in one place suggests) must be traced to Beccaria, the Italian jurist whose work on the penal law proceeded on the same principles as Bentham's and had a notable effect upon the latter. Beccaria's book on *Crimes and Punishments* was translated into English in 1767, and, in this translation, the principle of utility is expressed in the exact words in which, through Bentham's influence, it soon became both an ethical formula and a party watchword. Bentham himself used the word 'utilitarian' as early as 1781, and he asserted that it was the only name for his creed¹; but, in later life, he came to prefer the alternative phrase 'greatest happiness principle.' 'The word *utility*,' he said, in a note written in July 1822², 'does not so clearly point to the ideas of *pleasure* and *pain* as the words *happiness* and *felicity* do: nor does it lead us to the consideration of the *number* of the interests affected.' A few months after the latter date, the term 'utilitarian' was revived by John Stuart Mill³, who seems to have been unaware that it had been previously employed and afterwards discarded by Bentham; he found the word in Galt's *Annals of the Parish*, where it is used in describing some of the revolutionary parties of the early nineties of the preceding century; and, 'with a boy's fondness for a name and a banner,' he adopted it as a 'sectarian appellation.' After this time, 'utilitarian' and 'utilitarianism' came into common use to designate a party and a creed.

The evidence goes to show that the 'greatest happiness principle,' or principle of utility, was arrived at by Bentham, in the first instance, as a criterion for legislation and administration and not for individual conduct—as a political, rather than an ethical, principle. His concern was with politics; the sections of Hume's *Treatise* which chiefly influenced him were those on justice; Beccaria wrote on the penal law; and it was expressly as a political principle that Priestley made use of 'the happiness of

¹ *Works*, vol. x, pp. 92, 392.

² *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, ed. 1879, p. 1 n.

³ *Autobiography*, pp. 79, 80; *Utilitarianism*, p. 9 n.

the members, that is, the majority of the members, of any state, as his standard. The point is important, seeing that, from the time of Locke, the action of every individual had been commonly interpreted as determined by his own pleasure or pain. It is difficult to reconcile this interpretation (which Bentham accepted) with an ethical theory which makes the greatest happiness of all the end for each. But the same difficulty does not arise when the point of view is shifted from the individual to the state. Indeed, the analogical argument will now be open: since each is concerned with his own greatest happiness, the end for the community may be taken to be the greatest happiness of the greatest number. And, when the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' has been accepted in this way, it is easy—though it is not logical—to adopt it as not merely a political, but, also, in the strict sense, an ethical, principle.

It is to his *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* that we must look for Bentham's fullest and clearest account of the underlying principles, psychological and ethical, of his enterprise. The interests of the individual do not always agree with the interests of the community; and this divergence sets the problem for penal law. Again, the rule of right is one question, and the causes of action is another question; and it is important not to confuse the ethical with the psychological problem. This distinction is made, and ignored, in the arresting paragraph that opens the work:

Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, *pain and pleasure*. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do. On the one hand the standard of right and wrong, on the other the chain of causes and effects, are fastened to their throne. They govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think: every effort we can make to throw off our subjection, will serve but to demonstrate and confirm it. In words a man may pretend to abjure their empire: but in reality he will remain subject to it all the while. The *principle of utility* recognises this subjection, and assumes it for the foundation of that system, the object of which is to rear the fabric of felicity by the hands of reason and of law. Systems which attempt to question it, deal in sounds instead of sense, in caprice instead of reason, in darkness instead of light.

These sentences give the gist of Bentham's simple philosophy. Everything rests upon pleasure and pain. They are, in the first place, the causes of all human actions. Man is a pleasure-seeking, pain-avoiding animal. It is true, he has many different impulses, springs of action, or motives; and, of these, the author essays some account in this book; and, in *A Table of the Springs of*

Action, he comprehends them all in a diagram with their sources and their corresponding interests. But the strength of each impulse or motive lies entirely in the pleasure or pain connected with it; and there are only quantitative differences among pleasures themselves, or among pains themselves; and pains can be compared with pleasures, and marked on the same scale by their distance below the indifference or zero point where there is neither pleasure nor pain. To this theory, a later writer¹ has given the name 'psychological hedonism.' It still counts many psychologists among its adherents, but Bentham held it in a special form which hardly admits of defence. It is not the actual pleasure or pain experienced at the moment of action which, according to him, determines action, but the estimate formed by the agent of the probable balance of pleasure that is likely to result to him from the action. The cause, as well as the standard, of human action is thus matter of 'future fact' only. Had this phrase been used by Blackstone, Bentham might have pointed out that, so long as anything is future, it is not a fact, but only an expectation of a fact; it is an estimate of probabilities. Not pleasure, therefore, but an idea of pleasure, is the actual motive. Although he thinks that pleasure is man's only object, Bentham always treats him as pursuing this object in a deliberate and intelligent way under the guidance of ideas or opinions; he commits the philosopher's fallacy of substituting a reason for a cause; he overlooks the fact that man was an active being before he was a rational being, that he is a creature of impulses, inherited and acquired, that it is only gradually that these impulses come to be organised and directed by reason, and that this rationalising process is never completed.

Bentham's views on this point lend emphasis to the importance of his hedonic calculus. If men are always guided by estimates of pleasures and pains, these estimates should be rendered as exact as possible. For this purpose, Bentham analyses the circumstances that have to be taken into account in estimating the 'force' or 'value' (notions which, for him, are identical) of pleasures and pains. A pleasure or pain, he says, taken by itself, will vary in the four circumstances of intensity, duration, certainty and propinquity².

¹ Sidgwick, *Methods of Ethics*, Bk I, chap. IV.

² Sidgwick points out that, on a rational estimate, propinquity in time (apart from the greater certainty which it implies) is not an independent ground of value. Bentham follows Beccaria in introducing it; but Beccaria had a different question in view in his enquiry, namely, the actual deterrent effect of an immediate, as compared with a remote, punishment.

If we consider its effects, we must take into account two other circumstances: its fecundity, or the chance of its being followed by other feelings of the same kind; and its purity, or the chance of its not being followed by feelings of an opposite kind. If more than one person is concerned, then account must also be taken of the number of persons, that is, the extent of the pleasure or pain. If we would estimate the benefit to a community of any particular action, then each person affected by it must be considered separately; each distinguishable pleasure caused by the action must have its value for him calculated in accordance with the six circumstances first mentioned; and each distinguishable pain must have its value calculated in the same way. When this has been done for every person affected, and the sum of all the pains subtracted from the sum of all the pleasures, then the surplus of pleasure will measure the good tendency of the act; or, if the pains exceed the pleasures in total amount, then the balance of pain will measure the evil tendency of the act.

This may seem an elaborate calculation, but it gives only a faint idea of the minute detail into which Bentham pursued an estimate of good or evil. The significant feature of his method is that it is quantitative. The same method had been suggested by Hutcheson and others before him; his contemporary Paley used it to some extent; but Bentham was the first to follow it out into all its ramifications by an exhaustive enumeration and classification of every conceivable consequence. His aim was to make morals and legislation as precise and certain as the physical sciences. For this purpose, he saw that quantitative propositions were necessary. He did not stop to enquire whether quantity was applicable at all to pleasure and pain; he assumed that it was; and, perhaps, the assumption was correct. Neither did he seek too curiously for a standard of measurement of these quantities, such as every physical science possesses for its purposes. Even in the exact observations which instruments of precision render possible in the physical sciences, allowance has to be made for the personal equation of the observer. But Bentham almost disregarded the personal equation, even in matters of feeling. He did not adequately allow for the difference of individual susceptibilities, or for the degree in which they change in a single lifetime and in the history of the race; nor did he avoid the fallacy of arguing as if one man's pleasure were always a safe guide for another. Just as he assumed that men were constantly controlled by intellectual considerations, so here, he also assumes that men are much more alike than they

really are: and the two assumptions account for many of the weaknesses, and even absurdities, of his projects.

Later utilitarians have avoided some of these difficulties by laying stress on the importance, in personal and social life, of the permanent objects which are sources of pleasure, rather than upon particular pleasant experiences. Bentham himself, in another work¹, follows similar lines in enumerating four subordinate ends in which the happiness of society consists. These are subsistence, abundance, equality and security. Subsistence and security are the most important of the four: 'without security equality could not last a day; without subsistence abundance could not exist at all.' With subsistence and abundance, law has little or no direct concern:

You may order production; you may command cultivation; and you will have done nothing. But assure to the cultivator the fruits of his industry, and perhaps in that alone you will have done enough.

Bentham's treatment of equality is remarkable for certain 'pathological propositions' (as he calls them) which he lays down regarding the effect of wealth upon happiness. But the chief care of law is security; and the principle of security extends to the maintenance of all those expectations which law itself has created. Security, one may say, is a necessity for social life and for any moderate degree of human happiness; equality is rather of the nature of a luxury, which legislation should promote when it does not interfere with security. As for liberty, it is not one of the principal objects of law, but a branch of security, and a branch which law cannot help pruning. Rights of any kind, especially rights of property, can be created or maintained only by restricting liberty; 'in particular all laws creative of liberty, are, as far as they go, abrogative of liberty.'

These suggestions point to a better way of estimating value than the enumeration of separate pleasures and pains. But the latter is Bentham's prevailing method; and he brings into clear light a point which, on any theory such as his, should not be obscured—the difference between the greatest happiness of an individual and the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Even Bentham hesitates, both in his earlier and in his later writings, to assert that it is each man's duty to promote the happiness of all. How, indeed, can it be so, in Bentham's view, unless there is sufficient motive to require such conduct? He says that a man is never without motives to act in this direction; he has the social motive of sympathy and the semi-social motive of love, of

¹ *Theory of Legislation*, trans. Hildreth, 1876, pp. 96 ff.

reputation. But a man may have, and commonly has, motives which tend in a different direction and may render those insufficient or powerless. The divergence may be read between the lines of the halting sentences in which Bentham speaks of the coincidences between private ethics and legislation. There is no mental fusion between the two classes of motives (the selfish and the social); there is no natural identity between the courses of conduct to which they tend; the identification of self-interest with public interest can only be brought about artificially¹ by means of super-added pleasures and pains, especially the latter. These are the sanctions of the principle of utility, which Bentham reduces to four: the physical, the political, the popular (or moral) and the religious. The physical sanction results from natural law, and is exemplified by the headache that follows intemperance: it sanctions prudence, but not benevolence. The popular sanction results from the illwill of society in any of its non-political expressions; it is often a powerful deterrent, but it is apt to be variable and inconsistent, and it has no exact correspondence with public interest. On the religious sanction, Bentham does not rely. There remains the political sanction, the rewards and punishments employed by society organised as a state. But rewards count for little. The whole weight of the doctrine that general happiness is the rule of right and wrong for individual conduct thus rests upon the penal law; it is the 'duty-and-interest-justification-principle.' And this principle, also, is found to be imperfect. Even when punishment is neither groundless nor needless, there are cases in which it would be inefficacious and others in which it would be unprofitable—by causing more unhappiness than it would avert. In general, it can compel probity but it cannot compel beneficence. Thus, the doctrine of sanctions fails to establish the thesis of utilitarianism that general happiness is the rule of right. And the failure is not covered by the retort: 'if the thunders of the law prove impotent, the whispers of simple morality can have but little influence.'

In the preface to his *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, Bentham gave a list of the works which he had in preparation or contemplation and in which his great design would be completed. According to this list, works were to follow on the principles of legislation in the following nine matters: civil law; penal law;

¹ These terms—fusion of interests, natural identity of interests, artificial identification of interests—describe different solutions of the same problem and have been introduced by Halévy, *Formation du radicalisme philosophique*, vol. 1, pp. 15 ff.

procedure; reward; constitutional law; political tactics (that is, rules for the direction of political assemblies so that they may attain the end of their institution); international law; finance; political economy; and these were to be followed by a tenth treatise, giving a complete plan of law in all its branches, in respect of its form, including all that properly belongs to the topic of universal jurisprudence. In the course of his life, he dealt with all these subjects, as well as with many others, in separate works. In the more important and complete of his works, he depended on the literary assistance of Dumont and others. But the ideas and the method were always his own. For the exposure of the anomalies of English law, and for the elaboration of a rational and businesslike system to serve as a model for its reform, he deserves almost the sole credit.

Bentham's power was derived from the combination in his mind of two qualities—the firm grasp of a single principle, and a truly astonishing mastery of details. Every concrete situation was analysed into its elements and these followed out into all their ramifications. The method of division and subdivision was artificial; but it tended to clearness and exhaustiveness, and it could be applied to any subject. Whatever did not yield to this analysis was dismissed as 'vague generality.' Applying this method with infinite patience, he covered the whole field of ethics, jurisprudence and politics. Everything in human nature and in society was reduced to its elements, and then reconstructed out of these elements. And, in each element, only one feature counted, whether in respect of force or of value—its quantum of pleasure or pain. The whole system would have been upset if an independent qualitative distinction between pleasures had been allowed, such as Plato contended for, or John Stuart Mill afterwards attempted to introduce into utilitarianism. 'Quantity of pleasure being equal,' says Bentham, 'pushpin is as good as poetry.' As regards the principle itself, there was no opportunity for originality: Hume had suggested its importance to his mind; Priestley had shown its use in political reasoning; he picked up the formula from Beccaria; and in his exposition of its nature there is, perhaps, nothing that had not been stated already by Helvétius. But the relentless consistency and thoroughness with which he applied it had never been anticipated; and this made him the founder of a new and powerful school.

His method was not that most characteristic of the revolutionary thought of the period. The ideas of the revolution

centred in certain abstract conceptions. Equality and freedom were held to be natural rights of which men had been robbed by governments, and the purpose of the revolutionists was to regain and realise those rights. This mode of thought was represented in England by Richard Price; through Rousseau, it came to dominate the popular consciousness; in the American Declaration of Independence of 1776, it was made the foundation of a democratic reconstruction of government. The year 1776 is of note in literary history, also. It marks the death of Hume, and the publication of *The Wealth of Nations*, of the first volume of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* and of Bentham's *Fragment on Government*. The last-named work preaches a radical reform, but without appealing to natural or abstract rights. Although he was an admirer of the American constitution, Bentham was never deceived by the crude 'metapolitics' (to use Coleridge's word) of the Declaration of Independence, or by the same doctrine as it was expounded at greater length, in the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen,' decreed in the French Constituent Assembly of 1791. His *Anarchical Fallacies*, written about this time, is a masterly exposure of the crudities and confusions of the latter document. All rights, in his view, are the creation of law; '*natural rights* is simple nonsense: natural and imprescriptible rights, rhetorical nonsense,—nonsense upon stilts.' Yet the difference between Bentham's theory and that of continental and American revolutionists was not immediately obvious. He was in correspondence with some of the leaders of the revolution, recommended his panopticon scheme for adoption in France, and offered himself as chief gaoler; in 1792, he was made a citizen of France. Nevertheless, his *Anarchical Fallacies* made his position clear: and it is owing to him that philosophical radicalism in England, unlike the corresponding revolutionary doctrines in other countries, was based upon an empirical utilitarianism and not upon *a priori* ideas about natural rights. A comparison of his argument in *Anarchical Fallacies* with his criticism of our 'matchless constitution' in *The Book of Fallacies* (1824) shows that he was a foe to all kinds of loose thinking, whether in praise of revolutionary ideals or in the interests of the established order.

The *Constitutional Code*, which Bentham published towards the end of his life, exhibits an endeavour to give to the people concerned the fullest possible control over the acts of government. The author had become increasingly impressed by the extent to which 'sinister interests,' especially the personal and class interests

of the rulers, interfered with public interest; and he seeks to check their operation at every turn. His work is intended 'for the use of all nations and all governments professing liberal opinions.' Some years earlier, he had published *Codification Proposals*, offering his services in the matter to any nation that wanted them. Portugal had already applied to him for assistance. He had negotiations of a similar, if less official, kind, with Spain, Mexico, Venezuela, the United States, Russia, Greece and Tripoli. The world seemed to be at his feet, anxious to learn from him the arts of law and government; and he was willing to instruct all comers. But he did not disregard entirely differences of national character and historical conditions. In his essay on *The Influence of Time and Place in Matters of Legislation*, he attributes immutability to the grounds of law rather than to the laws themselves, and rebukes as 'hot-headed innovators' those legislators who 'only pay attention to abstract advantage.'

Bentham's genius was comprehensive and tenacious rather than profound. He covered an extensive field, always following the same clue. He passed from social science to religion, and analysed its influence 'upon the temporal happiness of mankind,' part of his work being edited by a disciple, George Grote, and published under a pseudonym (1822). He wrote, also, a number of papers on education under the title *Chrestomathia* (1816); and he and his friends projected a chrestomathic school in which the youth of the middle and upper classes were to be trained in correct utilitarian principles. Thus, he dealt, in a way, with the deeper things of life, and yet only with the surface-aspect of these things. With forces and values that cannot be measured in terms of pleasure or pain, he had no concern; into history, art and religion he had little insight; but he was unconscious of his limitations, and he attempted to deal with these things by his own scale of values.

Certain of Bentham's occasional papers—those on *Poor Laws and Pauper Management*—appeared in Young's *Annals of Agriculture*. This periodical was started in 1784, and extended to forty-five volumes. Its editor, Arthur Young, was already known as the greatest of English writers on agriculture. At the age of seventeen, he had published a pamphlet on *The War in North America* (1758), and had afterwards written a great variety of works chiefly on English farming, including the records of a series of tours through different districts of England. He was not only an agricultural expert, but, also, a social observer and theorist, as

is shown in many of his works, such as *Political Arithmetic* (1774), *Tour in Ireland* (1780) and—most famous of all—*Travels in France* (1792). He had the good fortune to visit France shortly before the revolution, as well as after it had broken out; and his trained power of observation enabled him to see and point out the social conditions which made the continuance of the *ancien régime* impossible. Young's close observation of actual conditions and his apt reflections upon them have made his works important authorities for economists, especially on the question of the relative values of different systems of land tenure. He had also an epigrammatic gift that has made some of his phrases remembered. 'The magic of property turns sand to gold' is one of his sayings which has become famous.

On the ground of his general principles, Thomas Robert Malthus may be counted among the utilitarians; but he was a follower of Tucker and Paley rather than of Bentham. He did not share Bentham's estimate of the intellectual factor in conduct, and the exaggeration of this estimate in other thinkers of the time was the indirect cause of his famous work. Hume had spoken of reason as the slave of the passions; but William Godwin wrote as if men were compact of pure intellect. He, too, was a utilitarian, in the sense that he took happiness as the end of conduct; but he was under the sway of the revolutionary idea; he put down all human ills to government, regarding it as an unnecessary evil, and thought that, with its abolition, man's reason would have free play and the race would advance rapidly towards perfection. It was the doctrine of the perfectibility of man that gave Malthus pause. His criticism of the doctrine was first thrown out in conversation with his father. The elder Malthus, a friend and executor of Rousseau, expressed approval of the idea of human perfectibility set forth, in 1793, in Godwin's *Political Justice* and in Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*. Robert Malthus took a more sombre view of things than his father; he had had a scientific education; and, as a clergyman, he knew something of the life of the people; above all, he was of the new generation, and the dreams of an earlier day did not blind him to existing facts. He saw an obstacle in the way of all Utopias. Even if equality and happiness were once attained, they could not last; population would soon expand beyond the means of subsistence; and the result would be inequality and misery. The argument thus struck out in the course of debate was expanded,

soon after, in *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798).⁹ A storm of controversy followed its publication; but its teaching made notable converts, such as Pitt among statesmen and Paley among philosophers; and it soon came to be adopted as part of the orthodox utilitarian tradition. To his critics, Malthus replied with the thoroughness of an honest enquirer; he travelled on the continent, studied social conditions and investigated the actual circumstances which had kept the numbers of the people and their food in equilibrium. The answer came in the second edition of his *Essay* (1803), which, in contents, is, practically, a new book. Even the title is modified. The first edition discusses the principle of population 'as it affects the future improvement of society'; the second is 'a view of its past and present effects on human happiness.' The former shattered the picture of a future golden age, to be reached by the abolition of government or by any communistic device; the effect it produces on the reader is one of unrelieved depression; mankind is in the power of an impulse hostile to welfare; only vice and misery prevent the world from being over-peopled. The second edition turns from the future to the past and the present; it is informed by a fuller study of facts; it finds that the pressure of the people on the food has diminished with the advance of civilisation; not vice and misery only, but morality also, is reckoned among the checks to the increase of population. Thus, as he says in the preface, he 'tried to soften some of the harshest conclusions of the first essay.'

The main doctrine of Malthus was not entirely new. The question of the populousness of ancient and modern nations had been discussed by a number of writers, including Hume; there were anticipations of Malthus in Joseph Townsend's *Dissertation on the Poor Laws* (1786); and, still earlier, in 1761, Robert Wallace, in his *Various Prospects of Mankind*, had at first suggested community of goods as a solution of the social problem and then pointed out that the increase of population, which would result from communism, was a fatal flaw in his own solution. But Malthus made the subject his own, and showed by patient investigation how population, as a matter of fact, had pressed upon the means of subsistence, and by what measures it had been kept in check. He produced a revolution in scientific opinion and powerfully affected popular sentiment, so that pure literature took up the theme:

Slowly comes a hungry people as a lion creeping nigher,
Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly dying fire.

It is hardly too much to say that the prospect weighed on the

social mind of the nineteenth century like a nightmare. The mind of the twentieth century has shaken it off like a dream, but it has not answered the main thesis for which Malthus contended. It is true that his exposition is not above criticism. The terms in which he stated his thesis—that population tends to increase in a geometrical ratio and food in an arithmetical ratio—are, at best, inexact. Perhaps, also, he did not allow sufficiently for the effects of new methods and inventions in increasing the supply of food and for the possible reaction of quality upon numbers among men. The darker side of his picture of the human lot may be read in his criticism of the poor law. But he was not blind to considerations of a more favourable kind. He saw that the 'struggle for existence' (the phrase is his) was the great stimulus to labour and a cause of human improvement. Thus, at a later date, Darwin and A. R. Wallace, working independently, found in his book a statement of the principle, of which they were in search, for the explanation of biological development.

The publication of *An Essay on the Principle of Population* determined the career of Malthus, which, thenceforth, was devoted to teaching and writing on economics. His *Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent*, his *Principles of Political Economy* and his correspondence with Ricardo are of importance in the history of economic theory, though they were not fitted to exert any notable influence upon thought and literature in general. In all that he wrote, Malthus kept in close touch with the actual facts of social and industrial life; in this respect, his writings form a contrast in method to the works of Ricardo¹, in whose abstract reasonings the economics of the Benthamite school attained their most characteristic expression.

During the period of Bentham's supremacy, the tradition of a different type of philosophy was carried on by Dugald Stewart. Stewart, was born in 1753 and died in 1828; for twenty-five years (1785—1810), he was professor of moral philosophy at Edinburgh. His lectures were the most powerful formative influence upon the principles and tastes of a famous generation of literary Scotsmen, and they attracted, besides, many hearers from England, the continent and America.

'Perhaps few men ever lived,' said Sir James Mackintosh, one of his pupils, 'who poured into the breasts of youth a more fervid and yet reasonable love of liberty, of truth, and of virtue.... Without derogation from his writings, it may be said that his disciples were among his best works.'

¹ He will be treated in a later volume of the present work.

His writings, also, were numerous. The first volume of his *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* appeared in 1792, the second in 1814, the third in 1827. His *Outlines of Moral Philosophy* was published in 1794, *Philosophical Essays* in 1810, a dissertation entitled *The Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy since the Revival of Letters* (contributed to *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*) in 1815 and 1821, *The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers* in 1828; and accounts of the lives and writings of Adam Smith, Robertson and Reid were contributed to the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

Himself, in his youth, a pupil of Reid, Stewart remained his follower in philosophy. But he avoided the use of the term 'common sense,' which, as employed by Reid, had produced the impression that questions of philosophy could be decided by an appeal to popular judgment. He speaks, instead, of 'the fundamental laws of human belief, or the primary elements of human reason'; and these he regards not as the data upon which conclusions depend, but, rather,

as the vincula which give coherence to all the particular links of the chain, or (to vary the metaphor) as component elements without which the faculty of reasoning is inconceivable and impossible.

He varied from Reid, also, in many special points, often approximating to the positions of writers of the empirical school; but, according to Mackintosh, he 'employed more skill in contriving, and more care in concealing, his very important reforms of Reid's doctrines, than others exert to maintain their claims to originality.' His works often betray their origin in the lecture-room, and are full of quotations from, and criticisms of, other authors. They are written in a style which is clear and often eloquent, without ever being affected; but the exposition and criticism are devoted to those aspects of philosophical controversy which were prominent in his own day, and they have thus lost interest for a later generation. Nor did he show any such profundity of thought, or even distinction of style, as might have saved his work from comparative neglect. Among his numerous writings, there is no single work of short compass which conveys his essential contribution to the progress of thought.

CHAPTER IV .

WILLIAM COWPER

FEW rivers can be traced to a single source. Water from a hundred fields and woods and springs trickles down, to join in a score of streams, which, in their turn, join to make a river. Yet, there is always a point at which it is just to declare any particular stream to be the upper reach of any particular river. So, in the history of English poetry, no single origin can be shown for the poetry of nature and simplicity which, with Wordsworth, became a mighty river, and which is flowing still. To mention but two poets, Gray and Collins poured their tribute of clear water into the stream. But, with Cowper, we come to the upper reaches, and are able to trace thence, with unbroken continuity, the course of the main stream.

Reformers in poetry probably seldom work with a conscious aim, like social and political reformers. A poet writes in a certain manner because that is the only way in which he can write, or wishes to write, and without foreseeing or calculating the effect of his work. This is especially true of Cowper, who owed more, perhaps, than any English poet to what may be called accident, as distinguished from poetic purpose. He did not, like Milton or Tennyson, dedicate himself to poetry. He did not even write poetry primarily for the sake of writing poetry, but to ward off melancholy by keeping his mind occupied. He liked Milton better than Pope, and was careful to show this preference in his versification ; but accident—the bent of his mind and the circumstances of his life—made him the forerunner of a great poetic revival. He drew poetry back to the simple truths of ordinary human nature and the English countryside, because, in the limited outlook on the world which his life allowed him, these were the things that touched him and interested him. Being a man of fine taste, tender feelings and a plain sincerity, he opened the road of truth for the nobler poetic pageants that were to pass along it.

Born in the rectory of Great Berkhamstead, Herts, in November 1731, and becoming poet in earnest nearly fifty years later, he had, meanwhile, fallen under the influence of thought and sentiment which were beginning to break up the old, rigid and, frequently, brutal order. His family, on the father's side, had given distinguished men to the law and the church; and, in his boyhood and youth, it seemed not wholly unlikely that he would follow in his ancestors' paths and take an active part in life. That he was affectionate and tenderhearted we know from the lines he wrote many years later, *On the receipt of my Mother's Picture out of Norfolk*. How far the bullying which he suffered at his first school may have twisted the development of his nature, it is impossible to say. He was not unhappy at Westminster, where he numbered among his schoolfellows Edward Lloyd, Charles Churchill, George Colman the elder, Warren Hastings and Elijah Impey. True, in after years, he attacked English public schools in *Tirocinium*; but it is not certain that, in this matter, his boyish feelings tallied with his riper judgment. From Westminster, he went to the office of a solicitor, to be trained for the law. Thurlow was a student in the same office; and the two young men used to spend much of their time at the house of Cowper's uncle Ashley Cowper, where the chief attraction lay in the daughters, Theodora and Harriet. So far, there is not any trace of the Cowper of later years, though there are already traces of the poet. He fell in love with his cousin Theodora, and wrote verses to her which are far above the average of young men's love-poems. The poems to Delia show, already, the directness, the sincerity and the simplicity which were to be the keynotes of his later work, together with the tenderness which has won him admirers among hundreds to whom most poetry seems unreal. In one of these poems, *On her endeavouring to conceal her Grief at Parting*, occurs the famous verse:

Oh! then indulge thy grief, nor fear to tell
 The gentle source from whence thy sorrows flow;
 Nor think it weakness when we love to feel,
 Nor think it weakness what we feel to show.

The stanza is completely characteristic of Cowper's mind and manner. The proposed match with Theodora was forbidden by her father, on the ground of consanguinity. To Cowper, the blow, evidently, was severe. In *Absence and Bereavement*, he bewails his fate. The concluding lines of this poem:

Why all that soothes a heart from anguish free,
 All that delights the happy, palls with me!

Suggest strongly the sentiment of a later and finer poem, *The Strubbery* :

This glassy stream, that spreading pine,
Those alders quivering to the breeze,
Might soothe a soul less hurt than mine,
And please, if anything could please.

But fixed unalterable care
Forgoes not what she feels within,
Shows the same sadness everywhere,
And slights the season and the scene.

The earlier poem thus seems to foreshadow the melancholy that, afterwards, was to claim the poet. Externally, it is true, there did not appear to be any immediate sign of that melancholy. Cowper bought chambers in the Temple and was called to the bar. Without attempting to practise, he lived the life of a cultivated young man about town, reading Homer and marking the differences between Homer and Pope, writing articles and verses (one or two very popular ballads were among the early works of the author of *John Gilpin*) and helping his brother John with a translation of Voltaire's *Henriade*. Yet, meanwhile, the mischief was growing. He suffered from fits of depression, which, in later life, he believed to have been of religious origin. He found what alleviation he could in the poems of George Herbert ; but, when, in his thirty-second year, he was nominated by his uncle major Cowper to a clerkship in the House of Lords, his depression and his shyness broke into mania, and he tried to kill himself. Thereafter, he was out of the race, but, on that very account, was left the more open to the influences, religious and humane, to which his gentle nature, even in active life, must have been sensible. These were the days of Wesley and Whitefield, of widening hope and freedom in religion ; they were, also, the days of Rousseau and his creed of love and brotherhood. Slaves, animals and 'common wretches' were perceived to have their rights. Cowper was to become the poet of a religious sect, which, though doubtless narrow and unattractive in itself, had its share in breaking up the spiritual ice of the age. He was to sing with power in the cause of slaves, to make his pet hares and his dog famous and to find in rustics some of his best material for poetry. His sympathies were not wide ; but they were on the side of kindness. In politics, he remained 'an old whig' ; but the French revolution was, to him, 'a noble cause,' though made 'ridiculous' by the excesses of a 'madcap' people.

Thus, though living remote from the world, he breathed into the world a spirit of love and freedom. Before that time came, however, he had much to bear. Cured of his mania by a doctor at St Albans, whose religion was of the hopeful kind, he was settled by his brother and friends at Huntingdon; and, here, he maintained his cheerfulness and formed the friendship which proved the most important influence on his life. Morley Unwin was a retired clergyman who taught private pupils. With Unwin, his wife and his son and daughter, Cowper became so intimate that he went to live in their house. Their simple, cheerful, religious life exactly suited his needs. When Unwin was killed by a fall from his horse, Cowper and Mrs Unwin continued to reside together. Theirs is one of the famous friendships of literary history. Henceforth, they never separated; and, in Cowper's letters, in the sonnet, *To Mrs Unwin*, and in the poem, *To Mary*, the woman who devoted her life to Cowper received her reward. Soon after Unwin's death, the family moved from Huntingdon to Olney, in order to be near the curate in charge of that place, John Newton. The house that Newton chose for them was damp and gloomy; Olney was a poor and rather brutal place. Newton, formerly the captain of a slaver, was an evangelist of tremendous power and small tact. More than one of his parishioners (not, perhaps, very delicately organised people) had been thrown off their balance by his 'enthusiasm.' With the best intentions, he did the timid and sensitive Cowper much harm. He forced him to hold forth in public; he robbed him of exercise and gentle pleasures. The result was a severe return of his melancholy. In order to dissipate it, Newton laid upon him the task of writing hymns for a hymn-book which he was compiling.

The collection entitled *Olney Hymns* was published in London in 1779. Cowper's contributions to the volume were initialled 'C,' and among them occur several hymns still in use, together with three or four which are among the best known of English hymns, to whatever extent people may differ as to their morality. *Oh for a closer walk with God; There is a fountain filled with blood; Hark, my soul! it is the Lord; Jesus! where'er thy people meet; God moves in a mysterious way*—these are among the hymns by Cowper in this collection. The salient quality of them all is their sincerity and directness. The poet's actual experiences in the spiritual life are expressed with the simplicity generally characteristic of his work. Their weakness is a lack of profundity, and the absence of that suggestion of the infinite and the awful,

which, as in Crashaw or Newman, sometimes informs religious poetry less carefully dogmatic than Cowper's. His mind, indeed, was too precisely made up on matters of doctrine to be fruitful either of lofty religious passion or of religious mystery; and, instead of being great sacred poetry, his hymns are a stay and comfort to souls experiencing what might be called the practical difficulties of certain phases of spiritual life. Most of them are hopeful in tone; for, though the book was not published till 1779, the hymns were written by Cowper before 1773. In that year, he had another outbreak of mania. He imagined himself not only condemned to hell, but bidden by God to make a sacrifice of his own life. Mrs Unwin nursed him devotedly; but, more than a year passed before he began to recover. By 1776, he had resumed, in part, his correspondence with his friends. In 1779, Newton left Olney for a London living; and, the influence of his overbearing friend being withdrawn, Cowper entered upon what was probably the happiest period of his life. Carpentering, gardening, horse exercise, walking and other simple pleasures kept him cheerful; and he began again to write poetry. His kinsman Martin Madan having published a book advocating polygamy, Cowper, in 1781, printed anonymously a reply to it in the form of a fantastic tale. *Anti-Thelyphthora* is not among Cowper's best works; but it has a pointed neatness of diction and a descriptive touch which foretell *The Task*. Mrs Unwin, always anxious to keep him occupied and to make the best of him, set him to work on a long poem. She gave him the not very promising subject of the progress of error; and, going eagerly to work, he wrote eight satires: *Table Talk*, *The Progress of Error*, *Truth*, *Expostulation*, *Hope*, *Charity*, *Conversation* and *Retirement*.

Most of Cowper's critics have been unduly severe upon these moral satires. Doubtless, they are not so good as *The Task* or many of the shorter poems. Their weakness is obvious. A satirist, whether he be of the indignant order, like Juvenal, or the bitter, like Swift, or the genial, like Horace, must begin by knowing the world that he intends to attack; and Cowper, who had been cut off from the world, did not know it. When he attacks bishops and other clergy who were not of his own evangelical cast, or newspapers, or town life, it is difficult not to resent his easy smartness at the expense of things which his narrowness of outlook prevented him from understanding. Again, writing, as it seems, with an eye seeking for the approval of John Newton, Cowper gives too much space to good advice,

and too little to the allurements which should distinguish the satirist from the preacher.

The clear harangue, and cold as it is clear,
Falls soporific on the listless ear

are lines from *The Progress of Error* which have been quoted against their author ever since the satires first appeared. And it may be said in general that, fine as is the famous passage on Petronius (Lord Chesterfield) in *The Progress of Error*

Thou polished and high-finished foe to truth,
Grey-beard corrupter of our listening youth;

Cowper's poetry is not at its best when he is attacking or scolding; and, writing primarily to distract his mind and to benefit humanity, only secondarily to produce works of polished art, he is weak in the construction and arrangement of his poems. These objections, however, cannot outweigh the many merits of Cowper's moral satires. Their diction is precise and epigrammatic, not so much because Cowper polished his work minutely, as because his mind was exact and clear. Several of his couplets have become familiar as household words; and one of them,

How much a dunce that has been sent to roam
Excels a dunce that has been kept at home,

achieved the honour of quotation by Bulwer Lytton in his play *Money*. On a higher level is his criticism of Pope:

But he (his musical finesse was such,
So nice his ear, so delicate his touch)
Made poetry a mere mechanic art,
And every warbler has his tune by heart.

Cowper himself had the tune by heart, no doubt; but he did not sing it. Using the heroic couplet throughout these satires, he contrives to write quite unlike Pope. His versification is already unlike anything to be found in English literature, unless it be the verse of his former schoolfellow, Churchill, whose work he greatly admired. But Cowper's mind was so different from Churchill's that the resemblance does not go very deep. In the most successful portions of these satires—especially in the immortal picture of the statesman out of office, in *Retirement*—Cowper, both in matter and in manner, resembles Horace more than he resembles any other poet. He shows the same shrewd wisdom, the same precision and refinement, the same delicate playfulness. *Retirement*, which is the latest of these satires, is, undoubtedly, the

best; and the perspicacious suggestion has been made¹ that it was written under the influence of Cowper's friend, Lady Austen, to whom we shall return. At any rate, in *Retirement*, as in *The Task*, he is talking of things which he understood and liked for their own sake; and, since his tender and genial spirit was more responsive to the stimulus of what he liked than of what he disliked, was better, in short, at loving than at hating, in the positive than in the negative, *Retirement* shows him well suited by his subject and happy in its treatment.

The volume was published in 1782 under the title *Poems by William Cowper, of the Inner Temple, Esq.* Besides the satires, it contained thirty-five shorter poems, of which three were in Latin. Those in English include one or two pieces of note: *Boadicea: an Ode*, which has well earned its place in the literature of the schoolroom and its reputation in the world as a fine example of great power and weight attained by perfectly simple means; the pretty *Invitation into the Country*, addressed to Newton; some very graceful and delicate translations from the Latin poems of Cowper's Westminster schoolmaster Vincent Bourne; the powerful *Verses supposed to be written by Alexander Selkirk*; and two poems showing Cowper's possession of a gift for writing delicate and suggestive lyric poetry—lyric poetry with the indefinable touch of magic in it—which he did not thoroughly cultivate. One is the poem entitled *The Shrubbery*, to which reference was made above; the other, the lines 'addressed to a young lady' beginning

Sweet stream, that winds through yonder glade,
Apt emblem of a virtuous maid!

a poem which equals the best achievements of Wordsworth or Byron in the same field.

In connection with the satire *Retirement*, the name of Lady Austen was mentioned above. This charming and intelligent widow came into Cowper's life in the year 1781 and touched his spirits and his poetry to fine issues. Unlike Mrs Unwin, she belonged to the world and had a proper appreciation of the external things of life. In suggesting to Cowper a subject for his pen, she gave him not a moral topic but a simple object—the sofa in his room. The idea was very likely thrown off without full prevision of its far-reaching effect; but, in encouraging Cowper to write about something that he knew, in checking,

¹ By Bailey, J. C., *The Poems of William Cowper*, p. xxvi.

so far as might be, his tendency to moralise and to preach by fixing his attention on the simple facts of his daily life, she gave him an impulse which was what his own poetry, and English poetry at that moment, most needed. The result of her suggestion was *The Task*, a blank-verse poem in six books, of which *The Sofa* formed the first. Cowper starts playfully, with a touch of the gallantry that was always his. He shows his humour by dealing with the ordained subject in the style of Milton. Milton was his favourite poet; Johnson's life of Milton one of the writings he most disliked. Nevertheless, with his gentle gaiety, he begins his work with a parody of Milton.

No want of timber then was felt or feared
In Albion's happy isle. The lumber stood
Ponderous, and fixed by its own massy weight.
But elbows still were wanting; these, some say,
An alderman of Cripplegate contrived,
And some ascribe the invention to a priest
Burly and big, and studious of his ease.

Thus, for a hundred lines or so, he plays with his subject. Then, breaking away from it by an ingenious twist, he speaks for himself; and, for the first time, we have a new voice, the voice of William Cowper :

For I have loved the rural walk through lanes
Of grassy swarth, close cropped by nibbling sheep
And skirted thick with intertexture firm
Of thorny boughs; have loved the rural walk
O'er hills, through valleys, and by rivers' brink,
E'er since a truant boy I passed my bounds
To enjoy a ramble on the banks of Thames;
And still remember, nor without regret
Of hours that sorrow since has much endeared,
How oft, my slice of pocket store consumed,
Still hungering, penniless and far from home,
I fed on scarlet hips and stony haws,
Or blushing crabs, or berries that emboss
The bramble, black as jet, or sloes austere.

It is, perhaps, difficult to realise nowadays how new such writing as this was when *The Task* was published. Assuredly, these are not 'raptures'

conjured up
To serve occasions of poetic pomp.

The truant boy, his pocket store, the berries he ate—there is something in these which his century might have called 'low.' But the berries are exactly described; we feel sure that the boy ate them. The poet who describes them was, himself, that boy;

and, looking back, he sees his boyhood through the intervening sorrow which we know that he suffered. In every line, there is actuality and personality. The diction is still a little Miltonic, for Cowper's blank verse never moved far from his master; but, all the preceding nature poetry might be searched in vain for this note of simple truth—the record of actual experience which the poet perceives to have poetic value and beauty. A little later, he addresses Mrs Unwin in a famous passage, beginning:

How oft upon yon eminence our pace
Has slackened to a pause, and we have borne
The ruffling wind, scarce conscious that it blew,
While admiration feeding at the eye,
And still unsated, dwelt upon the scene.

Hitherto, there had been nothing in English poetry quite like the passage that begins with the lines here quoted. The nearest parallel is, probably, Collins's *Ode to Evening*, though that lovely poem wraps its subject in a glow of romance which is absent from Cowper's description. But, when Cowper wrote *The Sofa*, he had never even heard of Collins¹. He owed as little to Gray's *Elegy*, where the scene is far more 'sentimentalised'; and nothing can deprive him of the title to originality. Here is a very commonplace English landscape, minutely described. The poet does nothing to lend it dignity or significance other than its own. But he has seen for himself its beauty, and its interest; little details, like the straightness of the furrow, the smallness of the distant ploughman, please him. And, because he has himself derived pleasure and consolation from the scene and its details, his poetry communicates that pleasure and that consolation. Familiar scenes, simple things, prove, in his lines, their importance, their beauty and their healing influence on the soul of man. Nature need not any longer be 'dressed up' to win a place in poetry. And, if *The Task* be the forerunner of Wordsworth, its manner of accepting facts as they are, and at their own value, contains, also, the germ of something very unlike Cowper, something that may be found in *The Woods of Westermain*.

The nature poetry in *The Task* is, doubtless, of a humbler order than that of *Tintern Abbey* or *The Excursion*, though, in many passages of simple description, the similarity between Wordsworth and Cowper is striking. Cowper would have been unable to compose the books of *The Prelude: On Imagination and Taste, how impaired, and how restored*. He would even

¹ *Letters*, ed. Frazer, J. G., 1912, vol. I, p. 282.

have thought them unChristian and reprehensible. Where the great soul of Wordsworth broods over the world of sense, conscious of how it opens and affects the world of the spirit, Cowper hardly even asks how it is that these loved scenes console and enlarge the mind. He is not a philosopher, and he is not a mystic. For him, it is enough that the things he sees are beautiful and dear ; he does not ask for anything more. But the nearness of his object, his familiarity with it and his fine taste in expression result in poetry which, if not, in itself, great, is wonderfully pure and sweet, and prepared the way for profounder work by others. While his simplicity and exactness in description mark him off from all preceding nature poets, even from Thomson, the spirit of his poetry differentiates him equally from Crabbe, who, though even more minute and faithful in detail, always regarded nature as a setting for the emotions of man. There are passages in *The Task* which sound a nobler music than that quoted above. One is the invocation to evening in *The Winter Evening*, beginning :

Come, Evening, once again, season of peace;
Return, sweet Evening, and continue long!

The earlier part of this passage is very like Collins. The whole of it, in spite of certain characteristic words—‘ostentatious,’ ‘modest’—is a little too fanciful and a little too elaborate to be entirely in Cowper’s peculiar manner. He is most himself when he is most closely concerned with the scenes and people that, in his restricted life, he had come to know and love. The six books of *The Task* (entitled *The Sofa*, *The Time-piece*, *The Garden*, *The Winter Evening*, *The Winter Morning Walk* and *The Winter Walk at Noon*) contain many passages of sympathetic description that have become classical. Such are the lines on the ‘rural sounds’ and those on hay-carting in *The Sofa* ; the man cutting hay from the stack, the woodman and his dog in *The Winter Morning Walk* ; the postman and the waggouer in *The Winter Evening* ; the fall of snow, in the same book. Each is the product of the poet’s own observation ; each helped to prove, in an age which needed the lesson, that simplicity and truth have their place in poetry, and that commonplace things are fit subjects for the poet. Cowper’s simplicity is not the simplicity of *Lyrical Ballads*, any more than it is the glittering artifice of Pope. He is Miltonic throughout ; but he speaks with perfect sincerity, keeping ‘his eye on the object.’

There are, no doubt, stretches of didactic verse in *The*

Task. That was almost necessary to Cowper in a poem of this length. But it is more important to observe how, in this poem, one quality, that has endeared Cowper to thousands of readers and was by no means without its effect on public opinion, finds its chief expression in his works. After concluding *The Sofa* with the famous and beautiful passage beginning :

God made the country, and man made the town ;

he opens *The Time-piece* with a cry for some refuge where the news of man's oppression, deceit and cruelty might never reach him. The love of man for man, the love of man for animals, for the meanest thing that lives—this is the principal moral message of *The Task*. Doubtless, this kind of 'sentimentalism' was 'in the air,' at the time. It belonged, to some extent, to Cowper's section of the church ; it was spread far and wide by Rousseau. Yet it was inborn in Cowper's tender, joyful nature—a nature that was playfully serene when free from its tyrant melancholy ; and Cowper remains the chief exponent of it in English poetry.

When originally published in 1785, *The Task* was followed in the same volume by three shorter poems, an epistle to Cowper's friend, Joseph Hill, *Tirocinium*, to which reference was made above, and *The Diverting History of John Gilpin*. In *Tirocinium*, the attack on the brutality and immorality of public schools may have been just and is certainly vigorous ; but this is not the kind of poetical composition in which Cowper excelled. Of *John Gilpin*, there is little need to speak at length. Lady Austen told Cowper the story. He lay awake at night laughing over it, and made of it a ballad in a style of fun peculiarly his own, but not to be found elsewhere outside his letters. The more closely one looks into the poem, the finer seems the characterisation, and the more delicate and artful the precise simplicity of its manner. Subsequent editions included twelve more short poems in the volume, among them *The Rose*, admired by Sainte-Beuve, and the lines *On the Receipt of my Mother's Picture out of Norfolk*. Cowper's mother had died when he was six years old. As he tells us in this poem, nearly half a century afterwards he remembered distinctly and minutely the event and his feelings, and the poem is one of the most pathetic and moving in any language. Thanks to the poet's use of detail, the woman and her little son live again before us, and the tenderness of the whole is unsurpassed. One other of the shorter poems, *The Dog and the Water-lily*, deserves mention for the light it throws on Cowper's gentle, animal-loving life ;

and the collection included, also, one or two fables that link him with Prior, Gay and Northcote.

In 1786, Cowper and Mrs Unwin had moved from dreary Olney to a cheerful house and neighbourhood at Weston, not far off, and had enlarged their circle of acquaintances, thanks, partly, to his cousin Harriet (the sister of Theodora), now Lady Hesketh. Cowper's life continued to be happy; and, during these pleasant years, he wrote a number of short poems, which were not published till after his death. Among them were several playful or serious personal addresses, much in the tone of the letters. Others were little narratives or expressions of everyday experience, like *The Colubriad*, an account of a viper which threatened the poet's cat and her kittens, and the epitaph on the poet's hare, 'Old Tiney, surliest of his kind.' The remainder included a few religious poems, several epigrams and translations, one or two tales and some poems on the slave trade, written to order and not showing Cowper at his best. Among these posthumous works four stand prominent: the stanzas *On the Loss of the Royal George*, the sonnet *To Mrs Unwin*, the poem *To Mary* and *The Poplar Field*. The sonnet is one of Cowper's finest achievements; the poem *To Mary* is redeemed by its tenderness from a certain monotony in the form. *The Poplar Field* contains the famous and exquisite second line of the couplet

The poplars are felled; farewell to the shade
And the whispering sound of the cool colonnade

which shows Cowper to have had possibilities in lyric poetry never fulfilled by him. Yet, it seems almost unjust to say this in view of *On the Loss of the Royal George*. Written to oblige Lady Austen, who wanted words set to the march in *Scipio*, this poem is one of the noblest dirges ever composed. By the directest, simplest means imaginable, Cowper attains an effect of noble grandeur. The plain statement reaches the sublime.

Cowper was not content to write short poems. In order to stave off its besetting depression, his mind needed regular occupation; and, in 1785, soon after he had finished correcting the proofs of *The Task*, he began, 'merely to divert attention,' turning Homer's *Iliad* into blank verse. The diversion grew into a plan to translate the whole of Homer and publish the work by subscription. Cowper came to his task well equipped. He had known his Homer from boyhood; and how well he knew and appreciated him may be learned from two letters to Lady Hesketh, written in December

1785 and January 1786, which are worth quoting as examples of judicious and penetrating criticism.

Except the Bible, there never was in the world a book so remarkable for that species of the sublime that owes its very existence to simplicity, as the works of Homer. He is always nervous, plain, natural... Homer is, on occasions that call for such a style, the easiest and most familiar of all writers... Homer's accuracy of description, and his exquisite judgement never, never failed him. He never, I believe, in a single instance sacrificed beauty to embellishment. He does not deal in hyperbole... accordingly, when he describes nature, whether in man or in animal, or whether nature inanimate, you may always trust him for the most consummate fidelity. It is his great glory that he omits no striking part of his subject, and that he never inserts a tittle that does not belong to it. Oh! how unlike some describers that I have met with, of modern days, who smother you with words, words, words; and then think that they have copied nature; when all the while nature was an object either not looked at, or not sufficiently.

Much of this is applicable to Cowper himself; and the writer of the passage might be held to have been peculiarly well fitted to translate Homer. Moreover, Cowper not only knew and loved Homer (though, indeed, he regretted that this 'most blameless writer' was 'not an enlightened man'), but he knew Pope's translation, which he had compared word for word with the original. To him, Pope's 'faults and failings' were 'like so many buoys upon a dangerous coast'; and, side by side with his appreciation of Homer, there runs, in these letters to Lady Hesketh, some very penetrating examination of the difference between Homer and the 'two pretty poems under Homer's titles' written by Pope. So far as criticism goes, therefore, Cowper promised well as a translator of Homer. He knew what to aim at, and what to avoid. The work was finished, well subscribed and published in 1791; and, today, no one need read it except those who have to write about it.

The reasons of Cowper's failure are two. In the first place though precision and truth of detail are characteristics of both poets, Cowper's tender, shrinking mind was separated by centuries and leagues from Homer's. It was not his to understand the joy of battle, the fascination of wounds, the fierce, raw passions, still largely animal, of primitive heroes and heroines, nor to surrender his convictions to the turbulent folk whom Homer regarded as gods and goddesses. In the second place, it is one thing to realise that Homer is 'nervous, plain, natural,' and another to achieve those qualities, in learned and sonorous blank verse. Cowper's Miltonic measures are hardly less unlike Homer than is Pope's riming jingle. The movement is completely altered. It

is ample and stately ; it has all the nobility which was one of the qualities demanded by Matthew Arnold in his lectures *On Translating Homer*. It is, also, faithful. Pope had perverted his original in order to find occasion for the brilliant effects of antithesis and epigram in which he excelled. Chapman, an Elizabethan brimful of ideas and curiosity and a spirit of literary adventure, had perverted his original through ebullience of sentiment and fancy. Cowper, priding himself on adhering closely to his original, adhered only in part. He knew exactly what Homer meant to say ; he appreciated, in a great measure, Homer's manner of saying it ; but his head was full of Milton. He believed Milton's style to resemble Homer's ; and, by modelling his blank verse on Milton's, he achieves inversions, pauses and pomposities which are wholly unlike the smooth and simple rapidity of Homer. This is not to say that there are not excellent passages in Cowper's *Homer*, nor that the whole work is not a lofty achievement in scholarship and poetry. But, in avoiding the cleverness of Pope, Cowper fell into the opposite extreme. Homer is grand and lively, Cowper's *Homer* is grand and dull. As translator of the hymns of Mme Guyon, of certain odes and satires of Horace, of Greek songs and the Latin poems of his admired Milton, Cowper was more successful, especially in the case of Horace, with whom, despite the difference between a genial pagan and an evangelical Christian, he had much in common. Perhaps the least disputable title to remembrance which Cowper's *Homer* possesses is that it kept the poet busy and happy, staving off, for a while, his persistent foe, despair.

Despair was to have him in the end. Mrs Unwin sickened and died. The strain of attendance upon her proved too much for Cowper's mental and physical strength ; and one of the saddest stories in the world is that of Cowper at and after the death of his heroic friend. Popularity, success, affection, royal favour (in the form of a pension acquired for him partly by the eager, blundering pertinacity of his friend, Hayley¹)—nothing could relieve him. His last original work was a powerful but ghastly poem called *The Castaway*. He died on 25 April 1800.

Cowper, though not among the great poets of England, holds a unique place, partly by virtue of the personality which shines in every line of his poetry, partly by virtue of the sincerity and simplicity which, 'keeping its eye on the object,' saw beauty and

¹ Caldicott, H. Rowlands S., 'How Cowper got his pension,' *The Cornhill Magazine*, no. 202, April 1918, p. 498.

consolation in common things, till then neglected, but eagerly seized upon by his successors and transformed into material for their profoundest and noblest art. There is another field in which he holds still a unique position—the field of letter-writing. It seems an error to speak, in connection with Cowper, of the art of letter-writing. If art implies the consideration of their effect upon the public, no letters were ever written with less art. In a letter to William Unwin, Cowper says

It is possible I might have indulged myself in the pleasure of writing to you, without waiting for a letter from you, but for a reason which you will not easily guess. Your mother communicated to me the satisfaction you expressed in my correspondence, that you thought me entertaining and clever, and so forth:—now you must know, I love praise dearly, especially from the judicious, and those who have so much delicacy themselves as not to offend mine in giving it. But then, I found this consequence attending, or likely to attend the eulogium you bestowed;—if my friend thought me witty before, he shall think me ten times more witty hereafter;—where I joked once, I will joke five times, and for one sensible remark I will send him a dozen. Now this foolish vanity would have spoiled me quite, and would have made me as disgusting a letter-writer as Pope, who seems to have thought that unless a sentence was well turned, and every period pointed with some conceit, it was not worth the carriage. Accordingly he is to me, except in very few instances, the most disagreeable maker of epistles that ever I met with. I was willing, therefore, to wait till the impression your commendation had made upon the foolish part of me was worn off, that I might scribble away as usual, and write my uppermost thoughts, and those only.

With the exception of Charles Lamb, all the other great English letter-writers—Gray, Walpole, Pope, Byron—wrote with an eye to the printed collection. Cowper wrote partly for his correspondent, chiefly for himself. His are, in his own phrase, ‘talking letters.’ He chats about anything that happens to be in his mind. If he is suffering from his mental complaint, he writes a letter unmatched for gloom, a letter that envelopes even a modern reader in a black mist of misery. A few pages later, and he is playful, gay, almost jaunty. His mind was so sweet, and his interest in the little details of life so keen, that the most trivial occurrence—a feat in carpentering, a bed of tulips, the visit of a parliamentary candidate—can interest his reader still. Acute reasoning, sound sense, fine judgment fall into their places with whimsical nonsense, hearty laughter and almost boyish affection. He will break off a criticism on Homer to bid Lady Hesketh ‘give me a great corking pin that I may stick your faith upon my sleeve. There—it is done.’ The whole of his nature, gay and gloomy, narrow in opinion and wide in sympathy, ever fixed on

heavenly things and ever keenly alive to mundane things, is preserved for us in these inimitably vivid letters ; and the same taste and scholarship which give point and permanence even to his least elaborated poems have won for these naïve examples of transparent self-revelation an undying value. The more they are read, the better will Cowper be understood and loved.

CHAPTER V

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

WORDSWORTH'S surprise and resentment would surely have been provoked had he been told that, at half a century's distance and from an European point of view, his work would seem, on the whole, though with several omissions and additions, to be a continuation of the movement initiated by Rousseau. It is, nevertheless, certain that it might be described as an English variety of Rousseauism, revised and corrected, in some parts, by the opposite influence of Edmund Burke. In Wordsworth, we find Rousseau's wellknown fundamental tenets: he has the same semi-mystical faith in the goodness of nature as well as in the excellence of the child; his ideas on education are almost identical; there are apparent a similar diffidence in respect of the merely intellectual processes of the mind, and an equal trust in the good that may accrue to man from the cultivation of his senses and feelings. The differences between the two, mainly occasional and of a political nature, seem secondary by the side of these profound analogies. For this reason, Wordsworth must be placed by the general historian among the numerous 'sons of Rousseau,' who form the main battalion of romanticism; though, if we merely regard the ideas he expressed and propagated, his personality may, thereby, lose some of its originality and distinctness. But, resemblance does not necessarily mean repetition and imitation. Moreover, men's ideas are their least individual possessions. The manner in which a man, and, above all, a poet, becomes possessed of his creed, the stamp he puts upon it, are the things that really matter. Now, Wordsworth formed his thoughts and convictions in the light of the circumstances of his own life, whereby they assumed a reality wanting in those of many of his contemporaries. If he thought like others, he always thought by himself. He gives us the impression that, had he lived alone on a

bookless earth, he would have reached the same conclusions. His deep influence on a limited, but incomparably loyal, number of readers owes less to his beliefs than to his minute, persevering analysis of every step he made towards them. He appeals to our confidence by his constant recourse to his personal experience. He prides himself on being the least inventive of great poets. He belittles fancy. It is true that he claimed imagination as his supreme gift, but, at the same time, he bestowed on the word imagination a new meaning, almost entirely opposed to the ordinary one. He gave the name to his accurate, faithful and loving observation of nature. In his loftier moods, he used 'imagination' as a synonym of 'intuition,' of seeing into, and even through, reality, but he never admitted a divorce between it and reality. The gift of feigning, of arbitrarily combining the features of a legend or story, which had long been held to be the first poetical prerogative, was almost entirely denied him, and he thanked God for its absence. His hold over many thoughtful and, generally, mature minds is due to his having avowedly, and often, also, practically, made truth his primary object, beauty being only second. Those who had ingenuously turned to his poems for the mere charm of verse were grateful to him inasmuch as they had received, in addition, their first lessons in philosophy. They had gone to him for pleasure and they came back with a train of reflection that followed them through the round of their daily tasks. They were taught by him a new way of looking at men and nature. Wordsworth achieved this result by dint of one-sided pressure, by tenaciousness of aim. Not that his ideas remained the same from beginning to end. Few men, on the contrary, changed more thoroughly. His mind may be represented as continuously shifting along a half circle, so that, finally, he stood at the opposite end of the diameter. The young revolutionist evolved into a grey-haired conservative, the semi-atheist and pantheist into a pattern of conformity. But, all the time, he kept true to his fixed centre, the search for the greatest good. His very contradictions point to one engrossing pursuit. His life was an unbroken series of slow movements which brought him from one extreme to the other, though his eyes were ever bent in the same direction. Because he never ceased to have the same object in view, he was himself imperfectly conscious of the change in his position.

Wordsworth was born in 1770 at Cockermouth, in the north of the lake country, the second child of a fairly prosperous

attorney-at-law and of Anne Cookson, daughter of a Penrith mercer. Seen from the outside, without the optimistic prism of *The Prelude*, his childhood does not seem to have been any more privileged, while his youth appears decidedly more vexed and troubled, than those of the common run of men. The child, surely, had pleasant hours with his brothers and sister while playing about the terrace of the family garden which overlooked the Derwent, or when bathing in the river. There were bitter hours, however, when he was taken to his mother's family at Penrith, where harsh grandparents often treated the little ones 'with reproach and insult.' William was particularly unruly and, in consequence, had most to bear from the Cooksons. Hence, we hear of acts of defiance and even of a childish attempt at suicide.

When he was eight years old, his mother died, and, parting from his father, who never recovered his cheerfulness after his bereavement, Wordsworth was sent to Hawkshead grammar school. A very homely one-room house in a very poor village is the place where he was taught. He lodged with one of the old village dames, who, however kind they might be to boys, could only give them coarse and scanty fare. For his companions, he chiefly had farmers' sons, destined for the church, who brought with them the rough manners of their home life. In spite of the delight he found in games, open air life and rambles about hill and lake, it must be admitted that Hawkshead was a very mixed paradise.

Then came his father's death, when the boy was thirteen. The orphan's condition was precarious. Almost all the money left by his father was in the hands of Sir James Lowther, to whom Wordsworth's father had been steward, and Sir James would never hear of paying it back so long as he lived, nor could he be compelled to reimburse. It is true that enough remained to allow William to pursue his studies, and a boy does not take money questions much to heart. But there were wretched holidays at Penrith, in his grandparents' sullen home. Of the frequent distress of the children in that house, we have a vivid picture in the earliest letters of little Dorothy, the poet's only sister, written in the last year spent by William at Hawkshead. Dorothy, whose sweet, affectionate nature cannot be suspected of unjustified complaints, could scarcely bear the loveless constraint she had to undergo. No more could her brothers: 'Many a time have William, John, Christopher and myself shed tears together of the bitterest sorrow.' 'We have no father to protect, no mother to guide us,' and so forth.

From Hawkshead, Wordsworth went to Cambridge in October 1787 and remained there at St John's college till the beginning of 1791. He took little interest either in the intellectual or social life of the university. He never opened a mathematical book and thus lost all chance of obtaining a fellowship. Even his literary studies were pursued irregularly, without any attention being paid to the prescribed course. He did not feel any abhorrence of the students' life, which, at that time, consisted of alternate sloth and wildness. He first shared in it, but soon grew weary of it and lived more or less by himself. In his university years, his only deep enjoyments were the long rambles in which he indulged during vacations. Meanwhile, discussions with his uncles must, at times, have made life rather distasteful to him. He had no money in prospect. All his small patrimony had been spent on his university education; yet he showed himself vacillating and reluctant when required to make choice of a career. None was to his taste. The army, the church, the law, tutorial work, were all contemplated and discarded in turn. He showed no strong bent except for wandering and writing poetry. He was, indeed, a young man likely to make his elders anxious. In July 1790, just at the time when he ought to have been working hard for his approaching examinations, he took it into his head to start for the Alps with a fellow student, on foot, equipped much like a pedlar—an escapade without precedent. As soon as he had taken his B.A., without distinction, he set fortune at defiance, and settled in London for a season, doing nothing in particular, 'pitching a vagrant tent among the unfenced regions of society.' After this, other wanderings and abortive schemes of regular work followed for more than three years, till he threw aside all idea of a fixed career and settled down to resolute poverty. Such apparent restlessness and indolence could not but be attended by many a pang of remorse. He suffered from his growing estrangement from his relations. He was ill satisfied with himself and uneasy about the future, and these feelings (perhaps darkened by some passages of vexed love) found an outlet in his juvenile poems, all of which are tinged with melancholy.

It seems strange that such a childhood and youth should, afterwards, have furnished him with the optimistic basis of *The Prelude*. Beyond doubt, this poem was meant to be a selection of all the circumstances in his early life that told for joy and hope. Hence, a heightening of bright colours, and a voluntary omission

of more sombre hues, in the picture he made of his youth. But the contrast between the dry facts of his early life and his rapture over the same period is, also, owing to a deeper truth. The joy he celebrates in *The Prelude* springs from sources hidden from all eyes, scarcely suspected by the child himself. Whatever shadows might pass over his days, abundant strength and happiness lay beneath the surface. He was not callous to grief, but, somehow, felt all the time that grief was transient, hope permanent, in his breast. His enjoyment of nature gave him those intense delights which are usually unnoticed in the tale of a life. So did his already passionate love of verse. Thus, *The Prelude* is all true, though it does not present us with the whole truth.

Of the young man's passion for nature, his early poems, both published in 1793, furnish direct proof. They are the most minute and copious inventories of the aspects he saw, of the noises he heard, in his native lakes (*An Evening Walk*) or in his wanderings through Switzerland (*Descriptive Sketches*). Such acuteness and copiousness of observation were only possible in the case of a devotee. However contorted and knotty the verse may be, however artificial the diction, the poet's fervour is as manifest here as in the most eloquent of his subsequent effusions. Though he follows in the train of a succession of descriptive poets, he outdoes them all in abundance of precise touches.

But his practice of descriptive poetry was interrupted for several years, at the very time when he was giving the finishing touch to these poems. The influence of the French revolution on this part of his life cannot be overrated. Characteristically, he was rather late in becoming an adept. He uttered no paean on the fall of the Bastille. To move him, it was necessary that his senses should be aroused. Now, the revolution turned her most enticing smile towards him. It so happened that he had first landed at Calais on the eve of the federation of 1790; so, the unparalleled mirth of that time seemed a festivity prepared for his welcome. The glee and hopefulness of the season turned into a charming benevolence, which he tasted with all the relish of a student on a holiday trip. Then came his prolonged stay in France, chiefly at Orleans and at Blois, from November 1791 to December 1792, in times already darkened by civil mistrust and violence. But, chance would have it that he should be eyewitness to heartstirring scenes, such as the enlisting of volunteers and the proclamation of the republic. Above all, he had the good fortune to make friends with one of the true heroes of the day, captain Michel

Beaupuy, whose chivalric nature and generous enthusiasm for the new order warmed the young Englishman. Exquisite is the portrait drawn of Beaupuy in *The Prelude*. The fine traits of his character are all confirmed by what has since become known of his career, with this reservation that, through an irresistible tendency to idealise, Wordsworth may have toned down some of the features. Beaupuy was the revolutionary apostle described by the poet, but there was less of the philosopher and more of the soldier in his composition. It is clear from his letters and diaries that he was an ingenuous and soldier-like reasoner, and, also, that he could utter an oath or two when in a passion. Anyhow, he found Wordsworth a bewildered foreigner and left him a determined revolutionist, one might almost say a French republican. A spirit of revolt and indignation against all social iniquities pervaded Wordsworth for years, together with a sympathy, which never left him, for the poorer and humbler members of the community. When he came back to England, he drew near the Jacobins without becoming one of them; but he was a decided reformer. Alienated from his own country when she went to war with France, he heartily hated king, regent and ministry. His letter to the bishop of Llandaff and his poem *Guilt and Sorrow* (or *Incidents on Salisbury Plain*) are the best testimonies of his feelings. Society appeared to him responsible for the wretchedness, and even the crimes, of individuals—his pity went to vagrants and murderers. His abhorrence of war was shown in insistent and gruesome pictures of war scenes.

When the French revolution passed into the Terror, and especially when the republic changed a defensive into an aggressive war, Wordsworth lost his trust in immediate social reform. He turned more and more to abstract meditation on man and society, chiefly under the guidance of William Godwin—a period of dry intellectualism that went against the grain. "He suffered from the suppression of his feelings, from being momentarily deaf to 'the language of the sense.' Besides, his analysis of men's motives soon convinced him that the evils he fought against were not so much the results of social forms as of something inherent in man's nature. A man of commanding intellect may be wantonly cruel and vicious; he may use all the powers of logic for his detestable ends; reason is non-moral; the wicked 'spin motives out of their own bowels.' Hence, a wellnigh absolute, though transient, pessimism, which vented itself in his play *The Borderers*. If the traditional bonds of morality are

relaxed, the fixed rules of our actions or the intuitive guidance of the feelings repudiated, then full scope is given to bold, intelligent, bad men; then are the wellmeaning blinded and betrayed to abominable deeds. Then is the Terror possible. Scarcely any hope of betterment is left. The kindhearted Girondin Marmaduke will be an easy prey to the villainous Montagnard Oswald.

When he wrote this tragedy, Wordsworth had already put an end to his solitary, wandering life and settled at Racedown in Dorsetshire with his sister Dorothy (autumn of 1795). There, they both lived a frugal life, on the meagre income from a legacy of £900 left to the poet by a dying friend. This settlement was the crowning of a longercherished scheme. Brother and sister were passionately attached to each other. Dorothy's letters make their mutual love known to us and let us into depths of Wordsworth's nature, scarcely revealed by his poems. She speaks of 'a vehemence of affection' in him that his readers might not suspect, so careful he usually was, in Hazlitt's words, 'to calm the throbbing pulses of his own heart by keeping his eye ever fixed on the face of nature.' By this discipline, did he, in those years, slowly conquer his besetting thoughts of despondency. Wordsworth and Dorothy were equally fond of natural scenery. Their delight in each other and their daily rambles were the first agents in the young disillusionised republican's recovery. Dorothy made him turn his eyes again to the landscape and take an interest in the peasants near their home. But the poet's mind remained gloomy for a time, as is shown by his pastoral *The Ruined Cottage* (or *The Story of Margaret*), which afterwards found its place in the first book of *The Excursion*. A heartrending narrative, if read without the comforting comments of the pedlar afterwards added to it, a perfect poem, too, such as Wordsworth never surpassed, it points out both the exceeding tenderness often met with in the hearts of the poor and the cruelty of fate aggravated by the existing social order. No doctrine, poetic or philosophical, is perceptible in this poem of simple, chastened beauty. It does not give any token of the message with which Wordsworth was soon to think himself entrusted. His sense of a message only became clear to him after he had, in the summer of 1797, removed from Racedown to Alfoxden, so as to live in daily converse with Coleridge, who was then dwelling at Nether Stowey, in Somersetshire. Till then, the two poets had only exchanged a few visits, after the end of 1795, the first results of which had merely been to encourage Wordsworth to

poetical composition. He had felt raised and exhilarated by Coleridge's entire, almost extravagant, admiration for his *Sabbury Plain* and *Borderers*. But, when they had become close neighbours and intimate friends, Coleridge's innate transcendentalism began to affect Wordsworth. It is impossible to define exactly the share of each in the elaboration of those poetical and moral tenets which they seemed, for a time, to hold in common, unconscious of the deep differences between them. Yet, on the whole, one may say that Wordsworth's share consisted in his more precise observations of nature and common life. Coleridge, 'with the capacious soul,' influenced his friend by his metaphysical gifts, 'the power he possessed of throwing out in profusion grand, central truths from which might be evolved the most comprehensive systems.' An omnivorous reader, with an inclination towards mystic doctrines, Coleridge talked eloquently to Wordsworth on Plato and the neo-Platonists, Berkeley's idealism, the pantheistic system and serene necessitarianism of Spinoza, the intuitional religion of the theosophists—a new world to one who had not yet gone beyond the rationalism of the eighteenth century and who always found his most congenial food in the associationism of Hartley. Now, Wordsworth, without binding himself to any one master, was to take hints from all in building up his own doctrine. But he was not an intellectual dilettante; all he absorbed from without had to be reconciled to his personal experience and turned to a practical aim. He would show men the way to wisdom and happiness. He would, from his country retreat, give out his views of nature, man and society. He justified this lofty ambition to himself because he was conscious, personally, of having issued out of error into truth, out of despondency into hopefulness. He thought he knew the reasons why most men in his generation had fallen into pessimism and misanthropy. He now believed in the restorative power of nature, in the essential goodness of a man's heart when unadulterated by the pride of intellect, in the greatness of the senses which could drink in infinite joys and profound lessons of wisdom. Thus did he plan his *Recluse*, as early as March 1798, 'the first great philosophical poem in existence,' as Coleridge anticipated, which was to employ his highest energies for seventeen years. Though never completed, the monument exists in fragments of imposing magnitude—the first book of *The Recluse*, properly so called, written in 1800; *The Prelude*, written between 1798 and 1805, an autobiography meant as the ante-chapel to the huge gothic cathedral; and *The Excursion*, which, though it

includes passages composed as early as 1797, was not finished before 1814. Such intervals of time account better than any other reason for the incompleteness of the edifice, for the poet's ideas changed so much while he was engaged upon his work that no systematic presentation of doctrine, as was first intended, could possibly be achieved. Only the initial impulse remained—the poet's sense of a duty put on him from on high, his earnest wish to benefit his fellow men morally and to make them happier. The reasons for his optimism might and did vary; but the optimistic attitude was preserved to the end, securing the unity of the poet's career.

But, during his stay with Coleridge in Somersetshire, Wordsworth did not only lay the foundations of his *Recluse*. The same intercourse gave birth to less ambitious and more immediate verse, to the famous *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798, a small volume of short poems by Coleridge and himself. It is well known how, after some fruitless attempts at collaboration, the two friends agreed to divide the field of poetry. To the share of Coleridge fell such subjects as were supernatural, or, at any rate, romantic, which he was to inform with a human interest and a semblance of truth. Wordsworth's part was to be the events of everyday life, by preference in its humblest form; the characters and incidents of his poems 'were to be such as will be found in every village and its vicinity where there is a meditative and feeling mind to seek after them, or to notice them when they present themselves.' Thus did Coleridge sing *The Ancient Mariner*, while Wordsworth told the tales *Goody Blake* and *Simon Lee*. Nothing can better show Wordsworth's minute realism, how necessary it was to him to hold a little of his mother earth within his fingers. His homely ballads are so many humble practical illustrations of the philosophy he was at this very time promulgating in lofty blank verse, for instance, in his lyrical hymn of thanks to nature, *Tintern Abbey*. The ballads have 'a something corporeal, a matter-of-factness,' which Coleridge could not help lamenting. They are not only clad in humble garb, but, to a certain extent, are more scientific than poetic in their aim. There survived so much of Wordsworth's former rationalism that he almost gave the precedence to psychology over poetry in these experiments. The preface of the 1800 edition of the *Ballads* really looks like the programme of a man of science. He is inspired by a wish to know more, and make more known, of the human heart. He goes so far as to call poetry 'the history and science of the feelings.'

Perfect unity is not characteristic of this period so much as

a gladsome energy exerted in several directions. 'He never wrote with such glee.' His new reading of nature and of man fills him with delight—together with the life he now leads between the most wonderful of friends and the most devoted of inspired sisters. He had such superfluous joy that 'he could afford to suffer with those he saw suffer,' that he was 'bold to look on painful things.' He believed in 'the deep power of joy,' by means of which 'we see into the life of things.' He made joy the chief attribute of poetry, proclaimed poets 'the happiest of men.' He rejoiced in his own boldness, found vent for his surviving republicanism in a sweeping, democratic reform of poetical style—putting down the time-honoured hierarchy of words, abolishing the traditional distinction between high and low, in subjects and diction.

These trustful feelings, this spontaneous optimism, expressive of his unimpaired vitality, sustained him throughout the years from 1798 to 1805, during which period his best and most original poetry was written, whether at Alfoxden, or in Germany, where he stayed with his sister from September 1798 to April 1799, or in the glorious humility of Dove cottage, at Grasmere, in the lake country, where he settled with Dorothy in the last days of the century and where Coleridge was again his frequent visitant, or in his wanderings over Scotland, with both Coleridge and Dorothy, from August to October 1803. A period of 'plain living and high thinking,' made famous by great verse.

One may fix on 1805 as the year in, or about, which this period of Wordsworth's poetical life closes. He had now, if not published, at least written, nearly all that is supreme in his works—his only book of *The Recluse*, all *The Prelude*, the best parts of *The Excursion*, besides many of the best and boldest of his short poems, ballads and sonnets. His great *Ode on Immortality* was all but finished. Had he died then, in his thirty-sixth year, having lived as long as Byron and much longer than Shelley or Keats, he would have left a fame almost as high as he was to attain, though of a different character. His freshness of thought and style being taken together, his works would have stamped him as one of the most daring among the poets of his day. The sedate and sometimes conventional moralising which has been associated with his name comes into existence in his later productions. But it should be added that, for ten years, he was to achieve, in a new direction, some verse that 'one would not willingly let die.'

Outward events and the circumstances of his own life had something to do with the change that took place in him about 1805. Politically, it was caused by the beginning of the French empire, the crowning of Napoleon by the pope, 'a sad reverse for all mankind'; hence, the final overthrow of Wordsworth's sympathies for the revolution, the decisive proof (so he thought) that his former ideal was false and treacherous. This led him to suspect more and more all that, in his ideas, still savoured of revolt; it caused him to rally more closely round the principles of order and repent his former wishes of social change. The gray tints of mistrust slowly overlaid the glowing enthusiasms of yore. It is true that Wordsworth's feelings were roused, chiefly by the Spanish war, to a patriotic fervour that found expression in many a vigorous sonnet and even turned him into a pamphleteer. His eloquent and ponderous *Convention of Cintra* (1809) shows the fighting spirit that was in him. But it had the inconvenience of leading him from verse to prose, from poetry to dialectics, and thus generated an oratorical habit that was to infect many parts of his *Excursion*.

Then, in his very home, there happened changes that, whether fortunate or sad, impressed on his soul new habits and tendencies. As early as 1802, he had married a Westmorland girl, Mary Hutchinson, in whom he found one of the greatest blessings of his life. The quieting influence of this meek Mary, by degrees, though not at once, was added to, or even took the place of, the more impulsive and exciting companionship of Dorothy. Mrs Wordsworth's nature told for submission and repose. Besides, the mere fact of his being married checked gradually, though it did not suppress altogether, what might be called the guiltless Bohemianism of his youth. The duties and cares of the father of a large family grew upon him. Five children were born to the pair between 1803 and 1810, two of whom were to die almost simultaneously in 1812. As early as 1806, the increase of his family had led to a temporary, then to a definitive, abandonment of the narrow Dove cottage, to which clung many of his most poetical memories.

• Before robbing him of two of his children, death had already struck Wordsworth a blow that went near his heart, one that ever after saddened his life—the loss of his brother John, a sailor shipwrecked in February 1805. How deeply he was affected by it is known, not only by his poems, but from the letters of the Grasmere household and the journal of Dorothy. There was another cause of grievous sorrow in the state of 'the brother of his soul,

Coleridge, now a prey to opium and drink, whose growing distress of body and mind was, for years, a depressing, heartrending sight for his friend, and whose endless idle laments haunted Wordsworth's sleep as well as his waking thoughts. Whether absent or present, Coleridge had become an increasing source of anxiety to Wordsworth. Wordsworth's infinite patience and forbearance, in these circumstances, cannot be too highly praised. But nothing availed. The friends had to part in 1810, Coleridge betaking himself to London. More painful than all the rest, Coleridge, in one of his irresponsible moods, turned in anger against Wordsworth. An estrangement followed which was never wholly healed, and which left a lifelong scar in Wordsworth's heart.

Yet, the change in Wordsworth's poetry had still deeper causes than all these. Though he had little of Coleridge's self-abandonment, he could not help feeling a decay of his strictly poetical powers—of that imagination and joy on which, till then, he had erected the structure of his verse. When Coleridge had written his ode *Dejection* in 1802, Wordsworth could immediately retort with his optimistic *Leech-Gatherer*. But, now, he, also, felt the wane of his 'shaping spirit of imagination.' The earth no longer offered him the splendour it had for him in his youth. A glory had departed from the earth. He had, very early, felt the fading of that glory, but had long checked the onset of the unimaginative years to come by fondly dwelling on the memories of his childhood. In 1805, he had so copiously drawn from the treasure-house for his *Prelude* that the store was becoming exhausted. He understood the meaning of the depression of his vital spirits: he was travelling further away from the springs of energy, drawing nearer to old age and death. This is a sad thought to all men—it was doubly so to him who had rested all his faith on the freshness of the senses and feelings, and on their glad-some guidance.

In want of comfort, he turned to duty. Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty* (1805), produced at the turning-point of his career, is full of import and significance. It throws a light both on the years that went before and on those that were to follow. It also reveals an aspect of the poet's nature not usually apparent. It is common to speak of him as one of the teachers of duty, and to refer to this ode (or to its title) as a proof. Now, he distinctly resigns himself to the control of duty because, at his time of life, a man can do no better. He abjures with regret the faith that, till then, had been his and in which duty had no place, the dear belief that joy

and love can guide man to all good—or, rather, he does not renounce it, but still mutters a hope that better days may come when, joy and love reigning supreme, duty can be dispensed with. As for himself, he would still cling to the same creed if he preserved spirit enough to bear the shocks of change and enjoy his ‘un-chartered freedom.’ He retires into the arms of duty as a weary warrior of old might end his days in the quiet shelter of a monastery. He still feels an uncertain convert: ‘Thee I now would serve more strictly, *if I may.*’ The ‘stern lawgiver,’ at first sight, inspires him with more fear than love. He only reconciles himself with the ‘awful Power’ when he has realised that duty wears a smile on her face, that she is beautiful, that, after all, she may be identical with love and joy:

Flowers laugh before thee on their beds,
And fragrance in thy footing treads;
Thou dost preserve the Stars from wrong,
And the most ancient Heavens through thee are fresh and strong.

a noble stanza, the loftiest of a poem signalised by the almost plaintive appeal that is heard throughout and by the longing, lingering look cast behind.

The *Ode to Duty* seems to have been written just before the death of his brother John. He expressly says that he is still ‘untried,’ and moved by ‘no disturbance of soul.’ When the trial came that darkened the world for him, Wordsworth made it his chief task to struggle against grief. He resolutely bade farewell to ‘the heart that lives alone, housed in a dream.’ He welcomed ‘fortitude and patient cheer.’ He called his former creed an illusion. His themes now, more exclusively than before, will be the sorrows and tragedies of life. But he must find ‘blessed consolations in distress.’ He must tell of ‘melancholy Fear subdued by Faith.’ The consequence is that his exploration of human woes will, henceforth, be guarded and cautious. He now lacks the bold spirit of youth that can haunt the worst infected places without giving a thought to the danger of contagion. He is the depressed visitor of the sick, who must needs beware, and be provided with preservatives. He could no longer offer such harrowing pictures of misery as those to be found in his *Ruined Cottage* or even (in spite of the abrupt conclusion) in his admirable *Michael* (1800). His diminished vitality makes it necessary for him to ward off dejection.

Argument is the process used at wearisome length in *The Excursion*. This noble poem may be described as a long sermon against pessimism, scarcely disguised by a story. Though different

speakers are introduced, their speeches are mere ventriloquism. Wordsworth, as the optimistic Pedlar, or Wanderer, assails Wordsworth as the Solitary, or the late enthusiast of the French revolution, now dispirited. He uses all his eloquence to raise this other self to his own serene mood. *The Excursion* too often reminds us of the debates between God and Satan at one time set forth in churches for the edification of the people, the rule being that Satan should have the worst of the controversy. It is the same with Wordsworth's Solitary, who is presented to us in unfavourable colours; his morals are not of the best. And, when he vents his misanthropy, he does not seem to be quite so fearless, cogent and impressive an exponent of his own views as he might have been. We cannot help thinking that, if the author of *Cain* had been entrusted with the part, he would have made it many times more telling. The worthy pedlar's triumph would not have been so easily achieved.

The other manner in which Wordsworth now fought against grief is illustrated by his *White Doe of Rylstone* (1807). In this poem, he renounced argument and called imagination to his aid. He found his subject in the romantic past, in an old tale of war and bloodshed, the tragedy of a catholic rebel killed with all his sons in a revolt against queen Elizabeth. Only one daughter survived, Emily, who, many years after pillage and ruin had passed over the paternal estate, drew comfort from the visitings of a white doe bred by her in her happy days. The doe is a symbol of the past, the lovely phantom of buried memories. Her first apparition gives the lady 'one frail shock of pain'; but the pain soon passes into a holy, mild and grateful melancholy,

Not sunless gloom or unenlightened,
But by tender fancies brightened.

The awful tragedy has thus been transformed by length of time and strength of habit into something both beautiful and sweet. This is as it should be with the deepest of human woes.

This graceful symbol makes the end of the poem one of the most lovely passages in Wordsworth's poetry. Yet the poem, as a whole, is languid, and even the moral impression is felt to be less convincing than it might have been. The reason is that the poet never dares courageously to cope with despair. He can paint with free energy neither the fate of the rebels, the clang of arms and shocks of death, nor even the pangs and sorrows of Emily. During the battle which is to end in the death of her father and brothers, she, represented as a protestant in a catholic

family, is seen awaiting the issue without even daring to express a wish for either side. When an old man offers to secure a hiding-place for her kindred if vanquished, she declines the offer and declares herself 'with her condition satisfied.' Later, before she has seen the white doe, she must already have found springs of comfort, for she is strangely said to be 'sustained by memory of the past.' Such reticence in the picture of 'desolation much enfeebles the effect of the poem. How much more striking it would have been if it had begun with dark, valiant scenes of tragic fate; if Emily's despair had been made so evident that we should feel for her the want of supernatural comfort, the necessity of the coming in of the white doe!

Wordsworth, in this period, often defeats his own object by refusing to describe the power of evil or woe to the full. He stirs a protest in the reader's mind, incites him to complete the half-drawn picture of misery. Or else, the strain of his muscles in the fight against grief, his repeated assaults and his tricks to elude the grasp of the great adversary, often leave the reader more distressed than he would be by open pessimistic outpourings. Indeed, the greatness of Wordsworth, in these years, lies in his stubborn refusal to confess himself overcome. There is pathos in his optimism, as in the sight of a strong man that will not weep though timely tears might do him good. His stoic poem *Laodamia* (1814) is a proof of this. The Olympian serenity advocated in it makes us feel—and painfully feel—the distance between the summit where gods dwell and the lower ground inhabited by men. Well for the gods to disprove 'the tumult of the soul!' Well for the Elysian fields to be a place where there are

No fears to beat away—no strife to heal—
The past unsighed for, and the future sure!

But poor *Laodamia* is merely human and lives on this earth of ours. She cannot 'meekly mourn' for her lost hero. She dies of a broken heart, and it seems hard that she should be punished for it as for meditated suicide.

• Is this the conclusion of optimism? How hard, inhuman and, one might add, despairing! The poem is great and pathetic, because Wordsworth, all the time, sympathises with *Laodamia*, feels for her tender weakness, is at heart more like her than like the heroic, dishumanised *Protesilaua*. But it can scarcely be called a comforting poem. The same might be said of the other verse of this period in which Wordsworth insists on proclaiming both

of which is the belligerent patriotism of the party to which Thomson was sincerely devoted. *Sophonisba*, however, the earliest of the tragedies, is without noticeable political bias. It is simply a classical drama of the conventional type. Its subject, to be sure, is patriotic, and its choice of a queen who died for her country may have been intended to spur the queen, to whom it was dedicated, to free herself from an influence to which Thomson's associates were bitterly opposed. There can be no question as to the meaning of the later plays. Between *Sophonisba* and the production of *Agamemnon*, there was an interval of nine years. It is easy to read into the characters of Clytemnestra and Egisthus the queen and the minister whom the prince's coterie was bent on deposing. The Orestes of *Agamemnon* was flattered more openly in *Alfred*, which was played before the prince and princess at Cliveden in 1740; while the application of *Edward and Eleonora* was so obvious that it was rejected for the stage. *Agamemnon* and *Edward* were published with dedications to the princess of Wales; the last of the political plays, *Tancred and Sigismunda*, was inscribed to the prince himself. *Coriolanus*, posthumously produced, is a return to pure tragedy without party bias. It may fairly be said that not one of these plays has the least dramatic interest. Their blank verse, however, is, as might be expected, easy and fluent. Thomson, possibly in imitation of the constant habit of the later Jacobean and Caroline dramatists, permitted himself a free use of weak endings to his lines, a practice which may promote ease in delivery, but becomes monotonous to the reader. His rhetoric is respectable; but the nobility of sentiment which it clothes is not above the ordinary level of the conventional sentiment of the classical drama of his day, and provokes no striking bursts of eloquence. His subjects do not afford scope for his gift of natural description, and there is only an occasional touch to remind us that his true genius lay in his appreciation of natural atmosphere and colour. His philosophy, on the other hand, is frequently introduced, but without any material addition to the contents of the passages in which its vague principles had been embodied in *The Seasons*. On the whole, the main interest of the plays is the debt which they owe directly to Greek tragedy, and not merely to the antique drama through the medium of the French stage. This virtue may, to some extent, be claimed for *Agamemnon*; it cannot be denied to *Edward and Eleonora*, where the self-sacrifice of Eleanor of Castile is imitated at first hand from the devotion of Alcestis, and the famous description of

the Cressida queen's farewell to life is almost translated in the narrative given by Daraxa to the earl of Gloster. Otherwise, the dramas fail to offer any special feature that raises them above the ordinary competence of their time; they are deficient in action, and their division into five acts is a theatrical convention which only emphasises the poverty of their construction. The masque of *Alfred*, the greater part of which, in its first form, seems to have been supplied by Mallet, was afterwards rewritten by Thomson, and the music, 'excepting two or three things which being particularly Favourites at Cliefdon, are retained by Desire,' was 'new-composed' by Arne'. Among the lyrics to which Arne provided new music for the edition of 1753 was *Rule, Britannia*, the sentiments of which embody Thomson's enthusiasm for his country and liberty in its most compact form.

The influence of Thomson was strongly felt by the younger generation of poets: by Collins, who dedicated a beautiful *Ode* to his memory, and by Gray, in whose work reminiscences of the elder poet are frequent. The vogue of *The Seasons* was followed by a period in which blank verse, such as Thomson had employed, was used with some fluency and skill for the treatment of rural subjects. Milton was the original model on which this type of verse was founded, and the example of John Philips, '*Pomona's* bard,' was felt in the choice both of metre and of subject. Somerville, in his preface to *The Chace*, defends his blank verse against 'the gentlemen, who are fond of a gingle at the close of every verse.'

For my own part (he adds), I shall not be ashamed to follow the example of Milton, Philips, Thomson, and all our best tragic writers.

- William Somerville, born in 1675, was a year older than Philips and twenty-five years older than Thomson; but it was not until 1735 that he published *The Chace*, by virtue of which his name survives. He was educated at Winchester and New college, Oxford, and was elected fellow of New college. On succeeding to the family estate of Edstone, near Henley-in-Arden, he settled down to a life in which the ordinary occupations of a country gentleman were varied by the study and composition of poetry. Much of his verse is poor doggerel in the form of fables and tales, dull and coarse after the usual manner of such productions. But Somerville was a scholar and something of a critic. His *Occasional*

¹ Title-page of the 1753 edition of *Alfred*.

110 Thomson and Natural Description in Poetry

Poems (1727) contain appreciative verses addressed to Addison and Pope; he enjoyed the friendship of Allan Ramsay, and criticised the 'rude notes' of the youthful Jago. In a set of couplets, he welcomed the first edition of *The Seasons* in a tone of patronage which, if justified by his age, was hardly warranted by his own poetry. Prophesying a great future for the young poet, he regretted that his muse should 'want the reforming toilet's daily care,' and urged him to abandon novelties of diction which, dangerous in southern poets, became all the more so 'when minted on the other side of Tweed.'

Read Phillips much, consider Milton more;
But from their dross extract the purer ore¹.

Somerville himself had nothing to teach Thomson; and his *Chace*, when it appeared, shows the influence of the verse of *The Seasons*, or, at any rate, a strong inclination to come into line with it. The poet's 'hoarse-sounding horn' invited the prince of Wales, the friend of Lyttelton and the patron of Thomson,

to the Chace, the sport of kings;
Image of war, without its guilt².

After a short sketch of the history of hunting from the rude but thorough methods of Nimrod to the days of William the conqueror, and a compliment to Britain, the 'fair land of liberty,' as the true home of horse and hound, the country gentlemen of Britain are summoned to hear the poet's instructions upon his favourite sport. He discusses at length, and with much practical knowledge and good sense, the position and proper design of the kennels, with the advice, not inapplicable to a day when Palladian symmetry was being pursued to excess by the architects of country houses and their out-buildings, 'Let no Corinthian pillars prop the dome³.' The habits of hounds, the best breeds—a subject which gives Somerville the true hunter's opportunity to express his contempt for coursing⁴—and the mysteries of scent conclude the first book. Hare-hunting is the main subject of the second and fox-hunting of the third; but Somerville was not a mere sportsman, and his literary digressions and allusions to the great Mogul's battue of wild beasts 'taken from Monsieur Bernier, and the history of Gengiscan the Great⁵,' and to the story of the tribute of wolves' heads imposed

¹ Epistle to Mr Thomson, on the first edition of his *Seasons*.

² *The Chace*, bk i, ll. 13—15.

³ *Ibid.* l. 143.

⁴ *Ibid.* ll. 227—30.

⁵ Argument to *The Chace*, bk ii. The *Voyage of François Bernier* (1625—88), who had been for a time physician to Aurangzebe the great, was published in 1699.

by Edgar, show that he followed his own advice and spent days on which sport was impossible in improving converse with his books. From one of these digressions upon oriental methods of hunting, his 'devious muse' is recalled, with an appropriate reference to Denham's *Cooper's Hill* and a flattering eulogy of the royal family, to Windsor and the king's buckhounds; and the third book ends with an example of royal clemency to the stag and a compliment to the throne. The concluding book contains instructions upon breeding and the art of training puppies, from which a transition is made to the diseases of hounds and the fatal effect of bites. Otter-hunting concludes the series of descriptions, and is followed by a final congratulation, in the spirit of Vergil's *O fortunatos nimium*, on the felicities of the hunter in his unambitious country life.

The Chace was followed a few years later by the short poem entitled *Rural Sports*, also dedicated to the prince of Wales. *Hobbinol*, a burlesque narrative in blank verse, dedicated to Hogarth, was inspired by Philips's *Splendid Shilling*, and is a lively account of the quarrelsome May games of some rustics in the vale of Evesham. In his preface, as in that to *The Chace*, Somerville indulged in a short critical explanation of his chosen form of verse, and defined his burlesque as 'a satire against the luxury, the pride, the wantonness, and quarrelsome temper, of the middling sort of people,' which he condemned as responsible for the decline in trade and the depressed condition of the rural districts. These poems do not add anything to the qualities displayed in *The Chace*, and the mock heroics of *Hobbinol* are unduly prolonged into three cantos. Somerville, however, was always lively in description; he knew his subject, whether he wrote of sport, or of the amusements of the Gloucestershire rustic 'from Kiftsgate to remotest Henbury', and he had a genuine feeling for classical poetry. Philips appears to have been his favourite English author, appealing to his rural tastes and to his particular vein of somewhat coarse humour. Natural description is purely incidental to his verse; but the scene and atmosphere of the various forms of sport which he described are suggested in adequate general terms². Where he approaches detail, as in his description of unfavourable weather for hunting, the resemblance

¹ *Hobbinol*, canto 1, l. 246.

² It may be mentioned that *The Chace* was a favourite of Mr Jorrocks in the sporting novel *Handley Cross*, where several quotations from it occur which have become familiar to readers who know nothing about Somerville's poem.

of his methods to those of Thomson is noticeable. Like Thomson, he was fond, as has been noticed, of oriental and of patriotic digressions. His tendency to moralising is slight when compared with Thomson's, and from quasi-religious rhapsody he was as entirely free as he was from Thomson's sympathy with the victims of the chase. His poems are in no sense dull reading; but his blank verse, suave and regular, is somewhat monotonous, and is seldom broken by any variation of accent, such as that frequent employment of a trochee in the first foot of a line which gives variety of movement to the verse of *The Seasons*.

In the *Edge-Hill* of Richard Jago, a strong taste for moralising was combined with appreciation of 'Britannia's rural charms, and tranquil scenes'.¹ Warwickshire, a fertile nurse of poets, was his native county and provided him with his subject. His father, a member of a Cornish family, was rector of Beaudesert near Henley-in-Arden, where Jago was born in 1715. Somerville, whose estate Edstone lay some three miles distant, was a friend of his boyhood.² At Solihull, where he went to school, he made the friendship of Shenstone, a year his senior, which he continued to share at Oxford and long afterwards.³ He entered University college as a servitor, and, about 1739, took holy orders and became curate of Snitterfield near Stratford-on-Avon. In 1746, he was presented to the vicarage of Harbury, with which he held the perpetual curacy of the neighbouring church of Chesterton. To these, he added, in 1754, the vicarage of Snitterfield; and, in 1771, resigning Harbury vicarage, he was presented to the rectory of Kimcote near Lutterworth. He retained his three livings until his death in 1781. He was buried at Snitterfield.

His poems consist of a few miscellaneous pieces, an oratorio called *Adam*—a canto from *Paradise Lost* intended to combine the passages of that poem most suitable for music—and *Edge-Hill*. The design of the last poem is very simple. In four books, he describes the prospect of Warwickshire as seen at various times in the day from the famous ridge which separates the vale of the Cherwell from the plain through which the Avon flows to meet the Severn. At morning, he looks westward over the vale of Red Horse to Stratford and Alcester. At noon, afternoon and evening, from different standpoints on the hill, his eye, to some

¹ *Edge-Hill*, bk i, l. 1.

² *Ibid.* ll. 365—70.

³ See *ibid.* bk iii, ll. 855 seq., and the stanzas *To William Shenstone, esq. on receiving a gilt pocket-book*, 1751, and *The Goldfinches*, an elegy. To ⁴ William Shenstone, ⁵ esq.

extent aided by imagination, roams over other portions of the county and dwells upon its principal towns and gentlemen's seats. These comprehensive panoramas are broken up by a large amount of digressive morality; and a large portion of the third book is a scientific discourse on the theory of sight, addressed to Lord Clarendon, and pointed by an extremely long, if appropriate, anecdote of a blind youth restored to sight by the help of a gentle friend named Lydia. When the fourth book has run a third of its course, and the survey of Warwickshire has been completed by compliments to the owners of Arbury and Packington, Jago turns the sober evening hour to account by reviewing the scene 'with moral eye,' and descants upon the instability of human affairs. This is well illustrated by the death of the seventh earl of Northampton, the master of Compton Wynyates—an allusion which shows that this part of the poem, at any rate, was written in 1763; and the local calamity introduces the chief memory of the place, the battle of Edge-hill and the lessons and warnings to be derived from it. Jago's moralising has a distinctly religious end. His master was Milton, whose phraseology he copies closely and even borrows, although, in such lines as

Nature herself bids us be serious¹,

his ear can hardly be said to have caught the charm of Milton's verse. His topography is conscientious: he mentions every country seat of any importance in the county, and adds footnotes with the owners' names. In such passages, he may have felt the influence of Thomson; but his catalogues have little picturesqueness or colour; while his verse, although it is not without the accent of local association, is typical, as a whole, of the decadence of the Miltonic method of natural description in the eighteenth century. Every group of trees is a grove, every country house a dome, and every hill a precipice. The classicism of the renaissance has degenerated into a fixed and stilted phraseology.

As he looks from Edge-hill to the distant Cotswolds, Jago refers to the *Monody* written by George Lyttelton in 1747 to the memory of his wife, Lucy Fortescue, whose home was at Ebrington near Chipping Campden. Lyttelton, the son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton of Hagley, Worcestershire, was the friend of Pope, Thomson and Shenstone, and his house at Hagley was a favourite resort of men of letters. His life was largely political. Born in 1709, and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, he made

¹ *Edge-Hill*, bk iv, l. 254.

114 Thomson and Natural Description in Poetry

the usual grand tour, and entered parliament as member for Okehampton in 1735. He was a prominent supporter of the 'patriotic' party against Walpole, and, after Walpole's fall, became a lord of the treasury. In 1751, he succeeded to his father's baronetcy, and, in 1756, after his retirement from a short tenure of the chancellorship of the exchequer, was created baron Lyttelton of Frankley. He died in 1773. His later years saw the publication of *Dialogues of the Dead* and of his *History of the Life of Henry II.* But at no season of his life was literature entirely neglected. He wrote poetry at Eton and Oxford; on his foreign tour, he addressed epistles in couplets to his friends at home; and, soon after his return, he appears to have composed the four eclogues called *The Progress of Love*. His poems include some songs and stanzas, of which the best are those addressed to his wife. His affection for her is a pleasing trait in a character which excited genuine devotion in his friends; and his *Monody*, composed in irregular stanzas, with a motto taken from Vergil's description of the lament of Orpheus for Eurydice¹, is written with some depth of feeling, although its reminiscences of *Lycidas* invite a comparison which it cannot sustain. The influence of French literature presides over his imaginative prose works: the very titles of the satiric *Persian Letters*, written in his youth, and the more mature but less sprightly *Dialogues of the Dead*, are copied from Montesquieu and Fénelon, their contents suffering from the usual inferiority of imitations. The graver tone of his later work, as distinguished from his licence of thought and expression in the letters of the Persian Selim from England to Mirza and Ibrahim Mollac at Ispahan, is due to his change of opinion from deism to Christianity. He flattered himself that his *Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St Paul*, which took the form of a letter to Gilbert West, translator of Pindar, brought about the conversion of Thomson on his death-bed. However this may have been, the mutual attachment between himself and Thomson calls for some mention of him in this place. He is said to have supplied the stanza which characterises the poet in *The Castle of Indolence*²; he wrote the prologue, recited by Quin, to the posthumous *Coriolanus*, and, as we have seen, he put a liberal interpretation upon his duties as Thomson's executor. In this connection, it is interesting to

¹ *Ipsæ, cava solans*, etc. (*Georgic iv*, 464—6).

² *The Castle of Indolence*, canto 1, st. 68. The first line, 'A bard here dwelt, more fat than bard be seems,' is Thomson's own.

remember the criticism of Thomson which Lyttelton introduced in the most valuable of the *Dialogues of the Dead*. In answer to a question by Boileau, Pope says:

Your description points out Thomson. He painted nature exactly, and with great strength of pencil. His imagination was rich, extensive, and sublime: his diction bold and glowing, but sometimes *obscure* and *affected*. Nor did he always know when to *stop*, or what to *reject*,... Not only in his plays, but all his other works, there is the purest *morality*, animated by *piety*, and rendered more touching by the fine and delicate sentiments of a most tender and benevolent heart¹.

Lyttelton's early poems show him to have followed in the footsteps of Pope, and the letters written to his father from France and Italy are mainly concerned with foreign politics; the only prolonged passage of description in them is a formal account in French of his journey across Mont-Cenis. In 1756, he wrote two letters to the historian Archibald Bower, describing a journey in north Wales. The master of Hagley, by this time, had developed a strong taste for scenery. His descriptions are excellent and accurate, and he visited the castles of Wales with the enthusiasm of a historian, although he fell into the error of imagining that the ruins of Rhuddlan were those of a castle built by Henry II. The beauty of the valleys charmed him; the situation of Powis castle, the vales of Festiniog and Clwyd, the wooded shores of the Menai straits and the view of the Dee valley from Wynnstay, excited him to enthusiasm. Bala seemed to him an oasis in the desert of Merionethshire, 'a solitude fit for Despair to inhabit.' Snowdon filled him with 'religious awe' rather than admiration, and its rocks excited 'the idea of Burnet, of their being the fragment of a demolished world.' It is characteristic of the taste of his day that the magnificent prospect of the Carnarvonshire mountains from Baron hill above Beaumaris, on which Suckling had looked more than a century before, seemed to Lyttelton inferior to the view of Plymouth sound and Dartmoor from mount Edgcumbe. The love of nature in her wilder moods was not yet part of English literature. 'Nature,' said Lyttelton of the Berwyn mountains, 'is in all her majesty there; but it is the majesty of a tyrant, frowning over the ruins and desolation of a country.'

¹ *Dialogues of the Dead*, xiv.

CHAPTER VI

GRAY

THOMAS GRAY; a poet whose influence upon subsequent literature was largely in excess of the volume of his published works, was born in Cornhill, 26 December 1716. His father, Philip Gray, was an exchange broker, but seems to have combined with this other and more hazardous pursuits. He was a selfish, despotic, ill-tempered man, passionate even to the verge of lunacy. He owned the house in which the poet was born, and, about the year 1706, let it, and the shop connected with it, to two sisters, Mary and Dorothy Antrobus, milliners. At the same date, approximately, he married Dorothy and came to live with her and Mary. Thomas Gray was the fifth and only surviving child of this marriage; the rest, to the number of seven, died in infancy; and his own life was saved by the prompt courage of his mother, who opened one of his veins with her own hand.

Dorothy Gray had two brothers, Robert and William Antrobus. Robert was a fellow of Peterhouse, and had a considerable reputation at Cambridge. He was Gray's first teacher, not only in classical knowledge, but, also, in the study of natural history, especially botany, and imbued his nephew with a life-long passion for scientific observation of the minutest kind in almost every department of vegetable and animal life. Robert Antrobus was sometime assistant master at Eton, but had probably resigned before Gray entered the school in 1727. The poet's tutor there was William, Robert's younger brother.

During the earlier part of his stay at Eton, Gray, probably, was housed with his uncle Robert, then residing in retirement either in the town or in the college precincts. As an oppidan, the delicate boy had not to endure the hardships of the collegier, and the horrors of Long Chamber. His chief friend there, in the first instance, was Horace, son of Sir Robert Walpole, the prime

minister, of whose wife his cousin Dorothy was a humble intimate. Another of his Eton contemporaries was Richard West, son of the lord chancellor of Ireland, and grandson of bishop Burnet. At Eton, West was accounted the most brilliant of the little coterie formed by the three and Ashton, afterwards fellow of King's and of Eton, and called the quadruple alliance. A scholar, with a thin vein of poetry, West was absent-minded, with a tendency to melancholy, to some extent resembling Gray's own, and he died prematurely in 1742.

The year 1734 brought a dislocation of the alliance. Gray went for a time to Pembroke college, Cambridge¹, pending his admission to Peterhouse in July. In March 1735, West went to Christ Church, Oxford, whence he wrote to Gray, 14 November 1735 :

Consider me very seriously here in a strange country inhabited by things that call themselves doctors and masters of arts; a country flowing with syllogisms and ale, where Horace and Virgil are equally unknown.

But, as a matter of fact, all these young Etonians exhibit a petulance for which youth is the only excuse; and Gray himself writes 'It is very possible that two and two make four, but I would not give four farthings to demonstrate this ever so clearly.' Then follows the splenetic outburst :

Surely it was of this place, now Cambridge, but formerly known as Babylon, that the prophet spoke when he said 'the wild beasts of the desert shall dwell there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall build there, and satyrs shall dance there; their forts and towers shall be a den for ever, a joy of wild asses; there shall the great owl make her nest, and lay and hatch and gather under her shadow; it shall be a court of dragons; the screech owl also shall nest there, and find for herself a place of rest.'

But he was saved from the temptation to dilettantism, which beset his friends, by the scientific bias which his uncle Robert had given him, and which would have found quick recognition and encouragement in the Cambridge of another day. Late in life, he regretted his early neglect of mathematics, and dreamt even then of pursuing it, while he lamented that it was generally laid aside at Cambridge so soon as it had served to get men a degree.

His vacations were chiefly spent at Burnham, where, at Cant's hall, he stayed with his uncle Rogers, his mother's brother-in-law, a solicitor fond of sport, or of the habits of sport. Gray, however, had some little literary companionship :

¹ From this brief sojourn we may probably date the beginning of his friendship with Thomas Wharton ('dear, dear' Wharton).

We have old Mr Southern, at a gentleman's house a little way off, who often comes to see us; he is now seventy-seven years old, and has almost wholly lost his memory; but is as agreeable as an old man can be, at least I persuade myself so when I look at him, and think of *Isabella* and *Oroonoko*.

This interesting letter serves also to explain to us the lines towards the conclusion of the *Elegy*. He writes:

My comfort amidst all this is that I have at the distance of half-a-mile, through a green lane, a forest (the vulgar call it a common) all my own, at least as good as so, for I spy no human thing in it but myself. It is a little chaos of mountains and precipices; mountains, it is true, that do not ascend much above the clouds, nor are the declivities quite so amazing as Dover cliff; but just such hills as people who love their necks as well as I do may venture to climb, and craggs that give the eye as much pleasure as if they were dangerous: Both vale and hill are covered with the most venerable beeches, and other very reverend vegetables, that, like most other ancient people, are always dreaming out their old stories to the winds,

And as they bow their hoary tops relate,
In murmuring sounds, the dark decrees of fate;
While visions, as poetic eyes avow,
Cling to each leaf, and swarm on every bow¹.

At the foot of one of these squats Me I (*il penseroso*) and there grow to the trunk for a whole morning.

It seems that Gray's first destination, so far as it was definite, was the law (as was also West's); for, so early as December 1736, he writes to his friend: 'You must know that I do not take degrees².' He lingered at Cambridge, somewhat aimlessly. However, this inertia was dispelled by a journey abroad which he undertook in company with Walpole. His first extant letter from Amiens is written to his mother and tells how, on 29 March N.S. 1739, the friends left Dover. At Paris, Walpole goes out to supper with his cousin Lord Conway; but Gray, though invited too, stops at home and writes to West. He was, however, delighted to dine 'at my Lord Holderness's' with the abbé Prévost, whom he knows as the author of *L'Histoire de M. Cleveland, fils naturel de Cromwel*, while omitting to mention *Manon Lescaut*. He saw in tragedy MacGaussin who had been Voltaire's Zaire; saw, also, with Walpole, Racine's *Britannicus*, and, in 1747, reminded him of the grand simplicity of diction and the undercurrent of design

¹ If Gray's own, these are the earliest of his original English verses which we possess. The last two lines are frequently quoted by Hazlitt.

² In June 1738, he begins a sapphic ode to West (*Favonius*)

*Barbaras aedes aditure mecum,
Quas Eris semper sovet iniquita,
Lis ubi latè sonat, et togatum
Æstuat agmen.*

which they had admired in the work. His own fragmentary *Agrippina* (1747 c.) is, structurally, borrowed from this tragedy¹.

From Paris, the travellers went to Rheims. Gray's grand tour is illustrated by him in a double set of notes, sometimes 'bones exceeding dry' of quotations from Caesar in France, or Livy on the Alps; he draws less frequently than Addison from Latin poets, but still frequently enough; and records his impressions of architecture, and especially of painting; and we note among other evidences of his independence of judgment that he finds Andrea del Sarto anything but 'the faultless painter.' In this adverse judgment, he is seconded by Walpole, who comes nearer to Gray in artistic than in any other tastes.

On their way into Piedmont, Gray received, from his first view of mountain scenery, impressions which, on his return to England, remained for a while dormant, but had been awakened again when he wrote in *The Progress of Poesy* of scenes

Where each old poetic mountain
Inspiration breath'd around.

On 24 April 1741, the pair set out from Florence, intending to go together to Venice, there to see the doge wed the Adriatic on ascension day. At Reggio, they quarrelled. It would seem that the discrepancy in their tastes became more and more a trial to both; and they were alike open in their comments on one another to their common friend Ashton, who disclosed Gray's to Walpole. Ashton did not display any particular displeasure with Gray at the time, but was put up by Walpole, in the interview at which a reconciliation was at last brought about, to affect that Gray's letter had roused his anger. Walpole was left at Reggio, and would have died there of quinsy but for the kind aid of Spence, the friend of Pope. Gray went with two new friends, made at Florence, to Venice, and thence took his homeward way. He paid a second visit to the Grande Chartreuse, and it was probably on this occasion that he left in the album of the fathers the beautiful alcaic ode *O tu severi Religio loci*, of which a fine English version has been composed by R. E. E. Warburton².

¹ Compare, with the union of Junia and Britannicus (Racine), that of Otho and Poppaea (Gray), Nero's passion being the obstacle in both cases. Nero overhears a conversation in both Racine and Gray; the place of Burrhus is taken by Seneca; the false Narcissus reappears in Anicetus, Agrippina's confidante Albina in Acevonia.

² The later story of Gray's alcaics is curious. Mitford sought the original in vain at the monastery. He says that collectors who followed in the wake of the French revolutionary armies made away with it. But we find that a certain Mrs Bigg, when resident in France, was arrested in the reign of terror, and a copy of Gray was found in her possession. The opening line, *O tu severi Religio loci*, suggested to the Jacobin investigators the comment: *Apparemment ce livre est quelque chose de fanatique.*

On 7 September 1741, we find Gray in London, causing a sensation among the street boys 'by the depth of his Ruffles, the immensity of his Baggs, and the length of his sword.' He was still in town in April 1742, maintaining a correspondence with West, then ruralising in quest of health at Pope's house near Hatfield in Hertfordshire, on Tacitus and on the fourth *Dunciad*, which had just appeared. The yawn of Dulness at the end Gray describes as among the finest things Pope has written; and this young unknown critic here sounds the first note of discriminating praise, which has since been repeated by all good judges, from Johnson to Thackeray. In the same letter, he enclosed the first example of English verse which we certainly know to be his, a fragment of *Agrippina*, a tragedy never completed, of which Mason discovered the general design among Gray's papers. As has been already seen, it is manifest that, in *Agrippina*, Racine's *Britannicus* was to have been copied with almost Chinese exactness, just as Gray's details, like Racine's, are often Tacitus versified. The dignity of style to be discovered in these *disiecta membra* still impresses us. But, more important than any question of their merits, is the friendly criticism which they occasioned. Few known passages in critical literature furnish more instructive details as to English poetic diction than these unpretending sentences in a letter to West of April 1742:

As to matter of stile, I have this to say: *The language of the age is never the language of poetry* except among the French, whose verse, where the thought or image does not support it, differs in nothing from prose. Our poetry, on the contrary, has a language peculiar to itself; to which almost every one, that has written, has added something by enriching it with foreign idioms and derivatives: nay sometimes words of their own composition or invention. Shakespear and Milton have been great creators in this way: and *no one more licentious than Pope or Dryden*, who perpetually borrow expressions from the former. Let me give you some instances from Dryden, whom every body reckons a great master of our poetic tongue.—Full of *museful mopeings*—unlike the *trim* of love—a pleasant *beverage*—a *roundelay* of love—stood silent in his *mood*—with knots and *knares* deformed—his *ireful mood*—in proud *array*—his *boon* was granted—and *disarray* and shameful rout—*wayward* but wise—*furbished* for the field—the *foiled doddered oaks*—*disherited*—*smouldering flames*—*retchless*¹ of laws—*crones* old and ugly—the *beldam* at his side—the *grandam-hag*—*villanize* his Father's fame.

Gray goes on to admit that expressions in his play—'silken son of dalliance,' 'drowsier pretensions,' 'wrinkled beldam,' 'arched the hearer's brow and riveted his eyes in fearful extasie'—may be faulty; though why they should be thought so, in view of his own theory, must remain a mystery. To take but two examples, he has compounded 'silken son of dalliance' from that 'New Dunciad'

¹ *Palamon and Arcite*. The form traces back to *Piers Plowman*.

which he has just been reading, and from Shakespeare's *Henry V*¹; and he gets his 'arched brow' from Pope². More generally, it is a testimony to the great transformation of literary tastes which Gray ultimately helped to bring about, that words so familiar even in our everyday speech as 'mood,' 'smouldering,' 'beverage,' 'array,' 'boon' and 'wayward' were, in 1742, thought by some to be too fantastic even for poetry. While this correspondence, sometimes little more than a pretty dilettantism and strenuous idleness, was passing between them, Gray was lulled into a false security about his friend West. In April, he writes: 'I trust to the country, and that easy indolence you say you enjoy there, to restore your health and spirits.' On the 8th, he has received a poem on the tardy spring and 'rejoices to see you (West) putting up your prayers to the May: she cannot choose but come at such a call.' Pretty verses enough³; but chiefly interesting because they are the last poetic effort of that young and sorrow-stricken spirit to whom Gray sent the *Ode on the Spring*, which he first called 'Noon-tide, an ode,' and has left transcribed in his commonplace-book with the note 'at Stoke, the beginning of June 1742, sent to Fav[-onius, West]: not knowing he was then Dead.' In fact, West died on the first of June. It was strange that the same theme of the opening year should have been respectively the first and the last efforts of the devoted friends, and that the month which silenced one young voice for ever should have wakened the survivor into an unwonted luxuriance of song.

A very brief period of efflorescence in verse preceded Gray's return to Cambridge. From Stoke, to which, after the death of his father in 1741, his mother and his aunt Mary Antrobus had gone to live with their widowed sister Mrs Rogers, he had sent (early in June 1742) the *Ode on the Spring*; he wrote there in August his *Sonnet on the Death of Richard West*, his cento the *Hymn to Adversity*, his *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* and a very splenetic *Hymn to Ignorance* (which, happily, remains a fragment), on his projected return to Cambridge. But

¹ 'And silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies.'

Henry V, II, chor. 1, 2.

'To where the Seine, obsequious as she runs
Pours at great Bourbon's feet her silken sons.'

Dunciad IV.

² 'Whom have I hurt? has poet yet, or peer
Lost the arch'd eyebrow, or Parnassian sneer?'

Ep. to Arbuthnot, 1735.

³ They may be read in the volume *Gray and his Friends* (Cambridge, 1890), in which all West's remains are collected.

we must refer to the same date the most touching of all his tributes to the memory of West, in which the sad thoughts of his English poems on the same theme are combined and concealed in a Latin dress. His ambitious fragment *De Principiis Cogitandi*, begun at Florence in 1740, and dubbed by him 'Tommy Lucretius' is, after all, so far as it goes, only a *résumé* of Locke; but, in June, so soon as he heard of his loss, he added, apparently without effort, a lament prompted by the keen stimulus of grief, which seems to be more spontaneous than his sonnet or the Eton *Ode*, and is, in fact, the first source of these familiar verses. It will bear comparison with Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*—Charles Diodati, the friendship between whom and Milton, in many ways, is an exact counterpart to that between West and Gray. Nor can it be denied that Gray's effort is without a certain artificiality, which, *pace* Masson, renders Milton's poem more passionless, and more self-centred and discursive¹.

From his letters, we see that, for the first two years after his return to Cambridge, now as a fellow-commoner of his college, Gray was idle, so far as he could be for one still *in statu pupillari*. He must have had arrears of lectures and disputations to make up, in order to qualify for the degree of LL.B., an easy task for him, though he writes ironically to Wharton,

by my own indefatigable Application for these ten years past and by the Care and Vigilance of that worthy magistrate The Man-in-Blew², (who I'll assure you has not spared his Labour, nor could have done more for his own Son) I am got half-way to the Top of Jurisprudence.

But he had previously spoken of his allegiance to 'our sovereign Lady and Mistress the President of Presidents, and Head of Heads (if I may be permitted to pronounce her name, that ineffable Octogrammaton) the power of *Laziness*.' Nevertheless, though the poetic impulse of 1742 had spent its force, his interest in current literature is as keen as ever. He criticises Akenside's *Pleasures of Imagination* and at once put his finger on that young poet's chief blemish; it is infected, he says, with the jargon of Hutcheson, the disciple of Shaftesbury. It is the fault which he noted later in certain verses of Mason; there was a craze for Shaftesbury among the young men of his time, and beauty and morality were as identical for them as truth and beauty were to Keats at a later date.

¹ For the rest, a close comparison between Milton's Latin poems and Gray's would show how much Gray owed to Milton in this department alone.

² The vice-chancellor's servant.

An Elegy in a Country Churchyard 123

* In 1745, Gray and Walpole were reconciled. Of this consummation, Gray wrote a satirical account to Wharton, in which his contempt for Ashton was clearly enough expressed. After this strange pronouncement, the irony of fate brought it about that Gray's next poetic effort was his *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat*, which has been discussed with a solemnity worthy of an epic. Walpole had two favourite cats; and has not told Gray which of these was drowned. One of them was a tortoiseshell, the other a tabby.

During the whole of the next four years, Gray seems to have relapsed into his normal state of facile and amusing gossip and criticism. He is 'a chiel taking notes,' but with no intention of printing them: yet we also discover that he is a real power in the society that he pretends to despise, using his influence to get fellowships for his friends, including Mason; interesting himself in the wild and reckless Christopher Smart, then a fellow of Pembroke, and deploring the loss of the veteran Middleton, with whose views he was in sympathy, and whose house was the only one in which he felt at his ease. At the same time, his studies were remarkably various, and his curiosity about foreign, and especially French, literature, intense, as is particularly illustrated by his welcome of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois*, which forestalled some of the best thoughts in the fragmentary *Alliance of Education and Government* (1748). At length, 12 June 1750, he sends from Stoke to Walpole 'a thing with an end to it'—a merit that most of his writings have wanted—and one whose beginning Walpole has seen long ago¹. This is the famous *Elegy*, and Walpole appears to have circulated it somewhat freely in manuscript, with the result that the magazines got hold of it; and Gray, to protect himself, makes Walpole send it to Dodsley for immediate printing. Between *The Magazine of Magazines* and Dodsley, the *Elegy*, on its first publication, fared but badly: 'Nurse Dodsley,' Gray says, 'has given it a pinch or two in its cradle that I doubt it will bear the marks of as long as it lives'; and, together, these publishers, licensed and unlicensed, achieved some curious readings. The moping owl complained of those who wandered near her 'sacred bow'r': the young man went 'frowning,' not 'smiling' as in scorn: the rustic's 'harrow' oft the stubborn glebe had broke; and his frail memorial was decked with uncouth rhymes and shapeless 'culture.' And the mangled poet writes, 'I humbly purpose for the benefit of

¹ Probably in 1745 or 1746. See *Gray's Poems* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 130. Mason's statement that the *Elegy* was begun in 1742 is possibly true of the epitaph at the end.

Mr Dodsley and his matrons, that take *awake* for a verb, that they should read *asleep*, and all will be right¹.

In contrast with this *incuria*, so far as the public is concerned, was the pains which he took, as evidenced by the MS preserved at the lodge at Pembroke college, to set down what he *did* write beyond the possibility of mistake.

The quatrain of ten syllables in which the *Elegy* was written had been used before, but never, perhaps, with conspicuous success, except in Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*. In Gray's hands, it acquired a new beauty, and a music of its own. It does not appear that either the form or the diction of the poem struck the general reader as novel. The prevalent taste was for a sort of gentle melancholy and the mild and tranquil surroundings which minister to the reflective spirit. There is a little truth under the gross exaggeration with which the poet declared that he would have been just as successful if he had written in the prose of Hervey's *Meditations among the tombs*. Certain it is that Young's *Night Thoughts*, completed five years before the *Elegy*, was, for the time being, almost as popular. In Young's work, the sentiment is everything; hence, perhaps, its vogue on the continent, where discriminating judgments on our literature were few and far between.

The *Elegy* seems to us simple in expression, and by no means abstruse, and we have said that there was in it nothing that struck even Gray's contemporaries as revolutionary. Perhaps it was Johnson who first scented the battle from afar. He parodied, in a version of a chorus of *Medea*, the style, as he conceived it, of the *Elegy*, in which adjectives follow their substantives, old words are revived, epithets are doubled and hyphenated, while subject and object are inverted. Contrasted with this was Johnson's own serious rendering of the same passage, in which the language was the current language of the day, with scarcely a word in it that was distinctly poetical². The eccentricities which he noted still remain pitfalls. In the line 'And all the air a solemn stillness holds,' stillness, in spite of commentators, is the nominative, and we almost invariably quote, with so careful a reader as Conington,

Await alike the inevitable hour,

although Gray wrote 'Awaits,' and 'hour' is subject not object. (The thought is that of Horace, 'One night awaits us all'; we should

¹

'the voice of Nature cries

Awake, and faithful to her wonted fires.'

(As if 'awake' were an imperative.)

² Cf. Gray to West, April 1742, quoted *supra*.

be less absorbed in our ambitions if we kept death in mind.) Again, Gray wrote 'The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the lea,' where not only is the plural suggestive of a line of cattle, but some of these are pictured as returning from the pasture and others from the plough. Once more, he wrote

The paths of glory lead but to the grave

meaning that whatever the path chosen, the terminus is the same¹.

The *Elegy* may be looked upon as the climax of a whole series of poems, dating from 1745, which had evening for their theme. In his 17th year, Thomas Warton, in his *Pleasures of Melancholy*, had all the accessories of the scene which Gray describes; there is a 'sacred silence,' as in a rejected but very beautiful stanza of the *Elegy* there was a 'sacred calm'; there is the 'owl,' and the 'ivy' that 'with mantle green Invests some wasted tower.' But the young poet, in his character of devotee of melancholy, takes us too far, when, with that gruesome enjoyment of horrors which is the prerogative of youth, he leads us at midnight to the 'hollow charnel' to 'watch the flame of taper dim shedding a livid glare.' We are at once conscious of the artificial and ambitious character of the effort, precocious as an essay in literature, but without genuine feeling, without the correspondence between man and nature, which alone can create a mood. And it was the power to create a mood which was the distinctive merit of the best poems of this class and at this date.

Joseph Warton, with the same environment, and, still more, Collins, in his magical *Ode to Evening*², achieved this success. Contrast these with the conventional beings of *The Seasons*, and we become aware that we are nearing an epoch where description is subordinated to the real emotions of humanity, and the country bumpkin no longer chases the rainbow, or 'unfolds,' with Akenside, 'the form of beauty smiling at his heart.'

The *Elegy* in its MS forms brings another noteworthy fact into prominence. These show how pitilessly the poet excised every stanza which did not minister to the congruity of his masterpiece. We feel for instance that Wordsworth, apt to believe that his most trivial fancies were inspirations, would never have parted, for any considerations of structure, with such lines as

¹ The true readings were all recognised and translated by the late H. A. J. Munro, who, in his striking Latin version of the poem, is often its best interpreter.

² Friendship and compassion did not reconcile Johnson to the poetry of Collins, who is nearest to Gray in the diction which their critic loathed. See Johnson's *Life of Collins*, *ad fin.*

Hark how the sacred Calm, that broods around
 Bids ev'ry fierce tumultuous Passion cease,
 In still small accents whispering from the Ground
 A grateful Earnest of eternal Peace.

Gray himself seems in one instance to have repented of his infanticide, and writes in the Pembroke MS the marginal note 'insert' over the stanza (evidently adapted but compressed from Collins's *Dirge in Cymbeline*) about the violets scattered on the tomb and the little footsteps of the redbreast which lightly print the ground there. Memory and affection have something to do with the epitaph, which sounds the personal note of which Gray was fond, but is, unquestionably, the weakest part of the poem, and was, perhaps, written about 1742, and inserted in the *Elegy* by afterthought. In general, no poet better understood, or more strictly followed, the Popian maxim 'survey the whole,' that golden rule which a later generation seldom remembers or practices.

The *Elegy* had a curious sequel in *A Long Story*. After her husband's death, in 1749, Lady Cobham must have left the famous Stowe for the mansion house at Stoke Pogis; she had seen the *Elegy* when Walpole was circulating it in MS, and learnt that the author was in her neighbourhood. Accordingly, she caused her niece, Miss Speed, and Lady Schaub, the wife of Sir Luke Schaub, to visit him, at the house of Mrs Rogers, ostensibly to tell him that a Lady Brown, one of his friends, who kept open house in town for travellers young and old, was quite well. Gray was not at home, and this visit of fine ladies may have caused, as Gray pretends, some perturbation to his quiet aunt and mother. A graceful intimacy (nothing more) grew up between the poet and Miss Speed, though gossip declared they were to be married¹.

A Long Story, written with facile pen, goes far to bear out Walpole's statement that Gray never wrote anything easily except things of humour. His serious efforts are always the fruit of long delay and much labour. Next followed (1752) what remains a fragment, only because Mason found a corner of the sole MS copy torn, supplying, *more suo*, words of his own to complete it. It was entitled *Stanzas to Richard Bentley*, who made *Designs for six Poems by Mr T. Gray*. We cannot feel sure that Mason has given us the unmutilated part of the poem correctly. Gray knew Pope and Dryden too well to write

The energy of Pope they might efface
 And Dryden's harmony submit to mine.

¹ The lady died as comtesse de Viry in 1783.

A Long Story. The Progress of Poesy 127

It may be suspected that Mason has clumsily transposed these epithets. As evidence how Gray nursed his thoughts we may note that the line

And dazzle with a luxury of light

is a reminiscence of a version which he made in 1737 from Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, bk 14.

One other line in this brief poem lives in the memory—that in which he attributes to Shakespeare and Milton in contrast to 'this benighted age,' a diviner inspiration,

The pomp and prodigality of heaven.

He is, later, in February 1753, in a great fret about the title of the six poems, and, in his desire to seem unaffected, displays a great deal of affectation. It was quite absurd to imagine that the poems, including the *Elegy*, could be regarded as secondary to the designs. It was his foible to pose; but he indulged it with scanty success. In March 1753 died Gray's 'careful tender mother,' as he calls her in the inscription for the vault in which she was laid by the side of her sister Mary Antrobus. In July of the same year, he went to see his friend Wharton, who was living in Durham. Here, the author of the *Elegy* was made much of; but the visit was important in another way. It coincides with a change in Gray's poetic tendencies, and helped to encourage them. He now reverted to that love of the bold and majestic which appears in the alcaics on the Grande Chartreuse. In the neighbourhood of Durham, he found a faint image of those more august scenes.

I have (he writes) one of the most beautiful vales here in England to walk in, with prospects that change every ten steps, and open something new wherever I turn me, *all rude and romantic*; in short the sweetest spot to break your neck or drown yourself in that ever was beheld.

* On 26 December 1754 was completed the ode entitled *The Progress of Poesy*; it had been nearly finished two years before. It was not published until 1759, when Walpole secured it for the Strawberry hill press, together with *The Bard*; the motto *φαινῶντα συνηροῖσι* from Pindar belongs to them both¹.

Gray did not attach any great value to the rule of strophe and antistrophe, but he strongly objected to the merely irregular stanzas which Cowley introduced. It was probably Congreve who first wrote a real pindaric ode; and, whatever the value of his *Ode to the Queen*, it did something, as Mason points out, to obviate

¹ Subsequently the words that follow in Pindar, *ἐς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐμπνεύου*, were added, when Gray found explanatory notes were needed.

Gray's objection to this form. It was written in short stanzas, and the recurrence of the same metre was more recognisable to the ear than when it was separated by a long interval from its counterpart.

In Gray's time, the muse was always making the grand tour. If the title of Collins's *Ode to Simplicity* were not misleading, we should find in it an embryo *Progress of Poesy*, in which inspiration passes, as with Gray, from Greece to Italy and from Italy to England. The clue to the mystery of the title is found when we discover that, to Collins, 'simplicity' is 'nature,' as Pope understood the word—nature identified with Homer, and with all her great poetic interpreters, who idealise but do not distort her. These pilgrimages of the muse were started by Thomson, who, in his *Liberty*, chose her as his travelling companion, and brought her home intolerably dull, and, not long before Gray's death, by Goldsmith in his *Traveller*.

The most easy way of criticising *The Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard* is to start by criticising their critics, beginning with Francklin, regius professor of Greek at Cambridge, who mistook the 'Aeolian lyre' invoked in the first line of *The Progress* for the instrument invented by Oswald, and objected that 'such an instrument as the Aeolian harp, which is altogether uncertain and irregular must be very ill adapted to the dance which is one-continued regular movement.' Garrick, who spoke from professional knowledge, grasped the truth better, and said that Gray was the only poet who understood dancing. His original in the place which he has in mind is a line of Homer (*Odys.* bk VIII, l. 265); but he borrows without acknowledgment the word 'many-twinkling' from Thomson (*Spring*, l. 158) who uses it of the leaves of the aspen. The poem begins appropriately with an imitation of Horace's description of Pindar,

In profound, unmeasurable song
The deep-mouth'd Pindar, foaming, pours along.

This beautiful poem is marred by a personal reference at the end, as in the case, to which we have already referred, of the *Elegy*.

Between *The Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard* comes the Fragment of an Ode found in the MS at Pembroke. It is without a title; that which it now bears, *On the pleasure arising from Vicissitude*, is probably due to Mason, who attempted to complete the poem and excelled himself in infelicity, filling up the last stanza as we have it, thus:

To these, if Hebe's self should bring
 The purest cup from Pleasure's spring,
 Say, can they taste the flavour high
 Of sober, simple, genuine Joy?¹

In *Vicissitude*, some critics have discovered an anticipation of Wordsworth, but we ought to distinguish. When Gray says that 'the meanest flouret of the vale' is 'opening paradise' to the convalescent, he describes the human being under limited and exceptional circumstances. But when Wordsworth, in robust health, derives from the meanest flower, thoughts that 'often lie too deep for tears,' and reproaches his Peter Bell for finding the primrose a yellow primrose and nothing more, he expects from humanity in general more than experience warrants².

Though this fragment probably comes chronologically between *The Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard*, we are not justified in interposing it between them. They are dissociable from it, not only on account of their being printed and published in juxtaposition, as Ode I and Ode II, and of the motto which clearly applies to both, but because together they herald a generic change. *Vicissitude*, with every promise of a beautiful poem, carries on the meditative spirit in which all Gray's serious work had been executed hitherto. But the two odes are conceived in an atmosphere rather intellectual than sentimental. They are a literary experiment. They idealise great facts, historic or legendary, out of which reflection may be generated—but mediately, not directly from the poet's mind. While they have this in common, there remains a point of contrast between them. *The Bard*, more clearly than the other ode, bears traces of those studies from the Norse which Gray had already made and which found expression in *The Fatal Sisters* and *The Descent of Odin*.

• It inaugurates the last stage of the poet's literary history. The design has been marred by many editors through heedlessness in printing. They have not observed that the bard sings his song at first as a solo, until, in the distance, he sees the ghosts of his slain brethren, and invites them to join the chant, while together they weave the winding sheet of Edward's race. That done, they vanish from the bard's sight, and he finishes his prophecy alone. The fault, perhaps inevitable, of the poem, lies in the conclusion, which smells too much of the lamp. The

¹ For another stanza he is indebted to a suggestion in Gray's pocket-book, but has made a poor use of it.

² Gray almost directly imitates here Gresset, a favourite poet with him (*Sur sa convalescence*).

salient characteristics of the great poets of the Elizabethan era are described with much skill, though with a certain vagueness proper to prophecy; and yet we cannot help asking, how he can know so much about these his very late successors, while he shows himself rather a discerning critic, than a mighty prophet who has just been foretelling tragic horrors and retribution. They ill suit the majestic form graphically described before his prophecy begins.

A curious evidence of the influence of Gray's *Bard* upon the *suveroi* is to be found in the history of the Ossianic imposture. In Cath-Loda Duan I of this so-called collection of reliques, we have the expression 'Thou kindlest thy hair into meteors,' and in the 'Songs of Selma' Ossian sings:

I behold my departed friends. Their gathering is on Iona, as in the days of other years. Fingall comes like a watery column of mist! his heroes are around: and see the bards of song, grey-haired Ullin; stately Ryno! Alpin with the tuneful voice! *the soft complaint of Minona!* How are ye changed, my friends, etc.

Gray, who had at first welcomed the frauds of Macpherson, because he discerned in them the romantic spirit, became more reticent as time went on, and as his common sense, against which he feebly struggled, gained the mastery. He either did not or would not observe that in them he was imitated or parodied. On the other hand, he repudiated for himself the suggestion that the opening of *The Bard* was modelled upon the prophecy of Nereus in Horace (*Carm.* I. 15). We cannot accept the repudiation, for the resemblance is unmistakable, although it makes but little against the real originality of his poem, and is on the same plane with his acknowledgment that the image of the bard was modelled on the picture by Raphael of the Supreme Being in the vision of Ezekiel, or that of Moses breaking the tables of the law by Parmegiano. *The Bard* still remains the best evidence we possess that Gray, imitative as he is, was, also, an inventive genius.

It might, after all, have come down to us as a colossal fragment, lacking the third antistrophe and epode, but for a stimulus of which Gray gives an account. He heard at Cambridge Parry, the blind Welsh harper, and his sensitive ear was so fascinated that 'Odikle' was put in motion again. So completely did he associate his verse with music, that he gave elaborate directions for its setting, and it is a very high compliment to Gray's taste that Villiers Stanford, though he knew nothing of these instructions, carried them out to the letter.

Before this, in 1756, occurred an event which Gray describes

only vaguely 'as a sort of aera in a life so barren of events as' his. The affair has been treated with so much difference of opinion that we can only summarise the conclusion at which we have arrived. Gray had been much tormented by some young men, of whom two were certainly fellow-commoners residing on his staircase, and he had a nervous dread of fire, upon which they probably played. He accordingly got Wharton to bespeak him a rope-ladder, a strong temptation to the young men to make him put it to the proof. It is possible that, before the outrage, they had begun kindling fires of shavings on his staircase. At last, an early hunting party caused the huntsmen to shout 'fire' under his window, some of them, perhaps, before joining the party, having made the usual blaze on the stairs. The poet put his night-capped head out of the window and, discovering the hoax, drew it in again. This was all that was known to Sharp, fellow of Corpus, who wrote only six days after Gray's migration to Pembroke. The exaggerated form in which the story is still current was shaped in 1767 by a certain Archibald Campbell, a scribbler in a production called *The Sale of Authors*, who expressly confesses that he vouches for no details in what he describes as a harmless pleasantry. Suffice it to say that the master, Dr Law, to whom Gray complained, made light of this 'boyish frolic,' as he called it, and Gray, in consequence, changed his college.

The year 1759 was mainly spent in London, near the British museum, which was opened to the public in January. Gray revelled in MS treasures there, and made copious extracts from them; the most interesting, perhaps, to the general reader are letters from Richard III, and the defence of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet; both of which transcripts he made for Walpole, who used them in his *Miscellaneous Antiquities* and *Historic Doubts*. At this time, also, he probably composed the treatise called *Metrum*, and *Observations on the poems of Lydgate*, probably in view of a design for the history of English poetry which was never executed.

In 1762, Gray made a tour in Yorkshire and Derby, and saw Kirkstall abbey, the Peak, of which he thought but little, and Chatsworth. On his return to Cambridge, he found the professorship of modern history vacant, and caused his claim to be represented to Lord Bute. But the professorship was given to Lawrence Brockett, who had been tutor to Sir James Lowther, son-in-law of the favourite Bute. In 1764, possibly with Wharton as his companion, he made his first visit to Scotland, and, in 1765, he repeated this visit as the guest of Lord Strathmore, formerly

a fellow-commoner of Pembroke. On this second visit, he met Robertson and other *literati*. It is a proof of the remarkable catholicity of Gray's love of scenery that, in the earlier of these years, possessed though he was with the sublime grandeur of the mountains, he could also enjoy and describe graphically the charms of a gentler landscape, in a part of England (Winchester, Southampton, Netley abbey, etc.) dear to Collins.

In the following year, he once more visited Scotland and became acquainted with Beattie, author of *The Minstrel*, to the last an unfinished poem, the earliest part of which he helped to correct. His criticism is just but with two notable exceptions. He truly remarks that too much is given to descriptions and reflections; Beattie does not know what to do with his minstrel when he has made him. Yet Gray's remarks are in two particulars disappointing. In direct contrast to his doctrine as stated to West in April 1742, he says 'I think we should wholly adopt the language of Spenser's time or wholly renounce it. You say, you have done the latter; but, in effect, you retain *fared, forth, mead, wight, ween, gaude, shene, in sooth, aye, eschew*, etc.' And he objects to Beattie's use of alliteration: if he had confined himself to censuring one line in the part of the poem which was sent him

The long-robed minstrels wake the warbling lyre

it would have been well. As it is, Beattie had an easy retort upon him with

Nor cast one longing, lingering look behind

in the *Elegy*.

In 1768, Gray's poems were republished by Dodsley, and for *A Long Story* were substituted the two Norse odes, *The Fatal Sisters*, and *The Descent of Odin*. A similar edition came, at the same time, from the press of Foulis (the Glasgow Elzevir). When Gray wrote *The Bard*, he had already made some study of Scandinavian poetry. He had *The Fatal Sisters* in mind when he wrote

Weave the warp and weave the woof
The Winding sheet of Edward's race.

Perhaps, *The Descent of Odin*, in one passage of which¹ it is

1 'Right against the eastern gate
By the moss-grown pile he sate
Where long of yore to sleep was laid
The dust of the prophetic Maid,
Facing to the northern clime
Thrice he traced the runic rhyme;
Thrice pronounc'd, in accents dread,
The thrilling verse that wakes the dead.'

impossible not to recognise an anticipation of Scott, is, in this respect, still more suggestive.

In 1768, Brockett, Cambridge professor of modern history, met with a fatal accident on returning from Hinchbrook. Stonehewer, who had been one of Gray's closest friends at Peterhouse and who acted as the duke of Grafton's secretary, pleaded Gray's claims to the professorship of history, and with success. The office was a sinecure; he had some intention of delivering lectures, but the form of his projected inaugural lecture is in Latin, and whatever his design was it fell through. In his new capacity, it was his task to write the installation ode when Grafton was made chancellor of the University. The work proved the one exception to the fact that he never wrote well unless spontaneously. He lingered long before he began. At last, he startled Nicholls by 'throwing open his door to his visitor and shouting 'Hence, avaunt! 'tis holy ground,' and the new ode was completed. A sort of heraldic splendour characterises this, his last great effort; in places, it seems to step out of a page of Froissart, and, notwithstanding the bile of Junius, the pomp and circumstance of the closing personal panegyric do not convey any impression of inappropriateness.

This business over, Gray went with Wharton towards the English Lakes, but his companion fell ill at Brough, and Gray pursued his journey alone. The fruit of it was a journal which he sent from time to time to Wharton, and of which, with a Porsonian delight in his own beautiful handwriting, there is reason to believe that he made more than one copy. The journal was never published until after his death, and the public did not know till then how exactly he had surveyed the scenery. Wordsworth, if he knew, ignored the fact that a poet whom he habitually depreciated was, as a minute admirer of the views of nature, not less enthusiastic than his censor. The credit of discovering the Lakes belongs really to neither of these. It belongs to poor crazy Brown, the author of *The Estimate*, who wrote of a night scene near Keswick:

Nor voice, nor sound broke on the deep serene;
But the soft murmur of soft-gushing rills
(Unheard till now, and now scarce heard), etc.

The whole of Gray's journal is precious, abounding in description, facts of natural history, historical detail, antique records, experiences gained with a persistent effort, very creditable to one

generally very nervous and timid, but careless of fatigue and risk in his fascinating quest¹.

At the beginning of 1770, Gray, through Nicholls, found a strange young friend, to beguile for a short time his solitary days, and give his waning life a sort of Martin's summer. Young Charles-Victor de Bonstetten came to him to fascinate, but, also, to perplex, him. The undergraduates puzzled the foreigner; he could not understand the young seigneurs travestied as monks in the university glorified by Newton. He knew so little of the real life of these neophytes as never to suspect that their conduct and character were far from ascetic. It was a secret Gray prudently withheld from him, jealously keeping his disciple for himself. Bonstetten spent most of his time in Gray's room, having, however, a young sizar to wake him in the morning and read Milton to him. He studied from morning to night and spent his evenings with Gray. His own experience was, in truth, already much wider than that of his now ageing friend. He had seen Rousseau, he had talked with Voltaire; he had even tried suicide, anticipating Werther under the spell of that *Weltschmerz* which the Briton imperfectly understood. All this, Gray never knew, or thought it best not to notice. He wrote to the young man, who relapsed for a time into melancholy on his return to Switzerland, as Fénelon's Mentor might talk to Telemachus; and epitomises for his benefit the sixth book of Plato's *Republic*. In the end, Bonstetten became an excellent magistrate, and served Switzerland well, until the revolution drove him into exile. He never forgot Gray, the old poet whose last days he had brightened, and who had parted from him with pathetic regret².

The scene had begun to close in when, in the company of Nicholls, he went through five of the western counties, descended the Wye forty miles in a boat, saw Tintern and, at Malvern, on receiving a copy of *The Deserted Village*, exclaimed emphatically 'this man is a poet.' But there was not, for the first part of 1771, much sign of any serious ailment; apart from some indications of failing vitality in his frame, his mind was as active as ever, till, in June, he became conscious of a new complaint, and, on 24 July, was taken suddenly ill in hall. On the 30th, he was dead.

A survey of Gray's work would include MSS of incredibly larger volume than the few poems published in his lifetime. Yet

¹ He travelled, of course, much on foot, but it is not probable that he always did so. It was not his way to record on all occasions how he travelled. The distances which he walked have been absurdly exaggerated.

² See the story told more at length in the second volume of *Gray's Letters* (1904).

no small part of his reputation rests, for us, upon copious MSS, carefully preserved by him, but never intended to be seen, except by an esoteric circle. To begin with, his invaluable letters are an index to his whole character, and to the humorous spirit that is often, as in the case of Hood, twin sister to melancholy. In his letters, his life lies spread out before us; they are the only absolutely trustworthy records for his biographers. Their interest lies in their infinite variety. Walpole was a better historian of social life; but his claims to erudition were slight, his obligations to Gray, acknowledged and unacknowledged, were great¹, and his scientific knowledge was *nil*; while, whatever the interest of his letters for political and social history, they contain nothing comparable to the depth and pathos of Gray's more limited memories and friendships². On the other hand, Gray's letters are an excellent guide as a survey of continental literature; the best French writers he literally devoured; his liking for inferior fiction he shared with the fashionable world, partly because it *was* fashionable, but such writers as Montesquieu, Buffon and the encyclopaedists he read with enthusiasm. With Rousseau, except his *Émile*, and with Voltaire, he is utterly out of sympathy. He plunges deep into the pages of Froissart, 'the Herodotus of a barbarous age,' of Sully's *Mémoires*, of Madame de Maintenon's letters, and the memoirs of that French Fanny Burney, Madame de Staal Delaunay. He knows, beside Froissart, all the old French chroniclers, and gives advice as to the order and method of their study. While, at times, like a market-gardener, he exchanges with Wharton notes as to the dates of the returns of the seasons and the state of the crops, he is also a man of science. He is in touch with Linnaeus, through his disciple at Upsala, and with the English naturalist Stillingfleet. Classical literature has, for him, no dry bones. He rises to enthusiasm on such subjects and expects Wharton to share his delight in the description of the retreat from Syracuse, which his friend has just reached in the seventh book of *Thucydides*.

In December 1757, he was offered the laureateship, but contemptuously declined it; the offer, nevertheless, was a tribute to him, as the first poet of his generation. And, indeed, in 1748, before he had written very much, he sat in scornful judgment upon his contemporaries. In Dodsley's collection of that year, the only living poets whom he can praise unreservedly are Shenstone

¹ See his *Anecdotes of Painting* and Gray's comments; also, Gray's criticisms on *Historiæ Doubts* (read between the lines).

² As to Walpole's letters, see chap. XI, post.

for *The Schoolmistress*, Johnson for *London* and *Verses* on the opening of Garrick's theatre, Dyer for *Grongar Hill*, and, of course, Walpole. But, he adds

What shall I say to Mr Lowth, Mr Ridley, Mr Rolfe, the Rev. Mr Brown ('Estimate Brown'), Seward, etc. etc. If I say Messieurs! this is not the thing; write prose, write sermons, write nothing at all: they will disdain me and my advice.

Of Gray's most persistent friend and correspondent, Mason, it is difficult to speak with justice or moderation. Gray has described him with kindness and sincerity, and it is, perhaps, the one redeeming trait in Mason's edition of the correspondence that he has preserved this description with almost Boswellian self-sacrifice. According to Gray, he is a creature of childlike simplicity, but writes too much, and hopes to make money by it, reads very little, and is insatiable in the matter of preferment; the simplicity we may question, and it seems incompatible with the rest of the description. He garbled Gray's letters ruthlessly; in their un mutilated form, they would have disposed for ever of his claims to be his friend's *compère*. He may be excused for not wishing to figure before the public as 'dear Skroddler'; but, when he pleads the boyish levity of some of the letters as an excuse for his expurgations, he knows better, and is simply posing, often substituting his own bombast for Gray's plain speaking. Gray recognised merit in Mason's *Musaeus*, a *Monody on the death of Pope*, spite of shells and coral floors; he liked, moderately, *Elfrida* and, immoderately, *Caractacus*, from which, in *The Bard*, he quotes an example of the sublime. His elegies and other verses it would be profitless to enumerate. They have no place in the history of our literature. He wrote political pasquinades of no great merit; but it may be reckoned to his credit that he was a consistent Whig, so that, on the accession of George III, he lost all chance of further preferment. He showed very little magnanimity in attacking, in his *Isis*, the university of Oxford, then (1746 sq.) out of favour with the court, the bulk of whose patronage went to Cambridge. He was answered in *The Triumph of Isis* by Thomas Warton, then a youth of twenty-one, with spirit and good temper; yet, such was his vanity that he believed he had inflicted a mortal wound, and, years after, congratulated himself on entering Oxford at night, without fear of a crowd of 'booing undergraduates.' His superficial resemblance to the manner of Gray did the greater poet some harm. Their contemporaries, and certain critics of a later

generation, did not see any difference between Mason's frosty glare and constant falsetto and the balanced eloquence of Gray.

If the project of a joint work with Mason on the history of English poetry had not fallen through, Gray must have found his associate a terrible incubus. No greater contrast existed at that date than Mason's slipshod, as compared with Gray's scholarly accuracy. Even the work of Warton was an inadequate substitute for that which Gray might have given us; the probability is that its only fault would have been too much, even as Warton has too little, method.

There was one of Gray's preferences that contributed greatly to the appreciation which, as the historian of our poetry, he would have shown of its earlier stages. In strong contrast to the elaborate and stately diction of his own verse, he loved best the poets who were almost models of simplicity: Matthew Green, and the French Gresset, and Dyer of *Grongar Hill*, and whatever Shenstone and even Tickell had written in the same vein. His mind was early ripe for the ballads of Percy's *Reliques*. He finds, accordingly, in *Gil Morrice*, all the rules of Aristotle observed by some unknown ballad-writer who had never read Aristotle. He derives from Macpherson's fragments and his Fingall evidence that 'without any respect of climates poetry reigns in all nascent societies of men.' The theory itself is intrinsically better than the support on which he chose to rest it. He was struggling in that portentous Ossianic mist which spread from Britain to the continent, a mist through which people of genius, the greatest as well as the least, wandered for a time, bewildered by their own shadows. The last efforts of his muse, dating from *The Bard*, are, in the history of our literature, incomparably the most important. From his Latin verse, which, if we except his jocular or satiric efforts, was alone fluent and spontaneous, and is still significant as marking the first stage in his poetic development, we pass to a meditative mood sufficiently conventional in form except in its extreme classicism, and transcendent only because impressed by genuine feeling, and thence to the scanty product by virtue of which we regard him as a pioneer, who seems, like Hesperus, to lead a starry host, but really moves with the rest in obedience to the same mysterious impulse. His fame, in this character, has obscured without effort that of many lesser bards whose course was in the same direction, until the magic was transmitted to Coleridge, and then to Scott, who used it with more persistent energy and more conspicuous effect.

CHAPTER VII

YOUNG, COLLINS AND LESSER POETS OF THE AGE OF JOHNSON

THE posthumous experience, if it may be so described, of most of the poets to be treated in the present chapter, like that of their predecessors, noticed in an earlier section of this *History*¹, illustrates certain doctrines, both of the less, and of the more, vulgar philosophy of life. For more than a century and a half, through the successive collections of Dodsley, Pearch, Johnson, Anderson and Chalmers, they have had opportunities of being generally known which can hardly be said to have been shared by the verse writers of any other period of English literary history. But, for the last century at any rate, this familiarity with their productions has, also, brought about its proverbial consequence. Collins, indeed, if not *nemine contradicente*, yet, by a strong body of the best critical judgment, has (putting range of kind and bulk of production out of the question) been allowed poetical quality of almost the rarest and purest sort. Young, despite the great volume of now imperfectly interesting matter comprehended in his poetical works, and the extreme inequality of his treatment of it, despite, too, the defects of his temper and other drawbacks, enjoyed, for a long time, great and almost European popularity; he possesses, for the literary historian, the attraction of having actually anticipated Pope in one of the most characteristic directions of Pope's satiric energy; and he can never be explored by any patient and unbiassed investigator without the recognition of flame under the ashes, flowers in the wilderness and fragments of no contemptible moulding among the ruins. Shenstone, Dyer, Green ('Spleen'-Green), Blair, Armstrong, Akenside, Beattie, Smart—there are associations with each of these names which ought not to be forgotten; and, even from the *numerus* which may be grouped with them, there remains something to be gathered as to the general state and

¹ See *ante*, vol. ix, chap. vi, sec. ii.

fortunes of literature and of poetry which ought not to be missing in such a work as the present.

An extensive notice of biographical data, not generally included in the plan of this *History*, would be altogether out of place in a collective chapter; but some references of the kind will be found to be occasionally indispensable. Young's long life, from the time when he entered Winchester in 1695, was exactly divided between residence at school and in three colleges at Oxford (New college, where he missed securing a place on the foundation, Corpus Christi, and, lastly, All Souls, of which he became a lay fellow in 1708) and tenure of the college living of Welwyn, to which, having given up plans of professional and parliamentary life and taken orders, he was presented in 1730. Throughout each of these long periods, he appears (except at the moment of his election at All Souls) as a disappointed man, baffled as to regular promotion at school; wandering from college to college; not, indeed, ever in apparent danger of the jail, but incessantly and fruitlessly courting the patron; an unsuccessful, or but once successful, dramatist; a beaten candidate for parliament; and, in his second stage, perpetually desiderating, but never, in the very slightest measure, receiving, that ecclesiastical promotion which, in some not quite comprehensible way, almost every eighteenth century divine seems to have thought his plain and incontestable right. In both parts of his career, moreover, there can be little doubt that Young suffered from that curious recoil or rebuff for which, perhaps, not enough allowance has been made in meting out praise or blame among the successive literary generations of the eighteenth century. Addison's administrative, and Prior's diplomatic, honours were not unmixed blessings to their possessors; but there cannot be any doubt that they made Grub street, or even places much more agreeable and less 'fabulous' than Grub street, all the more intolerable to the younger generation.

Before applying the light of this (of course not novel) consideration to Young's work, let us see what that work (most of it now utterly forgotten) actually was. He began with addresses and odes of various kinds (one on the queen's death) in the last two years of Anne, and produced the play *Busiris*, a paraphrase of *Job* and his *Letters to Tickell*, in 1719. In 1721 appeared his one famous play *The Revenge*, and, a little later, in parts (1725-8), the most important work of his younger, but not very young, years, *The Universal Passion*. During the years

1728 to 1730 were published the amazing pieces called *Ocean* and *Imperium Pelagi*, with others. *The Complaint, or Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality*, began to appear in 1744, when the author was nearly sixty-two. A third play, *The Brothers*, followed in 1753: and his last work of importance, *Resignation*, in 1762.

The immense and long enduring popularity of *Night Thoughts* hardly requires much comment, even now that it has utterly vanished and is never likely to return. This popularity was not, as it has been in some other cases, due to lack of insight on the part of the public that bestowed it; but, as perhaps nearly always happens, it was due to the fact that the merits of the work, in part, at least, were exactly such as that public could best appreciate, and the faults such as it was most disposed to pass over. *Night Thoughts* is hard reading, nowadays, even for the most catholic lover of poetry; and the rest of Young, even *The Universal Passion*, is harder. But he must be a very exceptional critic who can do Young justice, either without a complete reading of his poems, or at a first reading only. Two keys, perhaps, are wanted to unlock the cabinet. The first is an easy and wellknown key—the effect of personal disappointment. To this feeling, in various forms, poets are proverbially liable; but it is difficult to remember any poet who shows it so constantly and in such various forms as Young. It is not always very noisy in him: but it shows itself everywhere—in his satire as well as in his preachings and moralisings, in the innumerable passages, whether longer or shorter, of a form of flattery which sometimes carries with it a despairing sense that nothing, or nothing adequate, will, after all, come from the flattered; in the elegies over apparent triumphs such as Addison's, and apparent failures like that of Swift's 'little Harrison,' who was Young's intimate friend; last of all, but not least of all, and, perhaps, most pathetically, in the title and the substance alike of his swan-song *Resignation*. That his disappointment, on the whole, was rather unreasonable is a feeble, as well as a 'philistine,' way of dismissing the matter: unreasonable disappointments are apt to be the most, not the least, keenly felt.

But there was something else wrong with Young. Johnson, in one of that great majority of his judgments on which one cannot do better than fall back, pronounced that 'with all his defects he was a man of genius and a poet.' He was this; but, of almost all men of genius and almost all poets, he was the most singularly lacking in art; and he seems, to some extent, to have been aware

of it, if we may judge from the frequency with which he dismissed his own work as not worth republication. It is quite astonishing that had an artist Young is; for, whatever its deficiencies in other respects and whatever its limits in the domain of art, the eighteenth century did not usually, according to its lights, make default in questions concerning art. In gross and in detail, Young's art, even his mere craftsmanship, is absolutely untrustworthy. His rimes are the worst that we have from any English poet, except Mrs Browning. He constantly ventures, in narrative blank verse, upon the dramatic redundant syllable, which is always a blemish, and sometimes fatal, out of drama. The almost incredible absurdities of *Ocean*, *Imperium Pelagi* and other odes come partly from want of taste in selection of stanza, partly from infelicities of phrase which few schoolboys would commit.

In the greater matter (as some hold it) of construction, he is equally weak. He really did precede Pope in certain turns, as well as in a general atmosphere, of satire, which, it may be suspected, is the reason why some not illiterate persons are in the habit of attributing lines and passages in Young to his greater successor. But, in the earlier poet, the inequality, the awkwardness, the verbiage, are still constantly present.

It ought to be set down to the credit of public taste, which seldom receives, and does not often deserve, praise, that these defects (except the verbiage) are somewhat less perceptible in what was long held to be a masterpiece, and is Young's masterpiece still. Even the annoying and defacing redundant syllable may be excused, to some extent, on the plea that *The Complaint*, to all intents and purposes, is an enormous soliloquy—a lamentation in argumentative and reflective monologue, addressed by an actor of superhuman lung-power to an audience of still more superhuman endurance. It has, throughout, the character of the *epideictic*—the rhetorical exercise deliberately calculated and consciously accepted as a matter of display—which is frequent in more serious eighteenth century verse. What Shakespeare, in a few lines of *Hamlet* and of *Macbeth*, compressed and sublimed into immortal poetry, Young watered down or hammered out into rhetoric, with endless comments and 'uses' and applications. But, in passages which are still unforgotten, he allows himself a little concentration and something that is strangely like, if it is not actually, sincerity; and, then, he does become, in his day and in his place, 'a man of genius and a poet.' Indeed, if he were judged by single lines, both of the satiric and of the reflective kind, these titles could still less be

refused him. And it is only fair to say that such lines and passages occur not merely in *Night Thoughts*, not merely in *The Universal Passion*, but almost everywhere (except in the odes, from the early *Last Day* and *Job* to the final *Resignation*).

As we turn to William Collins, we come, perhaps, to the only name the inclusion of which in this chapter may raise a cavil. 'If Collins is to be classed with lesser poets,' it may be said, 'then who, in Collins's time, or in his century, is a greater?' There is no space here for detailed controversy on such points; yet, without some answer to the question, the literary history of the age would be obscured or left imperfect. In the opinion of the present writer, Collins, in part, and the chief part, of his work, was, undoubtedly, a 'greater poet,' and that not merely of his own time. There is no time—Elizabethan, Georgian or Victorian—at which the best things in the *Odes* would not have entitled their author to the verdict 'poetry *sans phrase*.' But there is another part of his work, small as it may be in bulk—the whole of it is but small, and, in the unhappy circumstances of his life, could hardly have been larger—which is not greater poetry, which, indeed, is very distinctly lesser; and this 'minority' occurs also, we must almost say constantly, in the *Odes* themselves. Further, this minority or inferiority is of a peculiar kind, hardly exemplified elsewhere. Many poets are unequal: it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that, in varying measure, every poet is unequal. The string, be it of bow or of lyre, cannot always be at full tension. Some—we have but just quoted an example in Young—are unequal with an inequality which cannot take any benefit from the old metaphor. But, at certain times, hardly any poet, and few poets at any time, exhibit the peculiar inequality which Collins displays; and, for historical and critical purposes, the analysis of the special character of this difference is, perhaps, of almost as much importance as that of the discovery and recognition of his poetic idiosyncrasy and merit when he is at his best; perhaps, it is of even greater importance than this.

For, here, the cross-valuation of man and time, easily abused down to mere glib futility, yet very significant when used rightly, becomes of the very first moment; in fact, it would not be an exaggeration to say that there is hardly another case where it counts for so much, and where it explains so much. Almost everything that is good in Collins belongs to the man; almost everything that is not good belongs to the time. And, consequently, there is, again, hardly a poet of whom it may be said, with less of this

facility, that even supposing his unhappy mental affliction to have remained the same (which, in the different circumstances, ~~it~~ ^{it} may conceivably might not), his production, as a contemporary of Shakespeare or of Milton, of Coleridge or of Tennyson, would have been entirely different in all the features that are not its best. The Collins of the *Odes*, at his best, is the poet of all time in general and no time in particular; the Collins of the *Eclogues* is everywhere the poetaster of the eighteenth century. Nor is the distinction to be confined to this easy and sweeping separation; for, in the *Odes* themselves, it constantly, and, to the critical reader, not at all tiresomely, presents and represents itself. In two succeeding poems of the collection, in two stanzas of the same poem, in two successive lines, nay, in the very same line of the same stanza, two writers—the Collins of eternity and the Collins of his day—are continually manifesting themselves. The latter talks about a 'British shell' when he means 'English poetry'; intrudes the otiose and, in fact, ludicrous, detail of 'its southern site,' a sort of auctioneer's item, in his description of the temple of Pity; indulges in constant abuse of such words as 'scene.' And he sometimes intrudes upon, though he cannot quite spoil, the loftiest inspiration of the Collins who writes 'How sleep the brave' and the *Ode to Evening*.

When this is thoroughly understood, it not merely brings the usual reward—the fact of this understanding—but a distinct increase of enjoyment. On the full perception of the difference between the two Collinses, there follows, not merely pardon, as in the proverb, but a possibility of neglecting what would otherwise annoy. The 'British shell' no longer suggests artillery or oysters; the 'turtles' have no savour of the tureen; and nothing interferes with our appreciation of the dewy eyes of Pity and the golden hair of Peace, when the sense of incongruity is, as Coleridge says of the sense of disbelief, 'suspended.'

In regard, indeed, to the *Eclogues*, the critical is almost the only satisfaction. They occupy but little room—less than a score of pages, containing scarcely more than three hundred lines, form not a very severe tax upon the reader. But, in them, we certainly find the Collins of the hour almost unrelieved by a single exhibition of individual poetic quality. Eastern apologues in prose or verse had been patented for the whole eighteenth century by the authority of Addison; and Collins was merely following one of the various fashions beyond which it was reckoned improper, if not positively unlawful, to stray. The consecrated couplet

furnishes the metre; the *gradus* epithet—'radiant morn,' 'wanton gales,' 'tender passion'—lends its accustomed aid to swell and balance the line; and, though we sometimes come on a verse² that shows forth the poet, such as

Cold is her breast like flowers that drink the dew,

unreasonable expectations of more instances of the same sort are promptly checked by such flatnesses as the statement that 'the virtues *came along*,' or such otiosities as

In *distant* view along the *level* green.

Had these attempts to compose something that might represent the poetry of Saadi and Hafiz and Omar Khayyam stood alone, Collins might certainly have justified the strictures¹ of *The Gentleman's Magazine* on his fellow-contributor to *Dodsley*. Fortunately, they do not stand alone, but are accompanied and effaced by the *Odes*. Besides the two pieces to which reference has already been made—the *Ode to Evening*, with its almost, if not quite, successful extension of the 'blank' principle to lyric, and the exquisite softness and restraint of 'How sleep the brave'—at least three others, in different degrees, have secured general admiration. These are the slightly 'time-marked,' but, surely, charming for all time, *Dirge in Cymbeline*, the splendid outburst of the *Liberty* ode and the posthumous *Superstitions of the Highlands*, of which the text may, perhaps, admit of dispute, but certainly not the spirit and the poetic quality. Hardly one of these, unless it be 'How sleep the brave,' is, as a whole poem, faultless; but Longinus would have made no mistake about the 'slips' and 'faults' of Collins, as compared with his sublimity—and why should we?

The other poets to be mentioned in the present chapter are inferior to these two; but, with rare exception, each has something that would make it improper to batch or group him with others, as was done on a former occasion; while hardly one is so distinctly eminent that, in his case, chronological order need be disregarded as it has been in that of Collins. We shall, therefore, observe it, with the very slight further liberty (possibly no liberty at all) of mentioning John Dyer, who was certainly not born within the eighteenth century, but whose exact birth-year is unknown, before Green and Blair, who can be positively claimed for the seventeenth.

For Dyer, though his real claims rest upon one short piece only, and that not belonging to the very highest style of poetry,

¹ Cf. *ante*, vol. ix, chap. vi, sec. ii, p. 191.

must be recognised as a poet, and as a very remarkable poet, from curiously different points of view. *The Fleece* and *The Ruins of Rome* are merely examples of the extraordinary mistakes as to subjects proper for poetry, and the ordinary infelicity in dealing with them, which have condemned eighteenth century verse as a whole to a lower place than it deserves. *The Cuntry Walk*, not disagreeable in itself, is either a vastly inferior first draft, or a still more surprisingly unsuccessful replica, of *Grongar Hill*. But *Grongar Hill* itself is one of those poems which occupy a place of their own, humble though it may be, as compared with the great epics and tragedies, simple and of little variety, as compared with the garlands or paradises of the essentially lyrical poets, but secure, distinguished and, practically, unique. That even Johnson, though he thought it 'not very accurately written,' allowed it to be 'pleasing,' and felt sure that 'when once read it would be read again,' is a striking testimony in its favour. For it deals almost wholly with 'prospects,' to which Johnson was contemptuously indifferent; and its 'inaccuracy' (which, in truth, is the highest accuracy) was to prove a very crowbar for loosening the foundations of the prosody that he thought accurate.

The poem is really a little wonder in subject and form alike. The devotees of 'the subject' cannot fail, if they know the facts, to recognise in it the first definite return to that fixing of the eye on the object in nature which, though not so absent from Dryden as Wordsworth thought, had been growing rarer and rarer (save in such obscure work as Lady Winchilsea's) for generation after generation, and which was to be the most powerful process in the revived poetry of the future. The student of form cannot fail to perceive in that inaccuracy which Johnson (for him) gently blamed something neither more nor less than a return to the peculiar form of the octosyllabic couplet which, after being developed by Shakespeare and Fletcher and the pastoral poets of the early seventeenth century, had been exquisitely employed by Milton in the twin masterpieces of his youth. The poem appeared, in 1726, in the *Miscellany* of that remarkable person Lewis¹. Even the first of *The Seasons* had but just been published; and, if there is a certain identity of spirit between this poem and Dyer's, the expression is wholly different. Even those who are free from any half-partisan, half-ignorant contempt for the age of Pope and the age of Johnson, must own how strange and sweet, amid the ordinary concert of those ages, is the sound of

¹ Cf. *ante*, vol. ix, p. 188.

Who in the purple evening lie
On the mountain's lonely van...

or

A little rule, a little sway,
A sunbeam on a winter's day...

or

Sometimes swift, sometimes slow,
Wave succeeding wave, they go
A various journey to the deep,
Like human life, to endless sleep.

That Dyer was a painter as well as a poet goes, no doubt, for something; that, at least, he liked to think he had married a collateral descendant of, in his own phrase, 'everybody's Shakespeare,' may go for a great deal.

In Dyer—or, at least, in *Grongar Hill*—we see some of the first, and almost best, fruits of the romantic spirit and style. In Matthew Green, both style and spirit are of the other kind, but hardly less agreeable in their own way. He, also, so far as good verse goes, is a 'single-speech' poet; but he derives some advantage from the fact that he hardly tried to speak on any other occasion, though a few minor pieces usually accompany *The Spleen*, and a few more might, it seems, be added to them. Green was a quaker-freethinker (a curious evolution) and a clerk in the custom-house, where he amiably prevented a reform which would have disestablished, or, at least, dismilked, the cats. He seems, on the whole, to have been more like a French man of letters of the time than like an Englishman possessing a temperament which may, at once, have qualified and disqualified him for treating 'the English disease.' It must be admitted that his treatment is somewhat superficial, and more than a little desultory; but it certainly exhibits a condition completely opposite to that of the ailment, and even, for the time of reading, provides an antidote. The octosyllables, 'accurate,' as Johnson would say, without stiffness or limpness, and slipping lightly along without any Hudibrastic acrobaticism, frame a succession of thoughts that, if never very profound, are always expressed with a liveliness of which the well-known

Fling but a stone, the giant dies

is by no means too favourable a specimen. Sometimes, we have satiric glances at individuals, as that, near the beginning, at Gildon; sometimes, lively 'thumbnails' of contemporary manners; once or twice, more elaborate drawings, as of the often quoted

Farm some twenty miles from town.

The epicurean attitude of the lighter, but not the coarser, kind has seldom been better illustrated in verse.

Chronology could hardly have been more complacent in contrast-planning than by putting the author of *The Grave* next in order. Here, also, we have a poet of one poem; but the subject of that poem has at once greater possibilities and greater dangers. A poet who writes unpoetically on death at once proves himself to be no poet; and Blair has not failed to pass the test. But he has passed it with the qualification of his time; and, perhaps, so universal a subject ought to receive rather more universality of treatment. Even the fine *coda* (which did not form part of the original edition of the poem) dates itself a little too definitely; and the suicide passage, to name no other, is somewhat rhetorical, if not even melodramatic. But there is no doubt that it had a powerful influence. The very fact that contemporary critics thought the language lacking in 'dignity' offers the best testimony to its freedom, at least sometimes, from the always irksome, and sometimes intolerable, buckram which mars Young and Thomson, Armstrong and Akenside, and which is by no means absent from Collins or from Gray. The blank verse, like nearly all dating from this period, though not so badly as some of it, abuses the abrupt full-stopped middle pause, and is too much given to dramatic redundancy. But it has a certain almost rugged massiveness, and occasionally flings itself down with real *momentum*. The line

The great negotiators of the earth

possesses sarcastic force of meaning as well as prosodic force of structure. It would be hard to find two poets of more different schools than Blair and Blake. Yet it was not a mere association of contradictories when Blake illustrated Blair¹.

The peculiar 'tumid and gorgeous' style of the eighteenth century in blank verse, in which Johnson² professed to find the only excuse—and that inadequate—for the metre he detested, not unfrequently gives the wary critic a certain pause before he absolutely excludes the notion of conscious or half-conscious burlesque on the part of its practitioners. There had been no doubt about this burlesque in the case of *The Splendid Shilling*³, which,

¹ The close coincidence of *The Grave*, which was certainly written by 1742, though not published till the following year, and *Night Thoughts*, the first part of which appeared in the earlier year, has given occasion to the usual idle disputes about priority. The conception of each of these poems was, probably, quite independent.

² See *ante*, vol. ix, chap. x, p. 256.

undoubtedly, had led not a few of them to Milton. Even in Thomson, a later and much stronger influence—in fact, one which directly mastered most blank-verse writers after 1726—it is not certain whether the temper which avowedly exists in *The Castle of Indolence* may not sometimes lie concealed in *The Seasons*. And John Armstrong, Thomson's intimate friend and more than countryman—for their birthplaces, just inside the Border, were within a few miles of each other—one of the garrison invalids of the castle itself, was, by common consent of tradition, a remarkable specimen of that compound of saturnine, and even churlish, humour with real kindness, which Scotsmen have not been indisposed to acknowledge as a national characteristic. He seems to have pleaded actual burlesque intent for his *péché de jeunesse* (as it would be called in French literary history), *The Economy of Love*. But it is difficult to discern much difference of style between this and the more respectable *Art of Preserving Health*. The preposterous latinising, which has made his 'gelid cistern' for 'cold bath' a stock quotation, and the buckram stiffness of style which usually goes with it, appear in both. His wellknown contribution to *The Castle of Indolence* itself is avowed burlesque, and not unhappy; while, though his imitations of Shakespeare are about as much like Shakespeare as they are like Walt Whitman, his *Epistle to Wilkes*, from the army in Germany to which he was attached, is not without good touches. He seems to have possessed literary, if not exactly poetical, power, but to have been the victim of personal bad taste, exaggerating a particular bad taste of the time.

Richard Glover, like Armstrong, belongs to the 'tumid and gorgeous' blank-verse division; but, unlike him, he offers not the slightest provocation to direct or indirect amusement, and, unlike him also, he has nothing of real vigour. His celebrated ballad, *Admiral Hosier's Ghost*, is a curious success; but it is not certain how much of its reproduction of the half-pathetic, half-bathetic style of the broadside is art and how much nature. Of his 'great' performances, *Leonidas* and *The Athenaid* (rash as literary prophecy is), it may, with little fear, be said that no age will ever resuscitate their popularity—a popularity which, even at the time, was not lasting and, perhaps, to some extent, had been politically engineered; while, almost certainly, the main cause of it was the already mentioned fancy for the newly resuscitated blank verse. Glover, perhaps, is not so absurd as is Blackmore: but he is equally dull in substance; and, in form, he pushes one mannerism to an

almost maddening length. The effect which Milton produces by occasional strong full-stops of sense coinciding with the metrical middle pause is well known and unquestionable. But Milton uses it carefully, and in combination with the utmost and most artful variety of other pauses, and of stopped or overrun lines. His imitators, from the first, were tempted to employ and overdo this obvious device; and Thomson himself is by no means impeccable in respect of it. Glover uses it on every possible occasion, not unfrequently in several successive lines, and not unfrequently, also, stopping where no stops should be, in order to achieve it. It is difficult to imagine, and would be hardly possible to find, even in the long list of mistaken 'long poem' writers of the past two centuries, more tedious stuff than his.

The immediate cause which places William Shenstone here next to Glover is merely chronological; but the sequence could hardly be better arranged for a reader of the two. As a relief from the probably vain attempt to read the London merchant, nothing could be better than the poems of the Worcestershire gentleman-farmer. Shenstone is not a great poet; but, perhaps, there has been a tendency, at all times, to treat him too lightly. Especially if his prose work on poetry be taken together with his poems, it may, not as a mere fancy, be found that very few of his contemporaries, perhaps none but Collins and Gray, had in them more of the root of the matter, though time and circumstance and a dawdling sentimental temperament intercepted and stunted fruit and flower. With his prose¹, we are here not directly concerned; but it is certainly surprising how, in a few aphoristic touches, he lays a finger on some of the chief faults of the poetry of his day. He did not quite practise what he preached: and there is no doubt that posterity has not been wholly unjust in associating the *rococo* decorations and the trivial artifices of the Leasowes with the poems which partly show direct connection with that estate. But artificial-pastoral was only a stage on the return to real nature; and the positive achievements of Shenstone's poetry have much less of the toyshop and the marionette theatre about them than it has been customary to think or say. It is almost a pity that he was of Pembroke, Oxford; for, had he not been there, Johnson's belittling would hardly have been accompanied by a sort of patronising endeavour to make the best of it—the most damaging form of disparagement.

¹ See, as to his letters, chap. XI, sec. II, post.

In fact, it is very easily possible to assign him far less than his real value in the return to nature itself. When Fanny Burney, many years after his death, saw Knowle for the first time, she ranked it next to Hagley as the finest park she had seen, acknowledging, however, with frankness the culpable or regrettable absence of improvement by temples and grottoes, obelisks and view-seats. We should, of course, exactly reverse the estimate. Yet Hagley and the (as some will have it) Naboth's vineyard which patterned Hagley's beautification were only schoolmasters to bring public attention, at any rate, from town to country—if to a country 'townishly' bedizened and interfered with. The proper study of mankind ceased to be man only, when he busied himself with nature at all; even though for a time he might officiously intrude his own works upon her. One may smile at

But oh! the transport most ally'd to song
In some fair *villa's* peaceful bound
To catch soft *hints* from Nature's tongue
And bid Arcadia bloom around—

but it is only fair to remember that the earlier part of the same poem had almost expressly condemned meddling with nature as contained in the lines

'Tis Nature only gives exclusive right
To relish her supreme delight,

and, as if with half-surprise at its own boldness, allowed 'pregnancy of [such] delight' to 'thrifless furze' and 'rough barren rock.'

It may indeed be admitted that, both in his grounds and in his poems, Shenstone allowed the charms of the villa to overpower those of furze and rock.

One of the censor's ironical anecdotes is that 'nothing roused Shenstone's indignation more than to ask if there were any fishes in his water.' The obvious innuendo has a certain justice; but it may, to some extent, be retorted that he did try to 'stock' some part of his poetical water—very unprofitably. His *Moral Pieces*, had they stood alone, would either have excluded him from notice here altogether, or have left him with a line of condemnation. *The Judgment of Hercules* has the smoothness, but also the insignificance, of the average eighteenth century couplet; *Economy*, *The Ruined Abbey* and *Love and Honour*, the frigid bombast and the occasional sheer 'measured prose' of its worst blank-verse. If *The Progress of Taste* deserves a less harsh judgment, it is because Shenstone, there, is writing autobiographically, and, consequently,

with his heart in the matter; while, as to form, he takes refuge in the easy 'Hudibrastics' which the age generally wrote well, and sometimes excellently. But, elsewhere, if the sense of *impar congressus* is too frequently with us, there are, also, frequent alleviations; while that other and consoling sense of reading one who, at least, is a seeker after true poetry is seldom absent. *The Schoolmistress* (which, we know, was undertaken irreverently and converted the author in the writing) has generally been admitted to be one of the happiest things of its kind, so far as its author intended (and he has defined his intention very strictly) to reach. Even the tea-garden 'inscriptions' are saved by the bestknown of them, 'Here in cool grot,' which, by the exclusion of some of the unlucky poetic lingo of the time, and the substitution for it of better phrase, could be made a really charming thing. Whether there are enough good things in *Levities* to save the others is a nicer question: but, some things are certainly good. And the same is the case with *Elegies*, which occupies the other wing of his array. But it has practically long been decided that Shenstone must be judged by *The Schoolmistress* and the *Miscellaneous Poems* conscientiously subtitled 'Odes, Songs, Ballads etc.' Of *The Schoolmistress* we have spoken; of the others we may now speak.

To anyone who has read much poetry, and has thought a little about it with due mixture of criticism and affection, some—relatively many—of these pieces have a strange attraction. The true and even profound notions as to poetical substance and form which are scattered about Shenstone's prose seem to have exercised some prompting, but no restraining, influence on his verse. A seldom quoted, and not in the least hackneyed, piece, *The Song of Valentine's Day*, illustrates this, perhaps, in a more striking fashion than any other. He appears, at first, to have caught that inestimable soar and sweep of the common measure which had seemed to be lost with the latest Carolines; and the charm of it, as it were, is in the distance throughout. But he never fully masters it. Some lines, beginning with the second—

'Tis said that under distant skies,
Nor you the fact deny—

are hopelessly prosaic. The fatal jargon of the time, 'swain' and 'grove' and the rest, pervades and mars the whole. The spell is never consummated; but the possibility is always there. Of the *Ode to Memory*, something the same may be said, and of others. His best known things, *The Dying Kid*, the *Jemmy Dawson* ballad and the four-parted *Pastoral*, are unequal, but only because they

condescend nearer to the fashion. The three-footed anapaests of the last are jingling enough, no doubt; and it is wonderful that Shenstone should not have anticipated the variations and ennoblings of the metre which, even then, though chiefly in light matter, had been sometimes hit upon, and which were perfected by Byron, Præd, and Swinburne. But there is a favour and a prettiness about them that still appeal to all but very superior persons; and not merely they, but many of their companions, show that Shenstone was certainly a 'called,' if he could not quite rise to be a 'chosen,' poet.

It may be desirable, and should certainly be permissible, to use once more the often misused comparison, and observe that, while Shenstone would probably have been a better poet, and would certainly have written better poetry, in the seventeenth or the nineteenth century, there is little probability that Mark Akenside would at any time have done better than he actually did, and small likelihood that he would ever have done so well. His only genuine appeal is to the intellect and to strictly conventionalised emotions; his method is by way of versified rhetoric; and his inspirations are political, ethical, social, or almost what you will, provided the purely poetical be excluded. It is, perhaps, not unconnected with this restricted appeal to the understanding, that hardly any poet known to us was so curiously addicted to remaking his poems. Poets of all degrees and kinds, poets as different from each other as Thomson and Tennyson, have revised their work largely; but the revision has always, or almost always, been confined to omissions, insertions and alterations for better or worse, of isolated phrase, line or passage. Akenside entirely rewrote his one long and famous poem, *The Pleasures of Imagination*¹, and did something similar with several of his not very numerous smaller pieces.

Since his actual intellectual endowment was not small, and his studies (though he was an active practising physician) were sufficient, he often showed fairly adequate stuff or substance of writing. But this stuff or substance is hardly ever of itself poetical; and the poetical or quasi-poetical ornament is invariably added, decorative and merely the clothes, not the body—to borrow the Coleridgean image—of such spirit as there is.

He, therefore, shows better in poems, different as they are from each other, like the *Hymn to the Naiads* and *An Epistle to Curio*, than in his diploma piece. *The Pleasures of Imagination*

¹ The title of the second edition (1757) runs: *The Pleasures of the Imagination*.

might, by a bold misnomer or liberty, be used as the title of a completed *Kubla Khan*, and so might designate a magnificent poem. But, applied strictly, and in the fashion congenial to Akenside and his century, it almost inevitably means a frigid catalogue, with the items decked out in rhetorical figures and developments. The earlier form is the better; but neither is really poetry. On the other hand, the *Hymn to the Naiads*, in blank verse, does, perhaps, deserve that praise of being 'the best example of the eighteenth century kind' which has been sometimes strangely given to *The Pleasures* themselves. More than one of the *Odes* and *Inscriptions*, in their formal decorative way, have a good deal of what has been called 'frozen grace.' But only once, perhaps, does Akenside really rise to poetic bloodheat: and that is in *An Epistle to Curio*. It may deserve, from the point of view of the practical man, the ridicule that Macaulay has applied to it. But, as an example of the nobler satiric couplet, fashioned in a manner between that of Dryden and that of Pope, animated by undoubtedly genuine feeling, and launched at its object with the pulse and quiver of a well-balanced and well-flung javelin, it really has notable merit.

Such a thing as this, and such other things as semi-classical bas-reliefs in description or sentiment, Akenside could accomplish; but, except in the political kind, he has no passion, and in no kind whatever has he magnificence, or the charm of life.

If Shenstone and Akenside present an interesting parallel contrast in one way, that presented to both of them by Christopher Smart is even more interesting; while, in another way, he approximates to Collins. Akenside, with all his learning, acuteness and vigour, never found the true spirit of poetry, and, perhaps, did not even look for it, or know where it was to be found. Shenstone, conscious of its existence, and always in a half-hearted way seeking it, sometimes came near it or, at least, saw it afar off. Smart found it once for all, and once only; but that once was when he was mad. Since *A Song to David* at last gained its true place (and sometimes, perhaps, a place rather higher than that), it has been the fashion rather to undervalue the positive worth of those other poems from which, by certainly one of the oddest tricks in literary history, fortune separated the *Song* in the original edition of Smart's work, leaving it for Chalmers to find in a review fragment only, and for the nineteenth century at last to recover completely. Smart's Latin poems, original and translated, are now quite out of

fashion; and they are not, as a rule, strikingly good. He had not, when sane, the power of serious poetry; but his lighter verse in a Hudibrastic or Swiftian vein is, sometimes, really capital; and neither in those great originals, nor in Barham, nor even in Thackeray, can be found a better piece of *burla* rhyme than

Tell me, 'thou son of great Cadwallader,
Hast thou that hare? or hast thou swallowed her?

But, in *A Song to David*, as it has been said, *furor vere poeticus* has seized and inspired his victim. It has been so much praised in the last half-century as to be, perhaps, to some extent, in the danger of Aristides; and it is anything rather than faultless. The ideas, and, indeed, much of the language, are taken at second-hand from the Bible; there is, as, in the circumstances, there almost must have been, divagation, repetition, verbiage, inequality, with other things not good in themselves. But the tide of poetry carries the poem right through, and the reader with it; the old romance-six or *rime couée*—a favourite measure with the eighteenth century, but often too suggestive of *Sir Thopas*—once more acquires soar and rush, and the blood and breath of life, so that the whole crowd of emotional thought and picturesque image sweeps through the page with irresistible force.

There is little for us that is irresistible in James Beattie or in William Falconer. But men not yet decrepit, who in their youth were fond of haunting bookstalls, may remember that few poems were commoner in 'elegant pocket editions,' as their own times would have said, than *The Minstrel* and *The Shipwreck*. We know that Byron was strongly influenced by Beattie in point of form; and it has been credibly asserted that his influence, at least in Scotland, on young readers of poetry, is not, or was not very recently, exhausted. It is difficult to think that this can have been the case with Falconer. The 'exquisite harmony of numbers' which Chalmers could discover has now completely vanished from such things as

With joyful eyes th' attentive master sees
Th' auspicious omens of an eastern breeze;

and scarcely will any breeze, of east or west, extract that harmony again from such a lyre. The technicalities are not only unlikely to interest, but, to a great extent, are, unluckily, obsolete. The few personal touches are of the faintest; and even Falconer's Greece is a Greece which, if it was ever living, has ceased to live now. His smaller poems are few and insignificant.

Beattie, on the other hand, retains at least a historic interest as a pioneer of romanticism, and as the most serious and extensive handler, up to his own time, of the Spenserian stanza. He was hampered in general effect inasmuch as, if he was possessed of any strictly poetic faculty, it was of a singularly small and weak one; and he hampered himself in a special way by failing to observe that, to make a Spenserian stanza, you need a Spenserian line and Spenserian line-groupings. As it was (and he taught the fault to Byron), the great merit of the form—its complex and yet absolutely fluent harmony—is broken up by suggestions, now of the couplet, now of the old dramatic blank-verse line, now, again, of the Miltonic or pseudo-Miltonic paragraph arrangement. Nor, though the matter might more than compensate contemporaries and immediate posterity for a defect in manner which they would hardly notice, is it such as can give much enjoyment either now, or ever again. That it is not only plotless and characterless but, also, unfinished, need not be fatal. It has hills and vales and other properties of romanticism *à la Rousseau*; suggestions of knights and witches and so forth in the manner of romanticism *à la Percy*. But the drawing is all in watered-out sepia; the melody is a hurdy-gurdy strum.

His minor poems are more numerous than Falconer's and intend much more greatly: but they have little more significance. He tries Gray's ode manner, and he tries his elegy manner: and he fails in both. A tolerable opening, such as that of *Retirement*:

When in the crimson cloud of even,
The lingering light decays,
And Hesper on the front of Heaven
His glistening gem displays

is followed by some twenty times the number of lines mostly rubbish. The *Pastorals*, if less silly, are not much better than pastorals usually are; and the most that can be said for *The Judgment of Paris*, wherein Beattie employs the elegiac quatrain, is that it is rather less bad than one would expect—a fact which may account for its unpopularity at the time as well as for its omission from his collected poems¹.

The poets—for, in a few cases, they most certainly deserve that name—and the verse-writers—an indefeasible title—who have been mentioned in this and in an earlier chapter² do not require

¹ As to Beattie's once celebrated *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth*, cf. ch. xv. *post*.

² *Ante*, vol. ix, chap. vi, sec. ii.

any peroration with much circumstance. But it would not only be uncivil to give them none; it would amount to a sort of petty treason in failing to make good their claims to the place they have here received. This place is, perhaps, justified in one case only—that of Collins—by the possession of intrinsic genius of the strictly poetical kind, in quality if not in quantity, sufficient to have made its way in any age; though, undoubtedly, in some ages, it would have been more fertile than in this. Yet Collins acquires not only interest but intelligibility when he is considered in company with those who have been associated with him here. ‘Why was he not as they?’ ‘What was it that weighed on him as on them?’ These are questions which those who disdain the historic estimate—who wish to ‘like grossly,’ as Dryden put it—may disdain likewise. They add to the delight as much, at least, as they satisfy the intelligence of better exercised tastes. So, again, in various ways, Garth and Watts, Young and Dyer and Green, Shenstone and Akenside and Smart, have special attractions—sometimes, if not always, strictly poetical; always, perhaps, strictly literary—in one way or another, sufficient to satisfy fit readers, if they cannot abide the same test as Collins. And so, in their turn, have even the *numerus*, the crowd of what some harshly call poetasters, whom we have also included. They, also, in their day and way, obeyed the irresistible seduction which urges a man to desert prose and to follow the call of poetry. They did not go far or do much; but they went as far and did as much as they could.

CHAPTER VIII

JOHNSON AND BOSWELL

IT was a supreme fortune that gave Johnson the friendship of Reynolds and Boswell. His great personality is still an active and familiar force. We know him as well as if he had lived among us. But the first of Reynolds's portraits was painted when Johnson had completed *The Rambler* and was already 'the great moralist,' and Boswell did not meet him till after he had obtained his pension. The Johnson that we know is the Johnson 'who loves to fold his legs and have his talk out.' The years in which he fought poverty and gained his place in the world of letters are obscure to us, in comparison with those in which he enjoyed his hard-won leisure. He never cared, in later life, to speak about his early struggles; he never spoke much about himself at any time. Even when he wrote the lives of authors whom he had known and might have told his own experiences without disturbing the unity of his picture, he offered little more than the reflection of his feelings. Sir John Hawkins did not make full use of his great opportunity. He alone, of all Johnson's biographers, had known him almost from the start of their work in London, but he drew on his recollections fitfully and lazily. He has given enough to show how much more he might have given. Boswell, with all his pertinacious curiosity, found that he had to rely mainly on his own researches. There were in these early years subjects 'too delicate to question Johnson upon.' Much remained, and still remains, for others to discover.

New letters, anecdotes or facts will not disturb our idea of Johnson¹. They will, at most, fill gaps and settle doubts. The man himself is known. Yet the very greatness of his personality has tended to interfere with the recognition of his greatness as a

¹ A large amount of new material on Johnson's family and early life has recently been made accessible in *The Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr Johnson's Ancestry* (1906) by Reades, A. L., and in his *Johnsonian Gleanings* (1909 etc.). New material on his later life is given in Broadley and Seecombe's *Doctor Johnson and Mrs Thrale* (1910).

man of letters. No other author whose profession was literature seems to owe so little of his fame to his books. Many writers, Dryden and Scott among others, give the impression that they were greater than anything that they have written. It has been the unique fate of Johnson to be dissociated from his works. He would have welcomed the knowledge that he was to be remembered as a man, for he had no delusions about authorship. But he is to be found in his works as he wished to be known, and as he was. If the greatest of biographies catches him at moments which he would not have recorded, it is also true that his writings give us his more intimate thoughts, and take us into regions which were denied to his conversation.

He was born at Lichfield on 18 September 1709, in the year in which his father, one of the chief booksellers of the midlands, was sheriff of the city. As a schoolboy, he seems to have been already distinguished by his ease in learning, his tenacity of memory, his lack of application, and delays adjusted to his power of rapid work. But the best part of his instruction he acquired for himself in his father's shop. There, he prowled about at leisure, and read as his fancy directed. He was never a laborious reader. The progress which the understanding makes through a book, he said, has more pain than pleasure in it. 'Sir; do you read books through?' he once asked. There may have been few books that he read through himself. His defective eyesight had probably some bearing on what came to be an intellectual habit. But he had in a supreme degree the gift of discovering the matter and quality of a book, almost on opening its pages. The extent of his knowledge was the wonder of all his friends: Adam Smith declared that Johnson knew more books than any man alive. He had begun this knowledge by sampling his father's store. And in these days, before he had left school, he was already a good enough Latinist to be diverted from a search for apples by the discovery of a folio of Petrarch.

He was intended to follow his father's business. Hawkins and Mrs Piozzi both say that he could bind a book. But, after two years at home, he contrived to proceed to Oxford. He entered Pembroke college as a commoner on 31 October 1728, and remained there continuously, with, at most, one week's break in the long vacation, till December 1729. Thereafter, his residence was irregular, and he left the university without taking a degree¹.

¹ Boswell says he left 'in autumn, 1731.' There is much support for this date in Hawkins. But Croker argued that he never returned after December 1729, though his

The outstanding fact of his college career was the translation of Pope's *Messiah* into Latin verse, as a Christmas exercise. This was the first of his works that was printed, being included in *A Miscellany of Poems by Several Hands* (1731), collected by J. Husbands, fellow of Pembroke college. Latin was already almost as familiar a language to him as his own. Late in life, during his tour in France, he was 'resolute in speaking Latin,' though he had a command of French idiom that enabled him to supply the first paragraph to Baret's translation of *Rasselas*¹. 'Though he is a great critic in French,' said Baret, 'and knows almost as much Italian as I do, he cannot speak either language, but he talks Latin with all Cicero's fury².' His knowledge of the renaissance poets was unusually wide. He regretted that they were not generally known, and that Pope's attempt to rescue them from neglect by his *Selecta Poemata Italorum* had been fruitless. The first book which he himself designed was an edition of Politian, with a history of Latin poetry in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Proposals for printing it by subscription were issued in August 1734; but nothing came of the scheme, and the Latin poems of Politian still await an editor.

Of his five and a half years in the midlands after his residence in Oxford, the records are fragmentary. His earliest extant letter (30 October 1731) has reference to an unsuccessful application for the post of usher in the grammar school of Stourbridge. He acted in this capacity for some time, in 1732, at Market Bosworth, in Leicestershire. Later in the same year, he paid a visit to his lifelong friend Edmund Hector, then settled as a surgeon in Birmingham; and it would appear that Birmingham was his home for the next three years³. What is certain is that his hopes had now turned to writing. He contributed to *The Birmingham Journal* a number of essays, all of which are lost; he planned his edition of Politian; he offered to write for *The Gentleman's Magazine*; and he completed his first book, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*,

name remained on the books till October 1781; and this view has been commonly adopted. The arguments for residence till 1781 remain the stronger.

¹ See Prior's *Life of Malone* (1860), p. 161.

² See *Giuseppe Baret*, Collison-Morley, L. (1909), p. 85.

³ The issue of the Politian proposals at Lichfield in August 1734 appears to be the only evidence for the common statement that he then returned to Lichfield. It was to be expected that the subscriptions should be received by his brother Nathaniel, who, with his mother, had carried on the family business from the death of his father in 1731. *A Voyage to Abyssinia* was all written at Birmingham. If it was completed before August 1734, there must have been a delay of six months in publication. The letter to *The Gentleman's Magazine* was written from Birmingham on 25 November 1734.

by Father Jerome Lobo. With a Continuation of the History of Abyssinia, and Fifteen Dissertations, by Mr Le Grand. From the French. The volume was printed in Birmingham and published in London, anonymously, in January 1735.

In this translation, there is much more of Le Grand than of Lobo. In parts, Johnson condensed freely; where he allowed himself least liberty was in the sixteen (not fifteen) dissertations, which occupy more than half the volume and deal with such subjects as the Nile, Prester John, the queen of Sheba and the religious customs of the Abyssinians. He was always an eager reader of books of travel; and it was fitting that the passion for whatever afforded views of human nature, which led him to describe his own experiences of another country and to urge others to describe theirs, should be shown in his first work. But the main interest of the volume now lies in the short preface. In the translation, he is content to convey the meaning of the original, and, while he follows in haste another's thought and language, we fail to find the qualities of his own style. But they are unmistakable in such a passage as this:

The Reader will here find no Regions cursed with irremediable Barrenness, or bless'd with Spontaneous Fecundity, no perpetual Gloom or unceasing Sunshine; nor are the Nations here described either devoid of all Sense of Humanity, or consummate in all private and social Virtues, here are no Hottentots without Religion, Polity, or Articulate Language, no Chinese perfectly Polite, and compleatly skill'd in all Sciences: He will discover, what will always be discover'd by a diligent and impartial Enquirer, that wherever Human Nature is to be found, there is a mixture of Vice and Virtue, a contest of Passion and Reason, and that the Creator doth not appear Partial in his Distributions, but has balanced in most Countries their particular Inconveniences by particular Favours.

He who writes much, Johnson said, will not easily escape a manner. But here is Johnson's manner in his first book. And here, too, is a forecast of the philosophy of *The Rambler* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*. There are no distinct periods in Johnson's literary development, no sudden access of power, no change in his outlook, no novelties in his methods. He continued as he had begun. He grew in confidence and facility; he perfected his command of expression; but there was not any change in the spirit of his expression or in what he wished to express.

His experience of letters at Birmingham had not promised success, and, on his marriage in July 1735 with Mrs Elizabeth Porter, the widow of one of his Birmingham friends, he set up a school at Edial, near Lichfield. His first reference to the new

enterprise is found in a letter of 25 June 1735, recently published for the first time¹.

'I am going,' he writes, 'to furnish a House in the Country and keep a private Boarding-house for Young Gentlemen whom I shall endeavour to instruct in a method somewhat more rational than those commonly practised.'

His 'scheme for the classes of a grammar school,' as given by Hawkins and Boswell, illustrates what he was to say about teaching in his *Life of Milton*. The school failed, and, on 2 March 1737, he set out for London with one of his pupils, David Garrick. Henceforward, London was to be his home. Having no profession, he became by necessity an author.

He had no promise of work, but he looked to find employment on *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and he had hopes in the drama. He had written at Edial three acts of his tragedy *Irene*². He worked at it during his first months in London, and finished it on his visit to Lichfield to settle his affairs, in the summer of 1737. But there remained for him 'the labour of introducing it on the stage, an undertaking which to an ingenuous mind was in a very high degree vexatious and disgusting'—as he wrote of another's experience while his own tragedy was still unacted. The goodwill of Garrick, whom he placed under a heavy debt by the great prologue which heralded his managership of Drury lane in 1747, at last brought it on the stage in February 1749³, and protracted its run to nine nights, so that there might be three third-night benefits. With all his knowledge of human nature, Johnson was unable to exhibit dramatically the shades which distinguish one character from another. *Irene* is only a moral poem in a succession of dialogues on the theme that 'Peace from innocence must flow' and 'none are happy but the wise and virtuous.' And the thought struggles with the metre. He could not divest his blank verse of the qualities of the couplet. The same faults are to be found in his translation, made many years later, of a short passage of Metastasio. We expect the rime at the end of the line; and, when we come on it in the couplets with which each act

¹ *Bi-Centenary of the Birth of Johnson. Commemoration Festival Reports*, edited by Baby, J. T. (1909), pp. 26—7.

² It was founded on a story in Knolles's *History of the Turks*, previously treated in *The Tragedy of The Unhappy Fair Irene*, by Gilbert Swinhoe, 1658; *Irena, a Tragedy*, of unknown authorship, 1664; and *Irene, or the Fair Greek*, by Charles Goring, 1708. Before Knolles, the same subject had been treated in Peele's lost play *The Turkish Mahamet and Hyrin the fair Greek* (see Peele, ed. Bullen, A. H., vol. 1, p. xxxvii, and vol. II, p. 394).

³ The title on the play-bills was *Mahomet and Irene*. See *An Essay on Tragedy*, 1749, p. 12 note, and Genest, *English Stage*, 1832, vol. IV, pp. 265—6.

closes, instead of feeling that they are tags, as we do in our great tragedies, we find the verse bound forward with unwonted ease. Johnson had too massive and too logical an intellect to adapt himself readily to the drama. He came to perceive this, but not till long after he had described the qualifications of a dramatist in his *Life of Savage*, and had proceeded with a second play, *Charles of Sweden*, of which the only record is an ambiguous allusion in a letter (10 June 1742). The labour he spent on *Irene* led him to think well of it for a time; but, late in life, when he returned to it afresh, he agreed with the common verdict. He 'thought it had been better.' He could speak from his own experience when, in the passage on tediousness in his *Life of Prior*, he said that 'unhappily this pernicious failure is that which an author is least able to discover.'

It was *The Gentleman's Magazine* that gave Johnson his real start as a man of letters. Founded by Edward Cave, under the name Sylvanus Urban, in January 1731, it had been growing steadily from small beginnings. Its original purpose was to reprint, from month to month, a selection of the more interesting matter that had appeared in the journals; and the name 'magazine' was, in this its first application to a periodical, intended as a modest title for a collection which made small claim to originality. The idea was not altogether new. *The Grub-street Journal* contains a section of 'domestic news' extracted from other papers, and sometimes so treated as to suggest to the modern reader the more urbane comments in the pages of *Punch*. But, as the editors of *The Grub-street Journal* complained in the preface to *Memoirs of the Society of Grub-street* (1737), their rival of *The Gentleman's Magazine* took anything he fancied—news, letters, essays or verses—and printed as much or as little of them as he pleased. The success of the *Magazine* was never in doubt. The first number went into a fifth edition; and with success came ambition. In the number for January 1739, a correspondent, who evidently was Johnson, observes that the extracts from the weekly journalists have 'shrunk at length into a very few columns and made way for original letters and dissertations.' The *Magazine* now included parliamentary reports, poetical essays, serial stories, mathematical papers, maps, songs with music, and a register of publications. Most of the devices of modern journalism were anticipated in these early numbers. Cave had the luck and the skill to hit on what the public wanted. If we may trust the preface to the collected numbers for 1738, there were immediately 'almost twenty imitations.' Yet *The Gentleman's*

Magazine had many features in common with *The Gentleman's Journal*; or the *Monthly Miscellany*, which Peter Motteux had started in January 1692 and carried on with flagging zeal to 1694. The earlier periodical had begun on a much higher literary level and remains a work of very great interest; but its fortunes were not watched over by a man of business. It had been modelled partly on *Le Mercure Galant*. *The Gentleman's Magazine* was, in its origin, independent of both its French and its English forerunners.

In the letter which Johnson sent to Cave from Birmingham in 1734, besides offering to contribute, he suggested several improvements. For 'the low jests, awkward buffoonery, or the dull scurrilities of either party,' which were to procure for it or its imitators a place in *The Dunciad*, might be substituted, he thought, 'short literary dissertations in Latin or English, critical remarks on authors ancient or modern, or loose pieces worth preserving.' Nothing came of the letter; but the suggestion that the *Magazine* should take itself more seriously accorded with Cave's business instincts, and the changes gradually introduced were in accordance with Johnson's wishes. His first contribution, the Latin alcaics beginning *Urbane, nullis fesse laboribus*, did not appear till March 1738. From that time, he was regularly employed; and he at once asserted some sort of literary control. There cannot be any doubt that the subsequent steady rise in the character of the *Magazine* was largely due to him. He also helped to guide its fortunes through a grave crisis. Reports of the proceedings and debates in parliament had been given in the *Magazine* since 1732; but, on 13 April 1738, the House of Commons declared such reports to be 'a notorious breach of the Privilege of this House.' The *Magazine* could not easily omit a section on which much of its popularity depended, and, in June 1738, there appeared 'debates in the Senate of Magna Lilliputia.' If, as Hawkins says, the device was Cave's, it had Johnson's approval; and his hand is unmistakable in the passage in which the device is explained. He began by editing the reports, which continued to be written by William Guthrie, the first of his many Scottish friends. He was their sole author only for the thirty-six numbers and supplements from July 1741 to March 1744, and author rather than reporter. According to Hawkins, he had never entered either House; according to Murphy, he had once found his way into the House of Commons. He expanded in Cave's printing office, long after the actual debates, the scanty notes supplied to him, and invested them with his own argumentative skill and eloquence. Some of

the speeches are said to represent what was said by more than one speaker; others he described as the mere coinage of his imagination. His reports are, in fact, original work, and a very great work. To us who know the secret of their authorship, it is surprising that they should not have been recognised as the work of a man of letters. They are on a high level of literary excellence, and there is an-obvious uniformity in the style. Even when they succeed in suggesting the idiosyncrasies of the different speakers, they show one cast of mind and texture of language. They are Johnson's own debates on the political questions of the day, based—and based only—on the debates in parliament. He said, within a few days of his death, that he wrote them 'with more velocity' than any other work—often three columns of the *Magazine* within the hour, and, once, ten pages between noon and early evening. The wonder is, not so much that debates thus written could have been so good, as that debates so good could have been accepted as giving the words of the speakers. Johnson had not expected this; and, when he recognised it, he determined not to be any longer 'accessory to the propagation of falsehood.' This is the explanation given for his sudden abandonment of them in 1744. But the secret was long kept, and they continued to be regarded as genuine. There is more of Johnson than of Pitt in the famous speech about 'the atrocious crime of being a young man.' And two speeches entirely written by him appeared, to his amusement, in the collected works of Chesterfield.

The extent of his other contributions cannot easily be determined. We have often only the evidence of style to guide us, and his editorial privileges make it difficult to apply. It is very doubtful, for instance, if the short notice, in November 1739, of the poems of Joseph Warton and Collins printed in the previous number is, as Wooll states in his *Memoirs of Warton*, the work of Johnson. Our best authority is Boswell, but his list is only tentative. We know that he wrote the biographies of Sarpi, Boerhaave, Blake, Drake, Barretier, Lewis Morin, Burmann and Sydenham; and there are other articles about which there can be no reasonable doubt. The amount of his writing varies greatly from month to month. In the number for December 1740, which contains his *Essay on Epitaphs*, most of the original contributions are his; in other numbers, we cannot safely ascribe to him more than the debates. The question of authorship has never been examined thoroughly; but, even with the help of Cave's office books, there would be serious obstacles to a

conclusive finding. In addition to his work for Cave, he had brought out, with other publishers, *Marmor Norfolciense* (April 1739), an ironical discussion, with a political bearing, on the supposed discovery of a prophecy in 'monkish rhyme,' and *A Compleat Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage* (May 1739), an ironical attack on the rejection of Brooke's *Gustavus Vasa*. Continued irony is rarely successful. Johnson did not try it again.

The early series of biographies was followed by the elaborate life of a poet whom Johnson had known intimately, and whose character required protection from the insults and calumnies which it invited. Richard Savage died in the prison of Bristol at the beginning of August 1743; and, in the number of *The Gentleman's Magazine* for the same month, Johnson announced, in an unsigned letter, that a biography of him was in preparation. • He wrote it with his usual speed—once he wrote as much as forty-eight printed pages at a sitting—and had it published in February 1744. It is a work of remarkable and varied interest, and throws light on a period of Johnson's career of which we know too little. They had suffered poverty together and forgotten it in their companionship; they had spent whole nights in the streets when their combined resources could not find them a shelter; and the description of Savage's fortunes reflects what Johnson had himself endured, and might have still to endure. He was attracted to Savage by the story of his life, on which research had not yet cast any doubt, by his shrewd knowledge of human nature, by his social skill and experience and by his talent as a writer. Savage was eleven years older than Johnson, and in his varied life had much to tell. But the chief attraction was Savage's own character. His great capacities could not save him from his undoing. He was self-indulgent, petulant, aggressive and ungrateful; there was excuse for the indifference or resentment of those who had once been benefactors. All this Johnson brings out clearly in a narrative which, when it leans from impartiality, leans to the side of friendship. He related everything as he knew it, with no suggestion of censure, but with generous sympathy. *The Life of Savage* is one of those rare biographies which, by their perfect sincerity, tell us as much of the character of the author as of the man described. He included it, later, with only slight alterations, in *The Lives of the Poets*. It had been an adequate expression of his feelings when it was written, and he wisely decided to let well alone. But it is a different *Life* from the other *Lives*, and differs from them in more than scale and method. It is the study of a personality

rather than of a poet, though at no time would Johnson have tried to make such a distinction. The criticism of Savage's works is the least part of it, and has not yet all the writer's easy mastery. The style, too, which, at its best, is as good as it ever was to be, sometimes lacks its later certainty and precision. And the frequent repetition of the same ideas, though always in different language, shows a desire to give in full the content of a full mind rather than to represent it by selection. The new setting of *The Life of Savage* invites a comparison which proves that Johnson's abilities were strengthening and maturing to his seventieth year. Yet he never revealed himself more fully than in this early tribute to the memory of a difficult friend.

Johnson's contributions to *The Gentleman's Magazine* had become less frequent in 1743, and they ceased in the following year. He was meditating larger schemes. And he had latterly been doing much other work. Since the end of 1742, he had been engaged with William Oldys in cataloguing the printed books in the library of the earl of Oxford, then newly purchased by Thomas Osborne, the bookseller. The *Proposals* for printing the catalogue by subscription were written by Johnson and issued in December 1742, and the *Account of the Harleian Library*, which they contained, was afterwards made to serve as preface to the first of the four volumes of the catalogue—*Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, 1743—4. While the catalogue was in progress, the bookseller, who had remarkable luck in having secured the services of one of the greatest of English literary antiquaries and one of the most scholarly of English critics, was persuaded to publish a collection of the more scarce and valuable tracts or pamphlets in his possession, under the title *The Harleian Miscellany*. The bulk of the selective and editorial work fell to Oldys; but it was Johnson who, again, wrote the *Proposals*, and contributed the introduction (1744), which, when reprinted separately, he entitled *An Essay on the Origin and Importance of Small Tracts and Fugitive Pieces*. In this, his first attempt at literary history, he gives a short sketch of English pamphlets from the reformation to the reign of Charles II, and follows in the tracks of such works as *The Phenix* (1707) and *The Phoenix Britannicus* (1731), *The Critical History of Pamphlets* (1716) of Myles Davies, and the *Dissertation on Pamphlets* (1731) of his collaborator Oldys. There is no evidence of Johnson's hand in the *Harleian Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1745).

On the completion of this congenial experience in bibliography,

Johnson proposed to edit Shakespeare. The work was not to be undertaken for many years yet; but it was the first of the larger schemes planned by him. *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth*¹ (April 1745) was intended to prepare the way. There was still room for a new edition, as Hanmer had given most thought to regularised metre and sumptuous printing, and Warburton seemed to have abandoned what he had announced as early as 1740. But, after the death of Pope and the completion of Hanmer's edition in 1744, Warburton set to work in earnest, and the prospect of early publication compelled Johnson to lay aside his scheme, which could not have had an equal chance of success, inasmuch as, like most of his work up to this time, it was anonymous. When Warburton's edition appeared, in 1747, Johnson had the meagre satisfaction of finding his *Miscellaneous Observations* singled out for praise in the vituperative preface. It was now that he turned to the *Dictionary*. He had 'long thought of it,' he said; 'it had grown up in his mind insensibly.' The *Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language* was issued in 1747, and, at the desire of Dodsley, was addressed to the earl of Chesterfield. This year—which is, also, the year of the Drury lane prologue—marks the turn in Johnson's fortunes, though the fitful struggle with poverty was not yet over. But what was Johnson doing in 1745 and 1746? Here again the records are deficient. Of more than a thousand letters of his that are known, there is not one to throw light on either of these years.

Johnson did not confine himself to the labours of the *Dictionary*. During the eight years of its preparation he wrote his greatest poem, and gave new life to the periodical essay.

His school verses, which were preserved by the pride of a teacher and the admiration of a friend, and printed by Boswell, are of little interest except in relation to his later work. They show the study of *The Rape of the Lock* and the translation of Homer, and they occasionally indulge in the liberties of Dryden's triple rime and alexandrine—liberties from which Johnson afterwards refrained, though he came to say that the art of concluding the sense in couplets 'has perhaps been with rather too much constancy pursued'.² The piece entitled 'The Young Authour' is a first study for the great passage in *The Vanity of Human Wishes*

¹ The title continues:—*To which is affix'd, Proposals for a New Edition of Shakespeare, with a Specimen*. No copy is known to contain the *Proposals*. They were, however, issued separately. The Bodleian library possesses the rare folio sheet, MS Bodl. Add. C. 244 (387).

² *Life of Denham*.

on the scholar's life, and, in the music of the metre, and in the turn and balance of the expression, already discovers the quality of his mature verse. He acquired a reputation for ease in writing and for readiness to help a friend in need. His verses *Written at the request of a gentleman to whom a lady had given a sprig of myrtle* were remembered as having been made in five minutes, and those *To Miss Hickman, playing on the Spinnet*, or others like them, led the girl's father to opine that their author could write about anything. What he called 'the endearing elegance of female friendship' had been, long before he met Mrs Thrale, an effective spur to his facility. Some of the pieces written while he was still in search of occupation in the midlands afterwards found their way into *The Gentleman's Magazine* and Mrs Williams's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (1766). None of them is more characteristic than *Friendship, An Ode*. On the other hand, the collected editions include several pieces clearly not his. He could not have written *To Lyce, an elderly Lady*. It is no less certain that, though he did write some verses *To Stella*, the chance that a piece is addressed to Stella is not, as his editors seem to have believed, an argument of his authorship. His early poems have still to be discriminated¹; but their chief interest will always be that they were written by the author of *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*.

London: a poem, in imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal was published in May 1738, on the same day as Pope's *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-Eight, a Dialogue something like Horace*, and thus, accidentally, invited a comparison which appears to have gone in Johnson's favour. Here was a new author who concealed his name, rivalling Pope in the very kind of verse which, after an undisputed career, he had found best suited to his genius. The poem went into a second edition within a week; and Pope himself, who was always generous in his recognition of excellence, and had said of Johnson's youthful translation of his *Messiah* that posterity would have to decide which form of the poem was the original, declared that the unknown author of *London* could not be long concealed. The method of 'imitation' adopted in this poem was described by Johnson in his *Life of Pope* as 'a kind of middle composition between translation and original design, which pleases when the thoughts are unexpectedly applicable and

¹ Boswell promised an edition of the poems, in which he would 'with the utmost care ascertain their authenticity, and illustrate them with notes and various readings.' Such an edition has not yet appeared.

London and The Vanity of Human Wishes 169

the parallels lucky.' Brought into *vogue* by Boileau, it had been practised in English by Rochester, Oldham and Dryden (in his revision of Soames's translation of Boileau's *Art Poétique*), and many others; and it had recently been perfected by Pope, who had so written that a knowledge of the original might enhance the appreciation, but should not be indispensable to it. Juvenal's *Third Satire* lent itself to imitation and had already been copied by Boileau and Oldham. The chief criticism to be urged against Johnson's poem is that it does not show Pope's art in escaping from its model. He was still timid enough to wish to show himself scholar as well as poet. When he wrote that 'falling houses thunder on your head,' or that the midnight murderer 'leaves unseen a dagger in your breast,' he thought more of Juvenal than of modern fact. The need of a parallel forces him to say, 'I cannot bear a French metropolis'; but this was not the London described in Voltaire's *Lettres Anglaises*. He himself admitted (in a manuscript note) that the description of Orgilio was 'no picture of modern manners, though it might be true at Rome.' His own opinion on the advantages of country life we shall find, not here, but in the passage on scenes of flowery felicity and the melody of the nightingale in *The Life of Savage*. His political views are more truly represented: the references to excise and pensions, as well as to patrons, anticipate the definitions in the *Dictionary*. But it is when Juvenal leads him to speak of poverty that he expresses his own feelings in his own person.

None of these objections can be urged against *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, written in imitation of Juvenal's *Tenth Satire* and published, with Johnson's name, in January 1749. There is nothing in this poem to suggest to those unacquainted with the model that it is an imitation; it is, indeed, not so much an imitation as a companion study by one who, amid different circumstances, took a very similar view of life. Instead of the Roman illustrations, we have modern instances of hopes that lay in power, and learning, and war, and long life and beauty. The pictures of Wolsey and Charles of Sweden, and the description of the lot of the scholar, are distinct studies of human ambition, each complete in itself and easily taken from its setting, but all viewed in the same light, and united by the one lesson of inevitable disappointment. The poem is completely satisfying as a statement of its theme. It is not less valuable as a personal document. There is nothing in it but what Johnson consistently thought and felt. He was wont to say that there is more to be endured than

enjoyed in the general condition of human life; and he had found that human happiness, if it ever comes, must come by our own effort. The concluding lines which he supplied many years later to Goldsmith's *Traveller* state his invariable experience. In *The Life of Savage* he had said that happiness is to be placed only in virtue, which is always to be obtained; and he had said much the same in *Irene*. But there were times when he doubted even this. 'Where then shall hope and fear their objects find?' In his simple piety, he gave himself to the earnest exercise of religion. His *Prayers*, which were made public after his death, will win the admiration alike of idle curiosity and of doubting reason. And so, with his habitual sincerity, he gave to *The Vanity of Human Wishes* a religious conclusion which reflected his own practice. He was no pessimist. The sense of vanity may keep us from thinking that things are better than they are, but it need not make us think that they are worse. He would maintain in talk that the world was not half so wicked as it was represented to be, that there was very little gross wickedness in it, and very little extraordinary virtue. This we are told explicitly by Mrs Piozzi, and we may learn it for ourselves from his writings.

Shortly before he wrote *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, he had aided Dodsley in planning *The Preceptor* (April 1748), a substantial work containing 'a general course of education,' and had contributed to it the preface and *The Vision of Theodore, the Hermit of Teneriffe*. He told Percy that he thought this fable the best thing he ever wrote. It states the part which he assigned to religion in the conduct of life, and should be read as a supplement to *The Vanity of Human Wishes*. It may, also, be regarded as a prelude to *The Rambler*.

This paper began on Tuesday, 20 March 1750, and ended, with its 208th number, on Saturday, 14 March 1752, three days before the death of Johnson's wife.

He that condemns himself to compose on a stated day, will often bring to his task, an attention dissipated, a memory overwhelmed, an imagination embarrassed, a mind distracted with anxieties, and a body languishing with disease.

So he wrote in the last number, reviewing his experiences.

But the paper appeared regularly every Tuesday and Saturday, though the printer might complain of the late hour of receiving the copy. The very title was chosen in haste. Johnson meant it to announce that he would pass in each essay from subject to subject. But it was not suited to his majestic deliberations. There

is nothing of the rambler in any single essay. Each pursues its way in a steady, unswerving march¹.

The conditions amid which Johnson revived the periodical essay differed widely from those amid which it originally flourished. In the interval of forty years, there had been a development of journalistic enterprise which was not paralleled in any other country. More than 150 periodicals, of one kind or another, had been meeting the needs of the reading public, and contributing to its steady growth in size and power. Some of these were on the model of *The Spectator*, while others, written with a different purpose, or planned to include a greater variety of matter, showed its influence. The periodical essay no longer offered any of the attractions of novelty. In its strict form, it was a type of journalism that was being crushed out of favour by politics and news. By 1750, *The Gentleman's Magazine* enjoyed a secure popularity, and had its rivals; and, in the previous year, *The Monthly Review* had been established. The time was not auspicious for beginning a paper devoted exclusively to meditations on matters of no immediate interest, without the assistance of any item of news, or of a single advertisement. But, in *The Rambler*, the periodical essay reasserted itself, and entered on the second of its two great decades, that of *The Rambler*, *The Adventurer*, *The World*, *The Connoisseur*, *The Idler* and *The Citizen of the World*.

The effect of *The Rambler* was the more remarkable, in that Johnson was deficient in the qualifications of a periodical writer. The maxim that 'the drama's laws the drama's patrons give' is equally true of the essay. It was not in Johnson's nature to bow to the public, however much he believed in its ultimate verdict. He spoke in his first number as if success depended on the choice of subject. But, in the treatment of his choice, he lacked the art of going to meet his readers; and they never came in great numbers. The circulation of *The Rambler* was only about 500 copies. But it raised the literary level of the periodical essay and set a standard of excellence to such papers as *The World*, whose sale was numbered in thousands.

It found a larger public on being reprinted in volume form, and came to be the only periodical of the century to vie with *The*

¹ Such slight assistance as he received is scrupulously acknowledged in the last number. Four papers were written by others: no. 80 by Mrs Catharine Talbot, nos. 44 and 100 by Mrs Elizabeth Carter, and no. 97 by Samuel Richardson; and six letters were contributed, the four in no. 10 by Hester Mulso, afterwards Mrs Chapone; the second in no. 15 and the second in no. 107, both of unknown authorship.

Spectator in popularity. Johnson revised it for the collected edition with unusual care¹. It had been his most ambitious work; and he knew that it was best suited to a leisurely perusal. Yet there is little in *The Rambler* that is now well known. Much of its literary criticism was superseded by the preface to his *Shakespeare* and by his *Lives of the Poets*. The allegories and stories have not the reputation of their models in *The Spectator*. Nor are Johnson's characters familiar as Addison's are. The explanation lies mainly in his inability to visualise. He did not number the streaks of the tulip because, in effect, he did not see them; but he remarked general properties and large appearances because he had the gift, which he assiduously developed, of viewing things in their moral aspects and human relationships. The real interest of the famous passage in *Rasselas* on the aims of the poet—a passage which, it must be remembered, leads to the humorous conclusion that 'no human being can ever be a poet'—lies in its personal basis. The best poets of his century, and the poets of all time whom he most admired, numbered the streaks when they wished. But he did not number them, because they did not enter into his experience. We do not give a face or figure to any of his characters in *The Rambler*, because he did not see either clearly himself. Polyphilus, the quick wit without purpose; Suspirius, the fault-finder; Quisquilius, the virtuoso; Venustulus, the effeminate beau—are, each of them, bundles of habits, or a predominant habit. Even Prospero, who might have been drawn from Garrick, represents only the social failings of the rich man who has risen in life. Johnson reverted to the methods of the character-studies of the seventeenth century. Addison had set out by continuing them, but he was at war with them at heart, and he adapted them to his purpose. The superiority of Addison in this respect will never be denied. But Johnson shows a deeper knowledge of human nature 'in all its gradations,' and, while he lacks the familiar elegance which alone can play with foibles and frivolities, he offers a richer harvest of deep observation.

¹ According to Alexander Chalmers, 'the alterations made by Dr Johnson in the second and third editions of *The Rambler* far exceed six thousand.' Cf. Drake, Nathan, *Essays illustrative of the Rambler*, 1809, vol. 1, pp. 278—280. Johnson created an impression that his care for his works ceased at their publication; but, to adopt his phrase about Pope, his parental fondness did not immediately abandon them. Boswell says that, in 1781, Johnson had not looked at *Rasselas* since it was first published; but he does not add that a comparison of the editions of 1759 and 1788 shows a considerable number of alterations. The poems were revised: James Boswell the younger transcribed into his copy of the edition of 1789 the 'notes and various readings' in 'Johnson's own handwriting on a copy of the fifth edition' of *London*.

A Dictionary of the English Language 173

And Johnson had not the desire, even had he possessed the ability, to disguise his purpose. Addison, too, had been frankly didactic; he had said that he meant to bring philosophy to dwell on tea-tables and in coffeehouses. But he kept his readers from suspecting that they were being taught or reformed. Johnson's lessons are obvious. His aim was 'only the propagation of truth'; it was always his 'principal design to inculcate wisdom or piety.' The great moralist lavishes the best instruction he can offer, the instruction of a man of the world who knows what the world cannot give; but he does not offer it in a way to attract unwilling attention. He recognised this himself and admitted that 'the severity of dictatorial instruction has been too seldom relieved.' His deep humour is present throughout, and is occasionally given scope, as in the essay on the advantages of living in a garret; but it is always controlled by the serious purpose.

In concluding *The Rambler*, he stated that he had laboured 'to refine our language to grammatical purity, and to clear it from colloquial barbarisms, licentious idioms, and irregular combinations.' At this time he was in the midst of a similar and greater task in his *Dictionary of the English Language*. Most of the earlier English dictionaries, to the beginning of the eighteenth century, had been dictionaries of 'hard words.' Then, Nathan Bailey, in his *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721), had aimed at a record of all English words, irrespective of their *vogue* or *repute*. Johnson purposely omitted 'many terms appropriated to particular occupations,' and thought not so much of the reader as of the writer and the purity of the language. His *Plan* clearly states his objects, and it is cleverly supplemented in Chesterfield's two papers in *The World*¹. He set out to perform, singlehanded, for the English language what the French Academy, a century before, had undertaken for French². It was to be 'a dictionary by which the pronunciation of our language may be fixed, and its attainment facilitated; by which its purity may be preserved, its use ascertained, and its duration lengthened.' So Johnson hoped; and Chesterfield was ready to acknowledge him as a dictator who would free the language from its anarchy. But,

¹ Nos. 100, 101.

² Cf. the verses in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1755, ending

And Johnson, well arm'd, like a hero of yore,
Has beat forty French, and will beat forty more.

Cf., also, the review in *Maty's Journal Britannique*, 1755, xvii, p. 219: *Mr Johnson peut se glorifier...d'être en quelque sorte une Académie pour son île*. Adam Smith reviewed the *Dictionary* in the first number of *The Edinburgh Review* of 1755—4.

when he came to write the preface, he had found that 'no dictionary of a living tongue can ever be perfect, since, while, it is hastening to publication, some words are budding, and some falling away.' None the less, the mistaken hope gave the *Dictionary* its peculiar value. By aiming at fixing the language, he succeeded in giving the standard of reputable use.

Though there are many words in Bailey's dictionary which Johnson omitted, a hasty comparison will show that he added a large number. He held that the golden age of our language began with the reign of Elizabeth, and that the writers in the century before the restoration were 'the pure sources of genuine diction.' As his earliest authorities, he chose Sidney and Spenser. When he avowedly included obsolete words, they were to be found in wellknown authors, or appeared to deserve revival. 'Cant words,' as he called them, were occasionally admitted, because of their *vogue*; others were described as 'low.' But the most interesting departure from the rigid exclusiveness of an academic dictionary is his treatment of dialect. There is a much larger infusion of provincialisms than might have been expected. The great majority of these are Scottish, no doubt because five of his six amanuenses, as Boswell has proudly recorded, were 'natives of North Britain'; but he was also affectionately disposed to words with which he had been familiar in his native county. With all his care for current reputable use, he had too great respect for the native stock to ignore its humbler members, and his selection and description of these have a clear historical value. His main fear for the language was that it would be corrupted by French. It seemed to him to have been, since the restoration, 'deviating towards a Gallick structure and phraseology,' and to be threatening to 'reduce us to babble a dialect of France.' So he set himself to denounce 'the folly of naturalising useless foreigners to the injury of the natives.' It was no vain boast that the book was devoted to the honour of his country. 'We have long preserved our constitution, let us make some struggles for our language.'

It appears from Spence's *Anecdotes* that Pope had discussed the plan of a dictionary, and had drawn up a list of authors, beginning with Hooker and Spenser, from whom words should be collected. The list is referred to in Johnson's *Plan*; and in terms which suggest a closer relationship than is now known to have existed. But there is nothing to show that Pope had favoured the inclusion of quotations. This was Johnson's most notable innovation in English lexicography. He had hoped that every quotation

would serve a further purpose than that of illustrating the use of a word ; but he found, as he proceeded, that he had to abandon the idea of combining a dictionary with an anthology. The quotations were frequently from memory and are seldom accompanied with exact references ; but, considering the slightness of the assistance which he received, they supply a remarkable proof of the range of his knowledge, and they have a different kind of interest from those in other dictionaries, which, based on more scientific principles, record the use of a word with no attention to the quality of the writer. But the chief worth of the *Dictionary* lies where it should. Johnson had a supreme talent for definition. When it is remembered that the definitions are his own, that he was the first to attempt a thorough distinction of the different meanings (such words as *come* and *go* being each subdivided into more than fifty sections), and that the highest praises he has received have been paid by his successors, the extent of his services to the survey of the language will readily be estimated. The few explanations in which he gave play to his prejudice or indulged his humour were only a remission of the continued exercise of his keen and muscular intellect. Occasionally, he obscured a simple meaning ; and no better statement is to be found than in his preface, of the difficulties of defining the obvious. He had, like everyone in his century, little etymological knowledge to help him. But his common sense often kept him right in giving the original meaning of a word and distinguishing its later uses, where his successors, previously to the much later advance in philological science, by aiming at refinement introduced confusion and error¹.

The publication of the *Dictionary* in eight years was a remarkable achievement of industry, and the more remarkable in that he had been doing much other work. Apart from his duties to his own *Rambler*, he held himself ready to assist his friends. He contributed a paper about once a fortnight, from March 1753, to Hawkesworth's *Adventurer*. He helped Lauder, unsuspectingly, with a preface and postscript to his Miltonic hoax, and dictated his confession (1750—1) ; and he wrote the dedication for Mrs Lennox's *Female Quixote* (1752) and *Shakespeare Illustrated* (1753). He contributed the life of Cheynel to *The Student* (1751), and the life of Cave to *The Gentleman's Magazine*

¹ There were four editions of the *Dictionary* in folio during Johnson's lifetime. The first of them, 'revised by the author,' appeared in 1773. But Bailey's continued to hold the market. It was the popular English dictionary of the eighteenth century.

(1754). He composed Zachariah Williams's *Account of an Attempt to ascertain the Longitude at Sea* (1755). And he furnished the *Dictionary* with a 'History of the English Language' and a 'Grammar of the English Tongue,' including a section on prosody, as well as with its noble preface. And all this had been accomplished 'amidst inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow.' He had so great a capacity for work, and when he had once started moved with so much ease, that he did not recognise his rapidity to be uncommon. The extreme concentration compelled periods of relaxation which he allowed to weigh on his conscience. He, too, was subject to the common delusion that his best was his normal. As he was, in all matters, a man of the most sensitive morality, it became a habit with him to be distressed at his idleness; and it has become a habit with us to speak of his constitutional indolence. He certainly had to make an effort to begin. But to the activity of the eight years from his thirty-eighth to his forty-sixth, it is not easy to find a parallel¹.

The *Dictionary* has the accidental interest of having occasioned the letter to the earl of Chesterfield, which is sometimes said to have given the death-blow to literary patronage. Though always an object of curiosity, the letter was first made public by Boswell in 1790. In refusing to dedicate the *Dictionary*, Johnson adhered to his regular practice, from which only motives of business had suggested a departure. The *Plan* was a letter 'addressed' to Chesterfield. Only once had he dedicated a work of his own—*The Voyage to Abyssinia*, and that was dedicated in the person of the Birmingham bookseller. But, though he made a rule for himself, he did not condemn the custom. He accepted dedications, and he continued to supply other writers with theirs. He told Boswell that he 'believed he had dedicated to all the Royal family round.' He excelled in dedications.

His next scheme was a journal that should record the progress of European studies, and he planned it while the zest that came from completing the *Dictionary* concealed how far he had drawn on his energies. Such periodicals as *The Present State of the Republic of Letters* (1728—36) and *The History of the Works of the Learned* (1737—43) had now long ceased, after having shown, at most, the possibility of success; and, since 1749, their place had been taken by *The Monthly Review*, of which, in its early years,

¹ The second volume, L—Z, was begun on 8 April 1755, and the printing was finished by March 1755. The introductory matter to vol. I also belongs to these two years.

Johnson had no reason to think highly. He now intended an English periodical that would rival those of Le Clerc and Bayle. But this scheme for 'the Annals of Literature, foreign as well as domestic,' was to yield to an older project. In June 1756, he issued new *Proposals* for an edition of Shakespeare, and he hoped to have the work completed by the end of the following year. The long strain, however, had begun to tell. He had difficulty in facing any continuous work, and he suffered gravely from the mental depression to which he was always liable. He has described his unhappy condition in his Latin verses entitled *Γνώθι σεαυτὸν post Lexicon Anglicanum auctum et emendatum*, which give a more intimate account of his feelings than he ever allowed himself in the publicity of English; and stronger evidence is to be found in his prayers, and in the reports of his friends. It was now that he confirmed himself in the habit of seeking relief in company, and, by encouraging the calls of anyone who wished for his help, established his personal authority in literature. Only the need of money made him write, and none of his work at this time required long effort. He brought out an abridgment of his *Dictionary* (January 1756), but he probably had assistance in this mechanical labour. Having abandoned the idea of a critical periodical of his own, he contributed to the early numbers of Kit Smart's *Universal Visiter* (1756), and then undertook the control of *The Literary Magazine* (May 1756—7). Here, he made his famous defence of tea; and, here, he exposed the shallow optimism of Soame Jenyns's *Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil*, in an essay which, written with the convincing ease that had come from the experience of much painful thought, is an unsurpassed example of his method and power in argument. Another piece of journalistic work, at this time, was the introductory column of Dodsley's evening paper, *The London Chronicle* (1 January 1757), which was to be distinguished from all other journals, probably on his advice, by its 'account of the labours and productions of the learned.' He also helped his friends with their books. He wrote a life of Sir Thomas Browne, with a criticism of Browne's style, for his own edition of *Christian Morals* (1756). With it may be grouped the later life of Ascham in the edition of Ascham's works nominally prepared by James Bennet (1761). The variety of his writings for some years after the completion of his *Dictionary* helps to explain how he found his memory unequal to producing a perfect catalogue of his works¹.

¹ *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Johnson* (1785), p. 38.

His assistance was, once again, sought to give weight and dignity to a new periodical, and the starting of *The Universal Chronicle, or Weekly Gazette* was the occasion of his second series of essays, *The Idler*. They began 15 April 1758, and appeared every Saturday till 5 April 1760. The fact that *The Idler* was not an independent publication, but merely a section of a journal, will account for most of the differences between it and the *Rambler*. The papers are much shorter and do not show the same sense of sole responsibility. In one respect, however, they have a clear superiority. Their lighter touch is better suited to portraiture. Dick Minim the critic, Johnson's only character that may still be said to live, is a perfect example of his art at its best; nor can there be any difference of opinion about the shorter sketches of Jack Whirler and Tom Restless, or of Mr Sober, in which the author represented himself. That the characters should no longer bear Latin names indicates a wider change. The critical papers also show the growth of ease and confidence. There is an obvious interest in those on 'Hard Words,' 'Easy Writing' and 'The Sufficiency of the English Language.'

While *The Idler* was in progress, Johnson's mother died, and her death was the occasion both of his paper on the loss of a friend¹ and of his solemn novel on the choice of life, *Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (April 1759)². No work of his has been more frequently translated or is better known by name; but none has met with more contradictory judgments, or is a stricter test of the reader's capacity to appreciate the peculiar qualities of Johnson's thought and manner. There is little or no story, no crisis, no conclusion; there is little more than a succession of discussions and disquisitions on the limitations of life. *Rasselas* may be called the prose *Vanity of Human Wishes*; and it is the fullest, gravest and most intimate statement of his common theme.

It has been said that Addison would have written a novel, could he have cast the Coverly papers in a different form. Johnson proposed to write a novel, and produced an expanded essay. There are five 'oriental tales' in *The Rambler*, and three were yet to appear in *The Idler*. They suited his purpose in their vagueness of background and their free scope for didactic fancies. *Rasselas* is another of these tales, elaborated to enforce his lesson by a greater

¹ No. 41.

² In all the editions published during Johnson's lifetime the title was simply *The Prince of Abissinia, a Tale*. He had thought of calling it *The Choice of Life* (see his letter of 20 January 1759).

range of observation. The first requirement of the story was a happy valley. Older writers would have placed it in Arcadia; Johnson takes us to the same undiscovered country, but calls it Abyssinia. He had not forgotten his early translation. The name 'Rasselas' was suggested by it, and other instances of recollection are equally certain. There were 'impassable forests and inaccessible cliffs' in the real Abyssinia¹, and why not a happy valley behind them? But one of the attractions of Lobo's narrative had been that the reader found in it no regions blessed with spontaneous fecundity or unceasing sunshine. Johnson knew, quite as well as the critics who stumble at local and ethnographical discrepancies, that there is no happy valley; but he asked its existence to be granted as a setting for a tale which would show that 'human life is every where a state in which much is to be endured, and little to be enjoyed.' The gloom is heavy, but, to those who can appreciate Johnson, it is never depressing. He had cleared his mind of cant, and he wrote to give his readers the strength that comes from the honesty of looking straight at things as they are. He pursues his way relentlessly through the different conditions that seem to offer happiness openhanded, and works to a climax in the story of the astronomer; 'Few can attain this man's knowledge, and few practise his virtues, but all may suffer his calamity. Of the uncertainties of our present state, the most dreadful and alarming is the uncertain continuance of reason.' This is one of the many passages which emphasise his perfect sincerity. The book ends in resignation to the futility of searching for happiness, and in resolution to pursue life as it is found. Stated in these words, the lesson may appear a commonplace. But so are the real things of human experience. And never was the lesson stated with more sympathetic knowledge, and enlivened with a greater wealth of aphoristic wisdom.

Meanwhile, the edition of Shakespeare was at a stand. Some of the plays—evidently, those in the first volume—had been printed by March 1758; but, during the next four years, there was no sign of progress. In addition to *The Idler* and *Rasselas* Johnson had been writing dedications, prefaces, introductions and reviews, engaging in unsuccessful controversy on the structure of the new bridge at Blackfriars, and helping to lay the Cock lane ghost. The discontent of his subscribers, roughly expressed in Churchill's *Ghost* (1762), at last roused him to complete his work;

¹ *Voyage to Abyssinia* (1765), p. 105. For other recollections in the first chapter of *Rasselas* cf. *ibid.* pp. 97, 102, 204 and 259.

and the financial ease that had come with his pension of £300 (1762) gave him what time he needed. The edition was published, in eight volumes, in October 1765¹.

There was nothing new in Johnson's methods as an editor. He aimed only at doing better what had been done already, and produced an edition of the old fashion at a time when the science of Shakespearean editing was about to make a distinct advance². But he had qualifications sometimes wanting in editors with more painful habits or more ostentatious equipment—a good knowledge of Elizabethan English, and imperturbable common sense. Like almost every text of Shakespeare that had yet appeared, or was to appear till our own day, it was based on the text of the most recent edition. What he sent to the printer was Warburton's text revised. But he worked on the 'settled principle that the reading of the ancient books is probably true,' and learned to distrust conjecture. His collation was never methodical; his weak eyesight was a serious hindrance to an exacting task. But he restored many of the readings of the first folio, and, carrying on the system of combination that had been started by Pope, was the first to detect and admit many of the readings of the quartos. He produced a text which, with all its shortcomings, was nearer the originals than any that had yet appeared. Some of his emendations, which are always modest and occasionally minute, find an unsuspected place in our modern editions. Though his text has long been superseded, the advance of scholarship will never impair the value of his notes. It was a proud boast that not a single passage in the whole work had appeared to him corrupt which he had not endeavoured to restore, or obscure which he had not endeavoured to illustrate; and it did not go beyond the truth. No edition, within its limits, is a safer guide to Shakespeare's meaning. The student who searches the commentators for help in difficulties, soon learns to go straight to Johnson's note as the firm land of common sense in a sea of ingenious fancies. The same robust honesty gives the preface a place by itself among critical pronouncements on Shakespeare. He did not hesitate to state what he believed to be Shakespeare's faults. Yet Shakespeare remained to him the greatest of English authors, and the only author worthy to be ranked with Homer. He, also, vindicated the liberties of the

¹ New facts about Johnson's receipts for his edition of Shakespeare are given in the *Bi-Centenary Festival Reports*, pp. 29—32. From the original agreement with Tonson, it would appear that Johnson received a much larger sum than was stated by Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v, p. 597.

² Cf. *ante*, vol. v, pp. 278 ff.

English stage. After conforming to the 'unities' in his own *Irene*, and then suggesting his doubts of them in *The Rambler*, he now proved that they are 'not essential to a just drama.' The guiding rule in his criticism was that 'there is always an appeal open from criticism to nature.' A generation later, the French 'romantics' found their case stated in his preface, and they did not better what they borrowed¹.

Hereafter, Johnson did not, on his own initiative, undertake any other large work. 'Composition is, for the most part,' he said, 'an effort of slow diligence and steady perseverance, to which the mind is dragged by necessity or resolution.' His pension had removed the necessity, and, for the next twelve years, his best work lay in talk. In 1763, he met Boswell; in 1764, he founded with Reynolds 'The Club'—not known till long after as 'The Literary Club'; in 1765, he gained the friendship of the Thrales. Companionship and elegant comforts provided the relief that was still needed to his recurring depressions. He wrote little, but he engaged in personal kindnesses, and talked his best, and exerted an influence which spread far beyond the circle of his conversation. He was still, as at all times, ready to contribute to the publications of his friends, and even dictated the arguments in some of Boswell's law cases; but he did not undertake any writing that required resolution or has added to his fame. His four political tracts—*The False Alarm* (1770), *Falkland's Islands* (1771), *The Patriot* (1774) and *Taxation no Tyranny* (1775)—are known, so far as they are known, because he was their author. Since his early work on the debates in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, he had always taken a keen interest in politics. Most of his essays in *The Literary Magazine* had been on political topics. Towards the end of 1765, he had undertaken to supply 'single-speech' Hamilton with his views on questions that were being discussed in parliament, and had written for him, in November 1766, *Considerations on the Corn Laws*². But now, he wrote as a pamphleteer. The most judicious of the four tracts is *Falkland's Islands*, which makes a just defence of the policy

¹ Johnson's examination of the 'unities' is translated word for word in Beyle, Henri, *Racine et Shakespeare* (1822). See *Johnson on Shakespeare* by Raleigh, Sir Walter (1908), and *Stendhal et l'Angleterre*, by Gunnell, Doris (1909).

² This was first published by Malone as an appendix to his edition of Hamilton's *Parliamentary Logic* (1808). Malone points out Boswell's error in deducing from the prayer entitled 'Engaging in Politics with H—n' that Johnson was 'seized with a temporary fit of ambition' and thought of 'becoming a politician.' See, also, *Boswell*, ed. Hill, G. B. vol. 1, pp. 518—20.

towards Spain and is notable for its picture of the horrors of war and for its reference to Junius. The best thing in *The False Alarm*, his thoughts on the present discontents, is the satirical picture of the progress of a petition. In *Taxation no Tyranny*, his 'answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress,' he asks 'how is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?'

The prejudice in *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* is of a different kind, and never displeasing. It is only the natural prejudice of John Bull as a tourist. He makes many acute observations which even the most perfervid Scot must have recognised to be just; but his impartiality is occasionally impeded by a want of knowledge which he himself was the first to admit. He had been conducted round Scotland by Boswell from August to November 1773, and the book—which was published in January 1775—is not so much a record of the ninety-four days of 'vigorous exertion' as a series of thoughts on a different civilisation. It had a different purpose from that of Pennant's *Tour in Scotland* (1771), which Johnson praised highly. He had taken the opportunity of enquiring into the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, and convinced himself that 'they never existed in any other form than that which we have seen.' This is the best known section of his book; but the reader may find more interest in the remarks on the superstitions of the Highlands, on American emigration and on the Scottish universities. In July and August 1774, he made a tour in north Wales with his friends the Thrales, and kept a diary which might have served as the groundwork of a companion volume to his *Scottish Journey*; but he did not make any use of it, and it remained in MS till 1816. The beauty of the Welsh scenery had greatly impressed him, and this diary must not be neglected in any estimate of his feeling for wild landscape. The fragmentary records of his tour in France with the Thrales in 1775 were left to be printed by Boswell. Johnson was content to pass the rest of his days in leisure, working only as the mood prompted, when, on Easter Eve 1777, a deputation of booksellers asked him to undertake, at the age of sixty-seven, what was to prove his masterpiece.

The Lives of the Poets arose out of a business venture. The London booksellers were anxious to drive out of the market an Edinburgh reprint of the English poets and to protect their own copyright; and, besides producing an edition superior in accuracy and elegance, they determined to add biographical prefaces by some writer of authority. The scheme took some time to mature, and

Percival Stockdale¹ had hopes of the editorship. But Johnson was given the first offer and at once accepted. Writing to Boswell, on 3 May 1777, he says he is engaged 'to write little Lives and little Prefaces, to a little edition of the English Poets.' The work proved so congenial that he wrote at greater length than he had intended; and, when the edition was completed, the prefaces were issued without the texts under the title *The Lives of the Poets* (1781). Their independent publication, and the title by which they are now known, were alike afterthoughts; in origin, *The Lives of the Poets* is only editorial matter. It is even more important to remember that this great body of critical opinion—perhaps the greatest in the English language—was written on invitation and in conformity with conditions controlled by others. When he found the complete series labelled 'Johnson's Poets,' he was moved to write on a scrap of paper which has happily been preserved: 'It is great impudence to put Johnson's Poets on the back of books which Johnson neither recommended nor revised.' Of the fifty-two poets, five, at most, were included on his suggestion. In the life of Watts, he says that the readers of the collection are to impute to him whatever pleasure or weariness they may find in the perusal of Blackmore, Watts, Pomfret and Yalden; but it would also appear from the letter to Boswell cited above that he 'persuaded the booksellers to insert something of Thomson.' There is no evidence that he advised any omission. For only one of the fifty-two lives was he indebted to another hand—the life of Young by Sir Herbert Croft. He included his early life of Savage, with insignificant changes, and worked up his article on Roscommon in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1748. The other lives he now wrote specially for the booksellers, availing himself here and there of what he had written already, such as the 'Dissertation on Pope's Epitaphs' in *The Universal Visiter* (1756), and the character of Collins in Fawkes and Woty's *Poetical Calendar* (1763).

The original plan had evidently been to include 'all the English poets of reputation from Chaucer to the present day.' It is no matter for regret that this scheme was curtailed. The poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, besides affording him ample scope for expounding his views on poetry, possessed for him the personal interest which was always a stimulus to his criticism. But, even could he be shown to have recommended Cowley as the starting point, it would be an error to infer that this was the limit to his knowledge and appreciation. Such an

¹ *Memoirs* (1809), vol. II, pp. 198—7.

inference would neglect his preface to Shakespeare, his work on the Elizabethans for the *Dictionary* and his statement in *The Idler*¹ that 'we consider the whole succession from Spenser to Pope as superior to any names which the Continent can boast.' Of the earlier writers, he had not the knowledge possessed by Thomas Warton and other of his friends. But he wrote on Ascham, and corresponded on the manuscripts of Sir Thomas More, and devoted to him a considerable section of the introductory matter of his *Dictionary*; and he was always alert to any investigation, whether in modern English, or Old English, or northern antiquities. His comprehensive knowledge of English literature may be described as beginning with the reign of Henry VIII. In an interview with George III, he was enjoined to add Spenser to *The Lives of the Poets*; and he would readily have complied, could he have obtained new material².

In the earlier interview which Boswell has recorded, many years before *The Lives of the Poets* was thought of, George III proposed that Johnson should undertake the literary biography of his country. It was a happy courtesy, for, though there had been good lives of individual poets since Sprat's *Life of Cowley*, the collections that had yet appeared had shown that much remained to be accomplished, and Johnson was specially fitted to write the lives of authors. Even had he not said so, we should have suspected that the biographical part of literature was what he loved most. The best of these collections had been *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland* (1753), nominally by 'Mr Cibber' (Theophilus), but really by Robert Shiels³, *The Royal and Noble Authors* (1758), of Horace Walpole, which is a 'catalogue,' and the literary articles in the very unequal *Biographia Britannica*⁴. It was left to Johnson to impart a sustained excellence to this kind of writing, and, by engaging in what had not yet occupied an author of his authority, to raise it to a new level as an English literary form.

The most obvious features of *The Lives of the Poets* is the equipoise of biography and criticism. Johnson states the facts simply, but connects them with his impression of the writer, and,

¹ No. 91.

² This interview appears to have been unknown to Boswell. The authority for it is a sentence in the *Memoirs of Hannah More* (1834, vol. i, p. 174), and an obvious allusion in the conversation with John Nichols given towards the end of Boswell's *Life*.

³ The evidence on the authorship is given in Sir Walter Raleigh's *Six Essays on Johnson* (1910), pp. 120—5, note.

⁴ Johnson was asked to undertake the second edition of this work and regretted his refusal. See Boswell, ed. Hill, G. B. vol. iii, p. 174.

when he passes to the examination of poems, he is still thinking of their relation to the writer's personality. He finds the man behind the work. The truth is that he was much more interested in the man than in that part of him which is the author. Of 'mere poets,' he thought little; and, though he championed the dignity of authorship, he claimed for it no exclusive privileges, nor held that the poet was a man apart to be measured by standards inapplicable to other men. If the enduring freshness of *The Lives of the Poets* is due to any one quality more than to another, it is to Johnson's inexhaustible interest in the varieties of human nature. As detailed biographies, they have been superseded, though they remain our only authority for many facts and anecdotes, and include much that had been inaccessible. He made researches; but they were limited to his immediate needs. It is often easy to trace the sources of his information. He criticised Congreve's plays without having read them for many years, and he refused for a time to hear Lord Marchmont's recollections of Pope. Though, in general, he welcomed new details, his aim was to know enough to describe the man and to bring out his individuality in the estimate of his work.

The common result of this method in criticism is that the critic is at his best when he is in sympathy with the writer. Johnson meant to be scrupulously judicial; but he showed personal feelings. He disliked the acrimonious politics of Milton, the querulous sensitiveness of Swift and the timid foppery of Gray. This personal antipathy underlies his criticisms, though it is qualified, at times, even generously. Had Gray written often as in the *Elegy*, he says 'it had been vain to blame and useless to praise him'; and *Paradise Lost* 'is not the greatest of heroic poems only because it is not the first.' Of Dryden and Pope he wrote in friendship, and there exists no finer criticism of them. But no critic has been severer on Dryden's negligences, or spoken more ruthlessly of the *Essay on Man*.

The passage on *Lycidas* is generally regarded as an error of judgment which marks Johnson's limitations as a critic. With his usual courage, he stated a deliberate opinion. He gave his reasons—the artificiality of the pastoral convention, the confusion of the allegory with actual fact and sacred truth, and the absence of the feeling of real sorrow. But there is the further explanation that he was opposed to some recent tendencies in English poetry. That he had more than *Lycidas* in his mind is shown by the emphasis of his statement. The same ideas

reappear in his criticism of Collins and Gray. He objected to the habit of inverting the common order of words, and, on one occasion, cited Thomas Warton's 'evening gray'; he might also have cited 'mantle blue.' It was Warton who occasioned his extempore verses beginning—

Whereso'er I turn my view,
All is strange, yet nothing new;

and Warton imitated, as well as edited, the early poems of Milton. Warton was one of many in whom he found faults which he traced to Milton as their original. In criticising *Lycidas*, he had in mind his own contemporaries. When the new tendencies had prevailed, he was said to have judged by a rigorous code of criticism. This code would have been difficult to reconcile with the preface to his edition of Shakespeare; with the praise given by him to Homer's heroes, that they are not described but develop themselves¹; with his statement that 'real criticism' shows 'the beauty of thought as formed on the workings of the human heart'²; and with his condemnation of 'the cant of those who judge by principles rather than perception'³.

His views on the matter of poetry are shown in his criticism of Gray's *Bard*: 'To select a singular event, and swell it to a giant's bulk by fabulous appendages of spectres and predictions, has little difficulty, for he that forsakes the probable may always find the marvellous.' The common growth of mother earth sufficed for him as for Wordsworth. The distinction which he draws between the *Elegy* and *The Bard* was that which ultimately divided Wordsworth and Coleridge. There was enough for him in life as he knew it. And there was a personal reason why, more than the other great writers of his century, he should tend to limit nature to human experience. The tumult in his mind was allowed no direct expression in his writings; but it made him look upon the world as the battle ground of thought, and passion, and will.

With the revision of *The Lives of the Poets*, Johnson's career as an author closed. In the three years of failing health which were left to him, he lived his accustomed life, honoured for the authority of his opinion, generous in his help to younger writers, and active in domestic benevolence. He revised Crabbe's *Village*, and dictated much to Boswell. Death removed some who had played a great part in his later life—Thrale, whose house at Streatham had been a second home, and two of the pensioners in

¹ Boswell, ed. Hill, G. B. vol. v, p. 79.

² *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 88.

³ *Life of Pope.*

his own house at Bolt-court, Levett and Mrs Williams. The tribute to Levett, noble in its restrained emotion, is the most tender of his poems. The sadness of loss was embittered by Mrs Thrale's marriage to Piozzi and the irreparable break in the long and happy friendship. He had so far recovered from a paralytic seizure as to be able, at the close of 1783, to found the Essex-Head club. By its ease of access, the old man sought to supply the need of new company. He dined at The Club, for the last time, in June 1784. Next month, he set out for his native city, and returned by Birmingham and Oxford, the cities of his youth. His health had not found any relief, and, when he reached London in November, was rapidly declining. He died 13 December, and, on the 20th, was buried in Westminster abbey. Shortly before his death, he had destroyed his papers.

His long career had been uniform in its aim and methods, and the distinctions between his earlier and later writings are those which come from experience and confidence. The author of the preface to *A Voyage to Abyssinia* is unmistakably the author of *The Rambler* and *The Lives of the Poets*, with the same tastes and habits of thought, but younger, with a shorter reach and less precision in his skill. There had been no discipleship, and no time of searching where his strength lay; and no new influences had modified his purpose. The changes to be found in his work of forty-five years are those of a natural and undisturbed development, so steady that its stages cannot be minutely marked by us, and were probably imperceptible to himself. As he grew older, he related all art more and more to life. Though careful to give his thoughts their best expression, and severe on improprieties in others, he became impatient of mere proficiency in technique; and, though a scholar, he recognised the insufficiency of scholarship and the barrenness of academic pursuits. He had the 'purposes of life' ever and increasingly before him, and his criticisms of the English poets are the richest of his works in worldly wisdom.

At the same time, his style became more easy. The Latin element is at its greatest in *The Rambler*. He was then engaged on his *Dictionary*. But he always tended to use long words most when he wrote in haste; and his revision was towards simplicity¹. He used them in conversation, where alone he allowed himself the liberty of a daring coinage. They were in no sense an

¹ See, in addition to the alterations in *The Rambler*, the corrections in *The Lives of the Poets* as given in Boswell's lists.

embroidery, but part of the very texture of his thought. 'Difference of thoughts,' he said, 'will produce difference of language. He that thinks with more extent than another will want words of larger meaning; he that thinks with subtlety will seek for terms of more nice discrimination¹.' As we read him and accustom our minds to move with his, we cease to notice the diction. The strength of his thought carries the weight of his words. His meaning is never mistaken, though it may not be fully grasped at a glance; for he puts much in small compass, and the precision of his language requires careful reading for its just appreciation. 'Familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious'; 'vanity produced a grotto where necessity enforced a passage'—could the thought be put more pointedly, or adequately, or shortly? When Latin diction cannot be changed without loss, or without affecting the tenor of the thought, it has made good its right. His humour and irony found an aid in the dignified phraseology. But he also used simple words. Wit is 'that which he that never found it wonders how he missed'; 'what he does best he soon ceases to do'; 'a rage for saying something when there is nothing to be said'—these, also, are typical of his style. The letter to Chesterfield reaches its climax in the homeliest of English: 'till I am known, and do not want it.'

His parodists have been peculiarly unsuccessful. We lose their meaning in a jumble of pedantries; and we do not lose Johnson's. They inflate their phraseology; but Johnson is not tumid. And they forget that his balance is a balance of thought. His own explanation still holds good: 'the imitators of my style have not hit it. Miss Aikin has done it the best; for she has imitated the sentiment as well as the diction.' This was said in 1777. But better than Miss Aikin's essay 'On Romances'² in the style of *The Rambler*, and the best of all the parodies, is *A Criticism on the Elegy written in a Country Church-yard* (1783), composed by John Young, the versatile professor of Greek at Glasgow, and designed as a continuation of *The Life of Gray*. The long list of his serious imitators begins with Hawkesworth and extends to Jeffrey³, who started by training himself in the school of the periodical essayists. Others, who did not take him as a model, profited by the example of a style in which nothing is negligent and nothing superfluous. He was the dominating influence in

¹ *Idler*, no. 70.

² *Miscellaneous Pieces, in Prose*, by J. Aikin and A. L. Aikin (Mrs Barbauld), 1778.

³ See Cockburn, *Life of Jeffrey*, vol. i, pp. 81 etc.

Earlier Biographical Accounts of Johnson 189

English prose throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. The lesson of discipline required to be taught, and it was learned from him by many whose best work shows no traces of his manner.

His death, says Murphy, 'kept the public mind in agitation beyond all former example. No literary character ever excited so much attention.' Collections of stories about him had begun to appear in his lifetime, and now his friends competed in serious biography. When Mrs Piozzi wrote her account, she had heard of nine others already written or in preparation. Her *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson* (1786) has a place by itself. It preserves much that would have been lost; but its importance lies chiefly in its picture of Johnson's character, and in its illustration of the qualities by which he was attracted. She writes with amiable pride in the ties that bound him to the hospitality of Streatham, and with an honest effort to rise above their quarrel. If her detractors can find evidence of artfulness, no one can deny the clearness of her vision; and, if, at times, her little vanities prevented her from seeing the true bearing of Johnson's remarks, she must, at least, be admitted to have been happy in the selection of what she has recorded. There is no work of the same size as her *Anecdotes* that gives a better portrait of Johnson. In strong contrast is the *Life* (1787) by Sir John Hawkins. It is the solid book of an 'unclubbable' magistrate and antiquary, who has much knowledge and little intuition. He had known Johnson for over forty years and, on many points, is our chief authority. Much of the value of his book lies in the lengthy digressions on contemporary literature. His lack of sympathy made him unsuited for biography; but we are under a debt to him for the facts which he threw together.

The merits of Mrs Piozzi and Hawkins were united and augmented by Boswell. He had been collecting material since his first interview in 1763. He had told Johnson his purpose by 1772, and he had spoken definitely of his *Life* in a letter of 1775. After Johnson's death, he set to work in earnest and spared himself no trouble.

'You cannot imagine,' he wrote in 1789, 'what labour, what perplexity, what vexation I have endured in arranging a prodigious multiplicity of materials, in supplying omissions, in searching for papers buried in different masses, and all this besides the exertion of composing and polishing: many a time have I thought of giving it up.'

But he was confident in the result. It was to be not merely the best biography of Johnson, but the best biography ever written.

'I am absolutely certain,' he said, 'that my mode of biography, which gives not only a *History* of Johnson's *visible* progress through the world, and of his publications, but a *view* of his mind in his letters and conversations, is the most perfect that can be conceived, and will be more of a Life than any work that has ever yet appeared.'

When the book at last came out, in May 1791, the same confidence was expressed in the opening paragraphs. There, he admits that the idea of interspersing letters had been taken from Mason's life of Gray. He had made a careful study of the art of biography; and the *Anecdotes* of Mrs Piozzi, which had shown the necessity of a careful handling of intimate material, and the facts of Hawkins, which had proved the inadequacy of simple narrative, had reassured him that he was engaged on the real life of his friend.

Johnson owes much to Boswell; but it was Johnson who gave us Boswell. His life is the story of failure turned to success by an irresistible devotion. He had always been attracted by whatever won the public attention, partly from scientific curiosity, as when he visited Mrs Rudd, and partly with a view to his own advancement. In the first of his letters, he says that Hume 'is a very proper person for a young man to cultivate an acquaintance with.' He comes to know Wilkes, but doubts 'if it would be proper to keep a correspondence with a gentleman in his present capacity.' The chief pleasure that he foresaw in his continental tour was his meeting with Voltaire and Rousseau. Then, he proceeded to Corsica and became the friend and enthusiastic champion of Paoli. Having received a communication on Corsican affairs from the earl of Chatham, he asks: 'Could your lordship find time to honour me now and then with a letter?' Again, he is found thinking of a life of lord Kames and satisfying himself that 'he has eminence enough to merit this.' There was cause for the sturdy laird of Auchinleck to complain, according to Sir Walter Scott's anecdote, that his irresponsible son was always pinning himself to the tail of somebody or other. But, of all his heroes, Johnson alone brought out the best qualities in his volatile character, and steadied him to the worthy use of his rare gifts. When Johnson is absent, his writings possess no remarkable merit, though they have always the interest of being the pellucid expression of his singular personality. The *Life* is the devoted and flawless recognition of an influence which he knew that his nature had required.

Born at Edinburgh in 1740, the son of a Scottish advocate who

took his title as a judge from his ancient estate of Auchinleck in Ayrshire, Boswell reluctantly adopted the family profession of law, and, after studying at Edinburgh, Glasgow and Utrecht, was called to the Scottish bar in 1766. His heart was never in a legal career, and, to the last, he had a fond belief in sudden and splendid success in literature or politics. His earliest work appeared in *The Scots Magazine*, but has not been identified. He wrote much verse and published *An Elegy on the death of an amiable young lady* (1761), *An Ode to Tragedy*, dedicated to himself (1761), and *The Crib at Newmarket*, a humorous description of his experiences as the guest of the Jockey club (1762). Several of his earliest pieces are printed in *A Collection of Original Poems, by the Rev. Mr Blacklock and other Scotch Gentlemen* (1760—2), the second volume of which he edited¹. He frequented the literary society of Edinburgh, founded the jovial 'Soaping Club' and engaged in regular correspondence with his friends. The *Letters between the Hon. Andrew Erskine and James Boswell Esq.*, in which, also, there is much verse, he published in 1763. 'They have made ourselves laugh,' says the advertisement; 'we hope they will have the same effect upon other people.' They were hardly worth publishing, though we should be sorry now not to have them. In the description of a long series of daydreams, given with the characteristic vanity which is always saved by its frankness, he says:

I am thinking of the perfect knowledge which I shall acquire of men and manners, of the intimacies which I shall have the honour to form with the learned and ingenious in every science, and of the many amusing literary anecdotes which I shall pick up.

This was published, from Flexney's shop in Holborn, in the very month that he met Johnson in Davies's parlour. Shortly before this, he had brought out, with Erskine and George Dempster, his two associates in much of his early work, the rare *Critical Strictures* on Mallet's *Elvira*. He returned to Edinburgh from his continental travels in 1766, and, being admitted to the bar in the midst of the excitement about the Douglas cause, found in it material for *Dorando* (June 1767), which recounts the points at issue under a Spanish disguise, and appeared immediately before the thirteen Scottish judges, by a majority of one, arrived at a decision contrary to his wishes. The little story went into three

¹ The manuscripts of many of Boswell's poems written between 1760 and 1768, several of them unprinted, are in the Bodleian library—MS Douce 193. The collection includes a 'Plan of a Volume of Poems to be published for me by Becket and Dehorde.'

editions within a fortnight, but it now disappoints the hopes excited by its rarity. As the case was sent up to the House of Lords, where the decision was ultimately reversed, Boswell continued to write about it and brought out the more serious *Essence of the Douglas Cause* (November 1767). He took an energetic part in the riotous controversy concerning the Edinburgh stage and supplied the prologue for the opening of the first licensed theatre in Scotland¹. At the same time, he was engaged on his Corsican experiences. *An Account of Corsica* had been read by Lord Hailes in manuscript in June 1767, and was issued in March 1768. It is Boswell's first considerable book, and, indeed, his only book, apart from those concerned with Johnson, that had a chance of being remembered on its merits. It won what he calls 'amazing celebrity'; he could boast that he was 'really the great man now.' His head was full of Corsica and was not to be emptied of it, even on Johnson's advice. He made a collection of twenty letters by himself and others, and published them under the title *British Essays in favour of the Brave Corsicans* (January 1769); and, in the following September, he appeared at the Shakespeare festival at Stratford in the dress of an armed Corsican chief and recited a poem that 'preserved the true Corsican character.' A description of the proceedings, an account of himself, and the poem were immediately contributed by him to *The London Magazine*. Two months later, he married, and then tried to settle to his legal practice. From this time, the influence of Johnson, already evident in *An Account of Corsica*, grew steadily stronger. He was not satisfied with Edinburgh after the splendour of London. 'The unpleasing tone, the rude familiarity, the barren conversation,' he complains, 'really hurt my feelings.' But he had to content himself with lengthy visits to London in vacation, which were the more indispensable when Johnson had procured his election to The Club, and he had become a proprietor of *The London Magazine*. He contributed to it, monthly, a series of seventy periodical essays called *The Hypochondriack* (1777—83), for which he found much material in himself. There is also much in them that was inspired by the dominating friendship. They take *The Rambler* as their model, and are the most Johnsonian of his writings. After the death of his father and his own

¹ The prologue was printed in *The Scots Magazine* for November 1767; see, also, *The European Magazine* for May 1791 and Dibdin, J. C., *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage* (1888), pp. 148—8, and 498. The *Songs in the Justiciary Opera*, privately printed for Alexander Boswell in 1816, belong to this time.

succession to Auchinleck, in 1782, he turned to politics, and carried out his ambition of becoming a member of the English bar, but to no purpose. He stood for parliament, and published two letters 'to the people of Scotland'; one, *On the Present State of the Nation* (1783), and the other, *On the Alarming Attempt to infringe the Articles of the Union* (1785). All he obtained was the recordership of Carlisle, which he soon resigned. In his last years, which were saddened by the loss of his wife and troubled with financial difficulties, he is still found hoping that practice may come at any time and expecting 'a capital prize.' He confesses that he no longer lives with a view to have surprising incidents, though he is still desirous that his life 'should tell.' But he begins to waken from the long delusion and, in a melancholy moment, admits: 'I certainly am constitutionally unfit for any employment.' He was then on the point of achievement. His life was to tell better than he knew, and in another way than he had hoped. His friendship for Johnson was helping him in these years to do what he was unable to do for himself. Without Johnson, he relapses to the level of his early verse in *No Abolition of Slavery; or the Universal Empire of Love* (April 1791)¹. And, when the effort of producing the great work is over, there remains only the record of steady decline, varied by new schemes of matrimony, and cheered by large sales and the preparation of new editions. He died in London, 19 May 1795. From 1758 to within a few weeks of his death, he had corresponded regularly with William Johnson Temple, a fellow student in the Greek class at Edinburgh who became vicar of St Gluvias in Cornwall; and these letters, which had been sold by a hawker at Boulogne and were rescued to be published in 1857, give us his real autobiography². They tell us much more than the many descriptions of himself, from his *Ode to Tragedy* to the 'Memoirs' in the *European Magazine* of 1791³.

¹ A copy of this rare piece is now in the Bodleian library. It was for long doubtful if it had been published, but a review with copious extracts had been given in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1791.

² Boswell thought of an autobiography. 'My journal,' he says, 'will afford materials for a very curious narrative' (letter to Temple, 22 May 1789). The first record of a journal is in his letter to Temple of 16 December 1758. The journal was destroyed; but a portfolio of papers, each inscribed 'Boswelliana,' escaped. They are now in the possession of the marquess of Crewe, and were edited by Charles Rogers for the Grampian club in 1874. Boswell thought also of editions of Johnson's poems, Walton's *Lives*, and the autobiography of Sir Robert Sibbald; a work maintaining the merit of Addison's poetry; histories of Sweden, James IV, and the '45; a life of Thomas Buddiman; and an account of the Isle of Man. These, and others, are mentioned in the *Life of Johnson*; and yet other projects are mentioned elsewhere.

³ If he did not write these 'Memoirs,' he certainly supplied their material.

If they show why his descendants decided on a holocaust of his papers, they also explain the attraction which he exerted on those who took the trouble to try to understand him.

But, if Boswell without Johnson would have been forgotten, it was his own talent that gave the *Life* its surpassing excellence. Whenever he writes of Johnson, he succeeds in giving the impression that he saw things as they were, and not through the spectacles of his own personality. He never tried to conceal the part that he played; and yet, despite his vanities, and they were many, he knew how to make his readers think that they are looking at the facts for themselves. The very freedom from self-consciousness which was no help to his career was a great part of the secret of his skill in description. It also provided him with material denied to less sympathetic natures. 'No man,' he said, 'has been more successful in making acquaintance easily than I have been. I even bring people quickly on to a degree of cordiality.' Johnson, too, tells us that 'Mr Boswell's frankness and gaiety made every body communicative.' He never tired of arranging new situations, in order to see what they would bring forth; and his interpretations of what he found are strong testimony to his insight into character and to his judgment. Minute as his observations are, he never offers a meaningless detail. It is easy to understand why Johnson made him postpone the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, which was intended as a supplement to his own *Journey*. He had given 'notions rather than facts'; but Boswell had contrived to make the facts give Johnson. The reproduction of his sayings and experiences was too minute to be published during his lifetime, and was more decently delayed till the year after his death¹. The *Life* does not surpass the *Journal* in the sense of actuality; but it is a greater achievement. He had met Johnson only on some two hundred and seventy days, scattered over twenty-one years, and his material had to be gathered from many sources. He selects and arranges; he places his facts in the light and perspective that will create the situation; and Johnson lives in his pages. And he had the gift of the perfect style for his kind of biography—a style of no marked individuality, but easy, clear and flexible, which does its duty without attracting attention, and requires to be examined to have its excellence recognised.

¹ The *Journal* was revised by Malone while it was going through the press. Malone also revised the *Life*, and, on Boswell's death, completed the preparation of the third and final edition.

CHAPTER IX

OLIVER GOLDSMITH

‘No man,’ wrote that authoritative but autocratic biographer, John Forster, ‘ever put so much of himself into his books as Goldsmith, from the beginning to the very end of his career.’ To many authors, this saying is only partly applicable; but it is entirely applicable to the author of *The Vicar of Wakefield*. His life and his works are intimately connected. They accompany and interpret each other in such a way as to make them practically inseparable; and it is, therefore, appropriate, as well as convenient, to treat them, so to speak, in the piece, rather than to attempt any distribution of the subject into divisions and sub-divisions of history and criticism.

Concerning Goldsmith’s early years, there is much that is obscure, or that, in any case, cannot be accepted without rigorous investigation. He left his native island when he was three-and-twenty, and never returned to it. Those who, like Glover and Cooke, wrote accounts of him shortly after his death, were the humbler associates of his later and more famous years, while the professedly authentic ‘Memoir’ drawn up under the nominal superintendence of bishop Percy, and the much quoted letter of Annesley Streat in Mangin’s *Essay on Light Reading*, did not see the light until the first decade of the nineteenth century, when Goldsmith had long been dead. It follows that much of the information thus collected after date must have been imperfect and contradictory, often extracted from persons more familiar with his obscure beginnings than with his later eminence, and, possibly, in answer to those unsatisfactory leading questions which usually elicit not so much the truth as what the querist wishes to establish.

Goldsmith was born on 10 November 1728; and it is usually held that the place of his nativity was Pallas, or Pallasmore, a village near Ballymahon, in the county of Longford, Ireland.

But it has also been plausibly contended, though actual proof is not forthcoming, that his true birthplace was Smith-Hill house, Elphin, Roscommon, the residence of his mother's father, Oliver Jones, a clergyman and master of the Elphin diocesan school. His own father, Charles Goldsmith, was, likewise, a clergyman of the established church. When Oliver came into the world, Charles Goldsmith was acting as assistant to an uncle whose name was Green, the rector of Kilkenny West, and eking out a scanty subsistence by farming a few fields. In 1730, Green died; and Charles Goldsmith, succeeding to the vacant rectorate, transferred his residence to the hamlet of Lissoy, in Westmeath, a little to the right of the road from Ballymahon to Athlone. At this time, he had five children, two sons and three daughters, Oliver being the fifth child and second son. As already stated, the accounts of his earliest years are contradictory. By some, he was regarded as thick-witted and sullen; to others, he seemed alert and intelligent. That he was an adept at all boyish sports is admitted; and it is also recorded that he scribbled verses early. His first notable instructor was the village schoolmaster, Thomas, or 'Paddy,' Byrne, who had been a quartermaster in queen Anne's wars. Byrne was also a local rimer, and had even composed an Irish version of the *Georgics*. His endless stories of his continental adventures, and his inexhaustible legends of ghosts and banshees, held his pupils spellbound; and, by Goldsmith's family, were, later, made responsible for much of 'that wandering and unsettled turn which so much appeared in his future life.' When Goldsmith was seven or eight, he was attacked by confluent smallpox, which scarred him terribly and probably added not a little to the 'exquisite sensibility of contempt' with which he seems to have been born. With this, at all events, is connected one of the two most-repeated anecdotes of his childhood. A ne'er-do-well relation asked him heartlessly when he meant to grow handsome, to which, after an awkward silence, he replied, 'I mean to get better, sir, when you do.' The other story also illustrates an unexpected gift of repartee. At a party in his uncle's house, during the pause between two country-dances, little Oliver capered out, and executed an extempore hornpipe. His deeply-pitted face and ungainly figure caused much amusement; and the fiddler, a lad named Cumming, called out '*Æsop*.' To which the dancer promptly answered:

Heralds, proclaim aloud! all saying,
See *Æsop* dancing, and his *Monkey* playing,

at once transferring the laugh to his side. Whether improvised or remembered, the retort certainly shows intellectual alacrity.

From Byrne, Goldsmith passed to the school at Elphin, of which his grandfather had been master; thence to Athlone, and, finally, to Edgeworthstown, where his preceptor, Patrick Hughes, seems to have understood him better than his previous instructors. Hughes penetrated his superficial obtuseness, recognised his exceptionally sensitive temperament, and contrived, at any rate, to think better of him than some of his playmates who only succeeded in growing up blockheads. There were traditions at Edgeworthstown of his studies—his fondness for Ovid and Horace, his hatred of Cicero and his delight in Livy and Tacitus; of his prowess in boyish sports and the occasional robbing of orchards. It is to the close of his Edgeworthstown experiences that belongs one of the most popular of the incidents which exemplify the connection between his life and his work. Returning to school at the end of his last holiday, full of the youthful pride begotten of a borrowed mount and a guinea in his pocket, he lingered on his road, with the intention of putting up, like a gentleman, at some roadside inn. Night fell, and he found himself at Ardagh, where, with much importance, he enquired of a passer-by for 'the best house' (hostelry) in the neighbourhood. The person thus appealed to, a local wag named Cornelius Kelly, formerly fencing master to the marquis of Granby, amused by his boyish swagger, gravely directed him to the residence of the squire of the place, Mr Featherston. Hither Goldsmith straightway repaired, ordered supper, invited his host, according to custom, to drink with him, and, being by that humourist fooled to the top of his bent, retired to rest, after giving particular directions as to the preparation of a hot cake for his breakfast. Not until his departure next morning was it disclosed that he had been entertained in a private house. The story is too good to question; and accepted, as it has always been, supplies a conclusive answer to those after-critics of *She Stoops to Conquer* who regarded the central idea of that comedy—the mistaking of a gentleman's residence for an inn—as unjustifiably farfetched. Here, in Goldsmith's own life, was the proof of its probability.

At this date, he must have been between fourteen and fifteen; and, whatever his ability, it seems to have been decided that he should follow his elder brother Henry to Trinity college, Dublin, though not with the same advantages. Henry Goldsmith, who

was five or six years his brother's senior, had gone as a pensioner and obtained a scholarship. For Oliver, this was impracticable. His father, a poor man, had, from family pride, further crippled himself by undertaking to portion his second daughter, Catherine, who had clandestinely married the son of a rich neighbour. In these circumstances, nothing was open to Goldsmith but to obtain his university education as a poor scholar, a semi-menial condition which, to one already morbidly sensitive, could not fail to be distasteful. For a long time, he fought doggedly against his fate; but, at length, yielding to the persuasions of a friendly uncle Contarine, who had himself gone through the same ordeal, he was admitted to Trinity college as a sizar on 11 June 1744, taking up his abode in one of the garrets of what was then the eastern side of Parliament square.

The academic career thus inauspiciously begun was not worshipful. From the outset, he was dispirited and disappointed, and, consequently, without energy or enthusiasm. Moreover, he was unfortunate in his tutor, a clergyman named Theaker Wilder, who, though his bad qualities may have been exaggerated, was certainly harsh and unsympathetic. His *forte*, too, was mathematics, which Goldsmith, like Swift, like Gray, like Johnson, detested as cordially as he detested the arid logic of 'Dutch Burgersdyck' and Polish Smiglesius. According to Stubbs's *History of the University of Dublin*,

Oliver Goldsmith is recorded on one or two occasions as being remarkably diligent at Morning Lecture; again, as cautioned for bad answering at Morning and Greek Lectures; and finally, as put down into the next class for neglect of his studies.

To this, he added other enormities. He was noted, as was Johnson at Oxford, for much 'lounging about the college gate'; and for his skill on that solace to melancholy and *laborum dulce lenimen*, the German flute, of which, as readily as his own 'Man in Black,' he had apparently mastered the 'Ambusheer.' He became involved in various scrapes, notably a college riot, including that ducking of a bailiff afterwards referred to in the first version of *The Double Transformation*, on which occasion he was publicly admonished *quod seditioni favisset et tumultuantibus opem tulisset*. Recovering a little from the stigma of this disgrace by gaining a small (Smythe) exhibition, he was imprudent enough to celebrate his success by a mixed entertainment, in what only by courtesy could be called his 'apartments.' On these festivities, the exasperated Wilder made irruption, knocking down the

unfortunate host, who, after forthwith selling his books, ran away, vaguely bound, as on subsequent occasions, for America. But a reconciliation with his tutor was patched up by Oliver's brother Henry; and he returned to his college to enjoy the half-peace of the half-pardoned. His father was now dead; and he was miserably poor. He managed, however, to take his B.A. degree on 27 February 1749, and quitted the university without regret, leaving behind him a scratched signature on a window pane (still preserved), an old lexicon scored with 'promises to pay' and a reputation for supplementing his scanty means by the ballads (unluckily *not* preserved) which he was accustomed to write and afterwards sell for five shillings a head at the Reindeer in Mountrath court, stealing out at nightfall—so runs the tradition—to 'snatch the fearful joy' of hearing them sung. It must have been the memory of these things which, years after, at Sir William Chambers's, made him fling down his cards, and rush hurriedly into the street to succour a poor ballad-woman, who had apparently, like Rubini, *les larmes dans la voix*.

What was to happen next? For a Goldsmith of the Goldsmiths, there was no career but the church; and he was too young to be ordained. Thereupon ensued an easy, irresponsible time, which the new B.A. spent very much to his own satisfaction. He was supposed to be qualifying for orders; but he had never any great leaning that way. 'To be obliged to wear a long wig, when he liked a short one, or a black coat, when he generally dressed in brown,' observes one of his characters in *The Citizen of the World*, was 'a restraint upon his liberty.' Hence, as his biographer Prior sagaciously says, 'there is reason to believe that at this time he followed no systematic plan of study.' On the contrary, he passed his time wandering, like Addison's Will Wimble, from one relative to another, fishing and otter-hunting in the isleted river Inny, playing the flute to his cousin Jane Cantarine's harpsichord, or presiding at the 'free and easys' held periodically at George Conway's inn at Ballymahon, where, for the benefit of posterity, he doubtless made acquaintance with Jack Slang the horse-doctor, Dick Muggins the exciseman and that other genteel and punctilious humourist who never 'danced his bear' except to Arne's 'Water parted' or the minuet in Handel's *Ariadne*. But these 'violent delights' could have only one sequel. When, in 1751, he presented himself to Dr Synge, bishop of Elphin, for ordination, he was rejected. Whether his college reputation had preceded him; whether, as on a later occasion, he was found 'not qualified,' or

whether (as legend has it) he pushed his aversion from clerical costume so far as to appear in flaming scarlet smallclothes—these questions are still debated. That another calling must be chosen was the only certain outcome of this mishap. He first turned to the next refuge of lettered unemployment, tuition. Having, in this way, accumulated some thirty pounds, he bought a horse, and once more started for America. Before six weeks were over, he had returned penniless, on an animal only fit for the knacker's yard, and seemed naïvely surprised that his friends were not rejoiced to see him. Law was next thought of; and, to this end, his uncle Contarine equipped him with fifty pounds. But he was cozened by a sharper on his way to London, and once more came back—in bitter self-abasement. In 1752, his longsuffering uncle for the last time fitted him out, this time to study physic at Edinburgh, which place, wonderful to relate, he safely reached. But he never saw Ireland, or his kind relative, again.

After two years' stay in the Scottish capital, where more memories survive of his social success than of his studies, he took his departure for Leyden, nominally to substitute the lectures of Albinus for the lectures of Monro. At Leyden, he arrived in 1754, not without some picturesque and, possibly, romanced adventures related in a letter to Contarine. The names of Gaubius and other Batavian professors figure glibly and sonorously in his future pages; but that he had much experimental knowledge of their instruction is doubtful. His name is not enrolled as a 'Stud. Litt.' in the Album Academicum of Leyden university, nor is it known where he received that 'commission to slay' which justified him in signing himself 'M.B.' It was certainly not at Padua¹; and enquiries at Leyden and Louvain were made by Prior without success. But the Louvain records were destroyed in the revolutionary wars. That, however, his stay at Leyden was neither prosperous nor prolonged is plain. He fell again among thieves; and, finally, like Holberg, or that earlier 'Peregrine of Odcombe,' Thomas Coryat of the *Crudities*, set out to make the grand tour on foot. '*Haud inexpertus loquor*,' he wrote, later, in praising this mode of locomotion; though, on second thoughts, he suppressed the quotation as an undignified admission. He went, first, to Flanders; then passed to France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy, supporting himself, much as George Primrose does in *The Vicar of Wakefield*, by playing the flute, and by occasional disputations at convents or universities. 'Sir,' said Boswell to

¹ *The Athenaeum*, 21 July 1894.

Johnson (who seems to have sustained the pun without blenching), 'he *disputed* his passage through Europe.' At some period of his wanderings he must have sketched a part of *The Traveller*, specimens of which he sent from Switzerland to his brother Henry. After a year's wandering, he landed at Dover on 1 February 1756, 'his whole stock of cash,' says an early biographer, 'amounting to no more than a few half-pence.' By this time, he was seven-and-twenty.

His vocation was still as visionary as were his means of subsistence. He is supposed to have tried strolling, and was certainly anxious to play 'Scrub' in later years. For a season, he was an apothecary's assistant on Fish street hill. Hence, with some assistance from an Edinburgh friend, Dr Sleigh, he 'proceeded' a poor physician in the Bankside, Southwark—the region afterwards remembered in *An Elegy on Mrs Mary Blaize*. He is next found as corrector of the press to Richardson, at Salisbury court. Then, drifting insensibly towards literature, to which he seems never to have intentionally shaped his course, he is (again like his own George Primrose) an usher at the 'classical Academy' of Dr Milner of Peckham. He had already submitted a manuscript tragedy to the author of *Clarissa*; and, at Milner's table, he encountered the bookseller Ralph Griffiths, proprietor of *The Monthly Review*. Struck by some remark on the part of Milner's latest assistant, and seeking for new blood to aid him in his campaign against Hamilton's *Critical Review*, Griffiths asked Goldsmith whether he could furnish some 'specimens of criticism.' An arrangement followed under which, released from the drudgery of Peckham, Goldsmith was to receive, with bed and board, a salary which Percy calls 'handsome,' Prior 'adequate' and Forster 'small.' For this, he was to labour daily from nine till two (or later) on copy-of-all-work for his master's magazine.

This, in effect, was Goldsmith's turning-point; and he had reached it by accident rather than design. Divinity, law, physic—he had tried them all; but, at letters, he had never aimed. With his duties 'at the Sign of the Dunciad,' in Paternoster row, began his definite bondage to the '*antiqua Mater* of Grub Street'; and we may pause for a moment to examine his qualifications for his difficult career. They were more considerable than one would imagine from his vagrant, aimless past. He was a fair classical scholar, more advanced than might be supposed from his own modest admission to Malone, that he could 'turn an ode of Horace into English better than any of them'; and, as that sound critic

and Goldsmithian, the late Sidney Irwin, remarked, it is not necessary to make him responsible for the graceless Greek of Mr Ephraim Jenkinson. In English poetry, he was far seen, especially in Dryden, Swift, Prior, Johnson, Pope and Gay. He had a good knowledge of Shakespeare; and was familiar with the comic dramatists, particularly his compatriot Farquhar. French he had acquired before he left Ireland, and he had closely studied Molière, La Fontaine and the different collections of *ana*. For Voltaire, he had a sincere admiration; and, whether he actually met him abroad or not, it is probable his own native style, clear and perspicuous as it was from the first, had been developed and perfected by the example of the wonderful writer by whom the adjective was regarded as the enemy of the noun. Finally, he had enjoyed considerable experience of humanity, though mostly in the rough; and, albeit his standpoint as a pedestrian had, of necessity, limited his horizon, he had 'observed the face' of the countries through which he had travelled, making his own deductions. On what he had seen, he had reflected, and, when he sat down to the 'desk's dead wood' in Paternoster row, his initial equipment as a critic, apart from his individual genius, must have been superior, in variety and extent, at all events, to that of most of the literary gentlemen, not exclusively hacks, who did Griffiths's notices in *The Monthly Review*.

Even in his first paper, on *The Mythology of the Celtes*, by Mallet, the translator of the *Edda*, he opened with a statement which must have been out of the jog-trot of the *Dunciad* traditions.

'The learned on this side the Alps,' he said, 'have long laboured in the Antiquities of Greece and Rome, but almost totally neglected their own; like Conquerors who, while they have made inroads into the territories of their neighbours, have left their own natural dominions to desolation.'

It would be too much to trace the *Reliques of English Poetry* to this utterance; but, (as Forster says) 'it is wonderful what a word in season from a man of genius may do, even when the genius is hireling and obscure and only labouring for the bread it eats.' Meanwhile, the specimen review 'from the gentleman who signs, D,' although printed with certain omissions, secured Goldsmith's entry to Griffiths's periodical, and he criticised some notable books—Home's *Douglas*, Burke *On the Sublime*, Gray's *Odes*, the *Connoisseur*, Smollett's *History*—titles which at least prove that, utility man as he was, his competence was recognised from the first. The review of Gray, whose remoteness and 'obscurity' he regretted, and whom he advised to take counsel of Isocrates and

'study the people,' was, nevertheless, the last of his contributions to *The Monthly Review*. Whether the fault lay in his own restless nature, or whether he resented the vexatious editing of his work by the bookseller and his wife, the fact remains that, with September 1757, Goldsmith's permanent connection with Griffiths came to a close; and, for the next few months, he subsisted by contributing to *The Literary Magazine* and by other miscellaneous practice of the pen.

At this point, however, emerges his first prolonged literary effort, the remarkable rendering of the *Memoirs* of Jean Marteilhe of Bergerac, 'a Protestant condemned to the Galleys of France for his Religion,' which was published in February 1758. This translation, perhaps because it has been sometimes confused with that issued by the Religious Tract Society, has never received the attention it deserves. It is an exceedingly free and racy version of one of the most authentic records of the miseries ensuing on the revocation of the edict of Nantes; and Goldsmith, drudge as he was supposed to be, has treated his theme sympathetically. He may, indeed, have actually seen Marteilhe in Holland; but it is more reasonable to suppose that he was attracted to the subject by the advertisement, in *The Monthly Review* for May 1757, of the French original. The book is full of interest; and, as the fight of *The Nightingale* with the galleys, and the episode of Goujon, the young cadet of the Aubusson regiment, prove, by no means deficient in moving and romantic incident. Why, on this occasion, Goldsmith borrowed as his pseudonym the name of an old college-fellow, James Willington, it is idle to enquire. In his signed receipt, still extant, to Edward Dilly, for a third share in the volumes, they are expressly described as 'my translation,' and it is useful to note that the mode of sale, as will hereafter be seen, is exactly that subsequently adopted for the sale of *The Vicar of Wakefield*.

Anonymous or pseudonymous, Marteilhe's *Memoirs* had little effect on Goldsmith's fortunes; and the twenty pounds he received for the MS in January 1758, must have been quickly spent, for he was shortly at Peckham again, vaguely hoping that his old master would procure him a medical appointment on a foreign station. It was, no doubt, to obtain funds for his outfit that he began to plan his next book, *An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe*, for we find him in this year soliciting subscriptions from his friends in Ireland. When, at last, the nomination arrived, it was merely that of physician to

a Coromandel factory. What was worse, for some obscure reason, it came to nothing; and his next move was to present himself at Surgeons' hall—like Smollett's Roderick Random—as a ship's hospital mate, with the result that, in December, he was rejected as 'not qualified.' To put the seal on his embarrassments, this new effort involved him in fresh difficulties with his former employer, Griffiths, who had helped him to appear in decent guise before the examiners—difficulties from which he only extricated himself with much humiliation by engaging to write a life of Voltaire.

We next find him domiciled at 12 Green Arbour court, Little Old Bailey¹, where, in March 1759, Percy, who had recently made his acquaintance through Grainger of *The Sugar Cane*, one of the staff of *The Monthly Review*, paid him a visit. He discovered him in a miserable room, correcting the proofs of his *Enquiry*, which appeared in the following month. For a small duodecimo of two hundred pages, it is, beyond doubt, ambitiously labelled. The field was too wide for so brief a survey; and, although the author professed that his sketch was mostly 'taken upon the spot,' it was obvious that he was imperfectly equipped for his task. What he had himself seen he described freshly and forcibly; and what he knew of the conditions of letters in England he depicted with feeling. He might talk largely of the learning of 'Luitprandus' and the 'philological performances' of Constantinus Afer; but what touched him more nearly was the mercantile avidity and sordid standards of the London bookseller, the hungry rancour of the venal writers in his pay, the poverty of the poets, the slow rewards of genius. Perhaps the most interesting features of the *Enquiry* are, primarily, that it is Goldsmith's earliest original work; and, next, that it is wholly free from that empty orotundity, that 'didactic stiffness of wisdom,' which his French models had led him to regard as the crying sin of his English contemporaries. To be 'dull and dronish,' he held, was 'an encroachment on the prerogative of a folio.' 'The most diminutive son of fame, or of famine, has his *we* and his *us*, his *firstlys* and his *secondlys* as methodical as if bound in cowhide, and closed with clasps of brass.' On the whole, the little book was well received, notwithstanding its censure of the two leading *Reviews*, and the fact that the chapter 'Of the Stage,' enforcing, as it did, Ralph's earlier *Case of Authors by Profession*, gave Garrick lasting offence—a circumstance to

¹ These premises were subsequently occupied by Smith, Elder & Co., as *The Cornhill Magazine* printing office, to which Thackeray sent his proofs. (Cf. *Roundabout Paper*, 'De Finibus,' August 1862, at end.)

which may be traced not only some of Goldsmith's later dramatic difficulties, but that popular 'poor Poll' couplet of which the portable directness rather than the truth has done much wrong to Goldsmith's reputation. To be as easily remembered as a limerick is no small help to a malicious epigram.

At this date, beyond a few lines dated 'Edinburgh, 1753,' the instalment of *The Traveller* sent to Henry Goldsmith from Switzerland, and the *Description of an Author's Bedchamber* included in another letter to the same address, little had been heard of Goldsmith's verse, although he had written vaguely of himself as a 'poet.' In the *Enquiry*, however, he published his first metrical effort, a translation of a Latin prologue in that recondite Macrobius with a quotation from whom, after an uncommunicative silence, Johnson electrified the company on his first arrival at Oxford. In the little periodical called *The Bee*, with which Goldsmith followed up the *Enquiry*, he included several rimed contributions. Of these, only one, some 'topical' stanzas, *On the Death of Wolfe*, is absolutely original. But the rest anticipate some of his later excellences—and personal opinions. In the *Elegy on Mrs Mary Blaize*, he laughs at the fashion, set by Gray, of funereal verse, and, in the bright little quatrains entitled *The Gift*, successfully reproduces the levity of Prior. But, what is more, he begins to exhibit his powers as a critic and essayist, to write character sketches in the vein of Addison and Steele, to reveal his abilities as a stage critic and censor of manners. One of the papers, *A City Night-Piece*, still remains a most touching comment on the shame of cities; another, the Lucianic reverie known as *The Fame Machine* (that is, 'coach'), in which Johnson, rejected by Jehu as a passenger for his *Dictionary*, is accepted on the strength of his *Rambler*, may have served to introduce him to the great man who, ever after, loved him with a growling but genuine affection. *The Bee*, though brief-lived, with similar things in *The Busy Body* and *The Lady's Magazine*, also brought him to the notice of some others, who, pecuniarily, were more important than Johnson. Smollett enlisted him for the new venture, *The British Magazine*, and bustling John Newbery of St Paul's churchyard, for a new paper, *The Public Ledger*.

For Smollett, besides a number of minor efforts, Goldsmith wrote two of his best essays, *A Reverie in the Boar's Head Tavern at Eastcheap*, and the semi-autobiographic *Adventures of a Strolling Player*; for Newbery, the *Chinese Letters*, afterwards

collected as *The Citizen of the World*. This production was his first permanent success. With its assumed orientalism, as with what it borrows from Montesquieu or his imitators, we can dispense, although it may be noted that a summary of the vices of the contemporary novel, long supposed to be Goldsmith's own, is a literal transcript of Du Halde. What is most enduring in the correspondence of Lien Chi Altangi is the fuller revelation, already begun in *The Bee*, of Goldsmith as a critic, a humourist and a social historiographer. It is Goldsmith on quacks and connoisseurs, on travellers' tales and funeral pomp, on mad dogs, on letters and the theatre, on such graver themes as the penal laws and public morality, to whom we turn most eagerly now. And of even greater interest than their good sense and good humour, their graphic touches and kindly shrewdness, is the evidence which these passages afford of the coming creator of Dr Primrose and Tony Lumpkin. In the admirable portrait of 'the Man in Black,' with his reluctant benevolence and his Goldsmith family traits, there is a foretaste of some of the attractive peculiarities of the vicar of Wakefield, while, in the picture of the pinched and tarnished little beau, with his parrot chatter about the countess of All-Night and the duke of Piccadilly, set to the forlorn burden of 'Lend me Half-a-Crown,' he adds a character sketch, however lightly touched, to that imperishable and, happily, inalienable gallery which contains the finished full-lengths of Parson Adams and Squire Western, of Matthew Bramble and 'My Uncle Toby.'

The last Chinese letter appeared on 14 August 1761, and, in May of the following year, the collection was issued in two volumes as *The Citizen of the World*, a phrase first used in Letter xx, and, perhaps, suggested by Bacon's *Essays* (no. XIII). At this date, Goldsmith had moved from the Little Old Bailey to 6 Wine Office court, Fleet street, where, on 31 May, he had been visited by Johnson. He had been editing *The Lady's Magazine*, in which appeared the *Memoirs of Voltaire* composed by him for Griffiths. He wrote a pamphlet on the popular imposture, the Cock lane ghost, and he compiled or revised *A History of Mecklenburgh*, the native country of king George III's consort. He published an anecdotal *Life of Richard Nash*, the fantastic old king of Bath, and seven volumes of *Plutarch's Lives*. More important than these activities, however, was the preparation of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, on which, according to Miss Gausson¹, he was engaged as early as June 1761. Internal evidence shows that the book must have

¹ Percy : *Prelate and Poet*, 1908, p. 144.

been written in 1761—2; and it is certain that a third share of it was purchased in October 1762 by Benjamin Collins of Salisbury, who afterwards printed it for Newbery¹. It is to this date that must probably be referred the sale of the MS familiar to Boswell's readers, which, in that case, took place at Wine Office court, where the author would be close to Johnson's chambers in Inner Temple lane, on the opposite side of Fleet street. But, for obscure reasons, *The Vicar* was not issued until four years later, at which date it will be convenient to return to it.

Meanwhile, alternating incessant labour with fitful escapes to 'Bath or Tunbridge to careen,' and occasional residence at Islington, Goldsmith continued in bondage to 'book-building.' In 1764, he became one of the original members of the famous (and still existing) 'Club,' afterwards known as 'The Literary Club,' a proof of the eminence to which he had attained with the *literati*. This brought him at once into relations with Burke, Reynolds, Beauclerk, Langton and others of the Johnson circle. His next important work, *The History of England in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to his Son*, published in June, was, as had no doubt been intended, long attributed to Chesterfield and other patrician pens. Later, too, in the same year, Christopher Smart's *Hannah* moved him to the composition of *The Captivity*, an oratorio never set to music. Then, after the slow growth of months, was issued, on 19 December 1764, another of the efforts for his own hand with which he had diversified his hackwork—the poem entitled *The Traveller; or, a Prospect of Society*.

In a spirit of independence which distinguishes this performance from its author's workaday output, *The Traveller* was dedicated to his brother, Henry Goldsmith, to whom the first sketch had been forwarded from abroad, and who, in Goldsmith's words, 'despising Fame and Fortune, had retired early to Happiness and Obscurity, with an income of forty pounds a year'—the actual value of the curacy of Kilkeny West. The dedication further accentuates that distaste for blank verse which Goldsmith had already manifested in *An Enquiry*, as well as his antipathy, also revealed in *The Citizen of the World*, to the hectoring satires of Churchill; while the general purpose of the poem, anticipated by a passage in the forty-third letter of Lien Chi Altangi, is stated in the final words:

I have endeavoured to show, that there may be equal happiness in states, that are differently governed from our own, that every state has a particular

¹ This matter is discussed more fully in the bibliography.

principle of happiness, and that this principle in each may be carried to a mischievous excess.

Whether these postulates of the 'philosophic Wanderer'—as Johnson would have called him—are unanswerable or not matters little to us now. The poetry has outlived the purpose. What remains in Goldsmith's couplets is the beauty of the descriptive passages, the 'curious' simplicity of the language, the sweetness and finish of the verse. Where, in his immediate predecessors, are we to find the tender charm of such lines as

Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see,
My heart untravell'd fondly turns to thee;
Still to my brother turns with ceaseless pain,
And drags at each remove a lengthening chain.

But me, not destin'd such delights to share,
My prime of life in wand'ring spent and care,
Impell'd, with steps unceasing, to pursue
Some fleeting good, that mocks me with the view;
That, like the circle bounding earth and skies,
Allures from far, yet, as I follow, flies;
My fortune leads to traverse realms alone,
And find no spot of all the world my own.

It is characteristic both of Goldsmith, and of the mosaic of memories which the poetic theories of his day made legitimate, that, even in these few lines, there are happy recollections, and recollections, moreover, that he had already employed in prose.

The Traveller was an immediate and enduring success; and Newbery, so far as can be ascertained, gave Goldsmith £21 for it. Second, third and fourth editions quickly followed until, in 1774, the year of the author's death, a ninth was reached. Johnson, who contributed nine of the lines, declared it to be the best poem since the death of Pope, a verdict which, without disparagement to Goldsmith, may also be accepted as evidence of the great man's lack of sympathy with Gray, whose *Elegy* had appeared in the interval. Perhaps the most marked result of *The Traveller* was to draw attention to 'Oliver Goldsmith, M.B.,' whose name, for the first time, appeared on the title-page of Newbery's thin eighteen-penny quarto. People began to enquire for his earlier works, and thereupon came a volume of *Essays by Mr Goldsmith*, which comprised some of the best of his contributions to *The Bee*, *The Public Ledger* and the rest, together with some fresh specimens of verse, *The Double Transformation* and *A new Simile*. This was in June 1765, after which it seems to have occurred to the joint proprietors of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, that the fitting moment

had then arrived for the production of what they apparently regarded as their bad bargain. The novel was accordingly printed at Salisbury by Collins for Francis Newbery, John Newbery's nephew, and it was published on 27 March 1766, in two duodecimo volumes.

There is no reason for supposing that there were any material alterations in the MS which, in October 1762, had been sold by Johnson. 'Had I made it ever so perfect or correct,' said Goldsmith to Dr Parr (as reported in the *Percy Memoir*), 'I should not have had a shilling more'; and the slight modifications in the second edition prove nothing to the contrary. But it is demonstrable that there was one addition of importance, the ballad *The Hermit or Edwin and Angelina*, which had only been written, in or before 1765, for the amusement of the countess of Northumberland, for whom, in that year, it was privately printed. It was probably added to fill up chapter VIII, where, perhaps, a blank had been left for it, a conjecture which is supported by the fact that other *lacunae* have been suspected. But these purely bibliographical considerations have little relation to the real unity of the book, which seems to follow naturally on the character sketches of *The Citizen of the World*, to the composition of which it succeeded. In *The Citizen*, there is naturally more of the essayist than of the novelist; in *The Vicar*, more of the novelist than of the essayist. But the strong point in each is Goldsmith himself—Goldsmith's own thoughts and Goldsmith's own experiences. Squire Thornhill might have been studied in the pit at Drury lane, and even Mr Burchell conceivably evolved from any record of remarkable eccentrics. But the Primrose family must have come straight from Goldsmith's heart, from his wistful memories of his father and his brother Henry and his kind uncle Contarine and all that half-forgotten family group at Lissoy, who, in the closing words of his first chapter were 'all equally generous, credulous, simple, and inoffensive.' He himself was his own 'Philosophic Vagabond pursuing Novelty, but losing Content,' as does George Primrose in chapter xx. One may smile at the artless inconsistencies of the plot, the lapses of the fable, the presence in the narrative of such makeweights as poetry, tales, political discourses and a sermon; but the author's genius and individuality rise superior to everything, and the little group of the Wakefield family are now veritable 'citizens of the world.' Only when some wholly new form has displaced or dispossessed the English novel will the Doctor and Mrs Primrose, Olivia and Sophia, Moses (with the green

until after the appearance at Drury lane of a vapid sentimental comedy by Kelly called *False Delicacy*, which, under Garrick's clever generalship, had an unmerited success. Six days later, on 29 January 1768, the ill-starred *Good-Natur'd Man* was brought out at Covent garden by a desponding manager, and a (for the most part) depressed cast. Nor did it derive much aid from a ponderous prologue by Johnson. Nevertheless, it was by no means ill received. Shuter made a hit with Croaker, and Woodward was excellent as Lofty, the two most important parts; and though, for a space, a 'genteel' audience could not suffer the 'low' scene of the bailiffs to come between the wind and its nobility, the success of the comedy, albeit incommensurate with its deserts and its author's expectations, was more than respectable. It ran for nine nights, three of which brought him £400; while the sale in book form, with the omitted scene, added £100 more. The worst thing was that it came after *False Delicacy*, instead of before it.

During its composition, Goldsmith had lived much at Islington, having a room in queen Elizabeth's old hunting lodge, Canonbury tower. In town, he had modest lodgings in the Temple. But £500 was too great a temptation; and, accordingly, leasing for three-fourths of that sum a set of rooms in Brick court, he proceeded to furnish them elegantly with Wilton carpets, moreen curtains and Pembroke tables. *Nil te quaesiveris extra*, Johnson had wisely said to him when he once apologised for his mean environment, and it would have been well if he had remembered the monition. But Goldsmith was Goldsmith—*qualis ab incepto*. The new expense meant new needs—and new embarrassments. Hence, we hear of *Roman and English Histories* for Davies and *A History of Animated Nature* for Griffin. The aggregate pay was more than £1500; but, for the writer of a unique novel, an excellent comedy and a deservedly successful poem, it was, assuredly, in his own words, 'to cut blocks with a razor.' All the same, he had not yet entirely lost his delight of life. He could still enjoy country excursions—'shoemakers' holidays' he called them—at Hampstead and Edgware; could still alternate 'The Club' in Gerrard street with the Crown at Islington and, occasionally, find pausing-places of memory and retrospect when, softening toward the home of his boyhood with a sadness made deeper by the death of his brother Henry in May 1768, he planned and perfected a new poem, *The Deserted Village*.

How far Auburn reproduced Lissoy, how far *The Deserted Village* was English or Irish—are surely matters for the seed-splitters of criticism; and decision either way in no wise affects

the enduring beauty of the work. The poem holds us by the humanity of its character pictures, by its delightful rural descriptions, by the tender melancholy of its metrical cadences. Listen to the 'Farewell' (and farewell it practically proved) to poetry :

Farewell, and O, where'er thy voice be tried,
On Torno's cliffs, or Pambamarca's side,
Whether where equinoctial fervours glow,
Or winter wraps the polar world in snow,
Still let thy voice prevailing over Time,
Redress the rigours of th' inclement clime;
Aid slighted Truth, with thy persuasive strain
Teach erring man to spurn the rage of gain;
Teach him, that states of native strength possess,
Though very poor, may still be very blest.

Here, Goldsmith ended, if we may rely on Boswell's attribution to Johnson of the last four lines. They certainly supply a rounded finish¹, and the internal evidence as to their authorship is not very apparent. But, if they are really Johnson's, it is an open question whether the more abrupt termination of Goldsmith, resting, in Dantesque fashion, on the word 'blest,' is not to be preferred.

Report says that Goldsmith's more critical contemporaries ranked *The Deserted Village* below *The Traveller*—a mistake perhaps to be explained by the intelligible, but often unreasoning, prejudice in favour of a first impression. He was certainly paid better for it, if it be true that he received a hundred guineas, which, although five times as much as he got for *The Traveller*, was still not more than Cadell paid six years later for Hannah More's forgotten *Sir Eldred of the Bower*. *The Deserted Village* was published on 26 May 1770, with an affectionate dedication to Reynolds, and ran through five editions in the year of issue. In the July following its appearance, Goldsmith paid a short visit to Paris with his Devonshire friends, Mrs and the Miss Hornecks, the younger of whom he had fitted with the pretty pet name 'the Jessamy Bride,' and who is supposed to have inspired him with more than friendly feelings. On his return, he fell again to the old desk work, a life of Bolingbroke, an abridgment of his *Roman History* and so forth. But he still found time for the exhibition of his more playful gifts, since it must have been about

¹ That trade's proud empire hastes to swift decay,
As ocean sweeps the laboured mole away;
While self-respecting power can Time defy,
As rocks resist the billows and the sky.

this date that, in the form of an epistle to his friend Lord Clare, he threw off that delightful medley of literary recollection and personal experience, the verses known as *The Haunch of Venison*, in which the ease and lightness of Prior are wedded to the best measure of Swift. If the *chef d'œuvre* be really the equal of the *chef d'œuvre*, there is little better in Goldsmith's work than this pleasant *jeu d'esprit*. But he had a yet greater triumph to come, for, by the end of 1771, he had completed his second and more successful comedy, *She Stoops to Conquer*.

At this date, the worries and vexations which had accompanied the production of *The Good-Natur'd Man* had been more or less forgotten by its author; and, as they faded, Goldsmith's old dreams of theatrical distinction returned. The sentimental snake, moreover, was not even scotched; and 'genteel comedy'—that 'mawkish drab of spurious breed,' as the opportunist Garrick came eventually to style it—had still its supporters: witness *The West Indian* of Cumberland, which had just been produced. Falling back on an earlier experience of his youth, the mistaking of squire Featherston's house for an inn, Goldsmith set to work on a new comedy; and, after much rueful wandering in the lanes of Hendon and Edgware, 'studying jests with the most tragical countenance,' Tony Lumpkin and his mother, Mr Hardcastle and his daughter, were gradually brought into being, 'to be tried in the manager's fire.' The ordeal was to the full as severe as before. Colman accepted the play, and then delayed to produce it. His tardiness embarrassed the author so much that, at last, in despair, he transferred the piece to Garrick. But, here, Johnson interposed, and, though he could not induce Colman to believe in it, by the exercise 'of a kind of force,' prevailed on him to bring it out. Finally, after it had been read to 'the Club,' in January 1773, under its first title *The Old House, a New Inn*, and, assisted to some extent by Foote's clever anti-sentimental puppet-show *Piety in Pattens; or, the Handsome Housemaid*, it was produced at Covent garden on 15 March 1773, as *She Stoops to Conquer; or, the Mistakes of a Night*. When on the boards, supported by the suffrages of the author's friends, and enthusiastically welcomed by the public, the play easily triumphed over a caballing manager and a lukewarm company, and, thus, one of the best modern comedies was at once lifted to an eminence from which it has never since been deposed. It brought the author four or five hundred pounds, and would have brought him more by its sale in book form, had he not, in a moment of depression, handed over the copyright to

Newbery, in discharge of a debt. But he inscribed the play to Johnson, in one of those dedications which, more, perhaps, than elsewhere, vindicate his claim to the praise of having touched nothing that he did not adorn.

Unhappily, by this time, his affairs had reached a stage of complication from which little short of a miracle could extricate him; and there is no doubt that his involved circumstances affected his health, as he had already been seriously ill in 1772. During the few months of life that remained to him, he did not publish anything, his hands being full of promised work. His last metrical effort was *Retaliation*, a series of epitaph-epigrams, left unfinished at his death, and prompted by some similar, though greatly inferior, efforts directed against him by Garrick and other friends. In March 1774, the combined effects of work and worry, added to a local disorder, brought on a nervous fever which he aggravated by the unwise use of a patent medicine, James's powder, on which, like many of his contemporaries, he placed too great a reliance. On the 10th, he had dined with Percy at the Turk's Head. Not many days after, when Percy called on him, he was ill. A week later, the sick man just recognised his visitor. On Monday, 4 April, he died; and he was buried on the 9th in the burial ground of the Temple church. Two years subsequently, a memorial was erected to him in Westminster abbey, with a Latin epitaph by Johnson, containing, among other things, the oft-quoted *affectuum potens, at lenis dominator*. An even more suitable farewell is, perhaps, to be found in the simpler 'valediction *cum osculo*' which his rugged old friend inserted in a letter to Langton: 'Let not his frailties be remembered; he was a very great man.'

Goldsmith's physical likeness must be sought between the idealised portrait painted by Reynolds early in 1770, and the semi-grotesque 'head' by Bunbury prefixed to the posthumous issue in 1776 of *The Haunch of Venison*. As to his character, it has suffered a little from the report of those to whom, like Walpole, Garrick, Hawkins and Boswell, his peculiarities were more apparent than his genius; though certain things must be admitted because he admits them himself. Both early and late, he confesses to a trick of blundering, a slow and hesitating utterance, an assumed pomposity which looked like self-importance. He had also a distinct brogue which he cultivated rather than corrected. But as to 'talking like poor Poll,' the dictum requires qualification. It is quite intelligible that, in the dominating presence of Johnson, whose magisterial manner overrode both

Burke and Gibbon, Goldsmith, who was twenty years younger, whose wit reached its flashing point but fitfully, and who was easily disconcerted in argument, should not have appeared at his best, though there were cases when, to use a colloquialism, he 'got home' even on the great man himself—witness the happy observation that Johnson would make the little fishes of fable-land talk like whales. But evidence is not wanting that Goldsmith could converse delightfully in more congenial companies. With respect to certain other imputed shortcomings—the love of fine clothes, for instance—the most charitable explanation is the desire to extenuate physical deficiencies, inseparable from a morbid self-consciousness; while, as regards his extravagance, something should be allowed for the accidents of his education, and for the canker of poverty which had eaten into his early years. And it must be remembered that he would give his last farthing to any plausible applicant, and that he had the kindest heart in the world.

As a literary man, what strikes one most is the individuality—the intellectual detachment of his genius. He is a standing illustration of Boswell's clever contention that the fowls running about the yard are better flavoured than those which are fed in coops. He belonged to no school; he formed none. If, in his verse, we find traces of Addison or Prior, of Lesage or Fielding in his novel, of Farquhar or Cibber in his comedies, those traces are in the pattern and not in the stuff. The stuff is Goldsmith—Goldsmith's philosophy, Goldsmith's heart, Goldsmith's untaught grace, simplicity, sweetness. He was but forty-six when he died; and he was maturing to the last. Whether his productive period had ceased, whether, with a longer span, he would have gone higher—may be doubted. But, notwithstanding a mass of hackwork which his faculty of lucid exposition almost raised to a fine art, he contrived, even in his short-life, to leave behind him some of the most finished didactic poetry in the language; some unsurpassed familiar verse; a series of essays ranking only below Lamb's; a unique and original novel; and a comedy which, besides being readable, is still acted to delighted audiences. He might have lived longer and done less; but at least he did not live long enough to fall below his best.

CHAPTER X

THE LITERARY INFLUENCE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

MACPHERSON'S OSSIAN. CHATTERTON.
PERCY AND THE WARTONS

It is scarcely a paradox to say that the Middle Ages have influenced modern literature more strongly through their architecture than through their poems. Gothic churches and old castles have exerted a medieval literary influence on many authors who have had no close acquaintance with old French and German poets, and not much curiosity about their ideals or their style. Even in writers better qualified by study of medieval literature, like Southey and Scott, it is generally the historical substance of the Middle Ages rather than anything in the imaginative form of old poetry or romance that attracts them. Even William Morris, who is much more affected by the manner of old poetry than Scott, is curiously unmedieval in much of his poetry; there is nothing of the old fashion in the poem *The Defence of Guenevere*, and the old English rhythm of the song in *Sir Peter Harpdon's End* is in striking contrast, almost a discord, with the dramatic blank verse of the piece. Medieval verse has seldom been imitated or revived without the motive of parody, as, for instance, in Swinburne's *Masque of Queen Bersabe*; the great exception is in the adoption of the old ballad measures, from which English poetry was abundantly refreshed through Wordsworth, Scott and Coleridge. And here, also, though the ballad measures live and thrive all through the nineteenth century so naturally that few people think of their debt to Percy's *Reliques*, yet, at the beginning, there is parody in the greatest of all that race, *The Ancient Mariner*—not quite so obvious in the established version as in the first editions (in the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798 and 1800), but still clear enough.

The Middle Ages did much to help literary fancy long before the time of Scott; but the thrill of mystery and wonder came

218 *The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages*

much more from Gothic buildings than from *Morte d'Arthur*, and it is found in writers who had paid little or no attention to old English romance, as well as in those who showed their interest in it. The famous passage in Congreve's *Mourning Bride* is romantic in spirit and intention, and its success is won from a Gothic cathedral, with no intermediary literature. So, also, the romantic ruin in the first version of Collins's *Ode to Evening*, 'whose walls more awful nod,' is pictorial, not literary, except in the conventional 'nod,' which is literary, indeed, but not at all medieval. This 'nod,' by the way, has been carefully studied in *Guesses at Truth*¹; it is a good criterion of the eighteenth century romantic style; Collins, happily, got rid of it, and saved his poem unblemished.

Medieval literary studies undoubtedly encouraged the taste for such romantic effects as are beheld when abbeys or ruined castles are visited by twilight or moonlight; but the literary Gothic terror or wonder could be exercised without any more knowledge of the Middle Ages than Victor Hugo possessed, whose *Notre Dame de Paris* owes hardly anything of its triumph to medieval books. On the other hand, there was much literature of the Middle Ages known and studied in the earlier part of the eighteenth century without any great effect upon the aims or sensibilities of practising men of letters. There seems to have been no such prejudice against medieval literature, as there undoubtedly was, for a long time, against Gothic architecture. 'Black letter' poetry and the books of chivalry were, naturally and rightly, believed to be old-fashioned, but they were not depreciated more emphatically than were the Elizabethans; and, perhaps, the very want of exact historical knowledge concerning the Middle Ages allowed reading men to judge impartially when medieval things came under their notice. Dryden's praise of Chaucer is, altogether and in every particular, far beyond the reach of his age in criticism; but it is not at variance with the common literary judgment of his time, or of Pope's. The principle is quite clear; in dealing with Chaucer, one must allow for his ignorance of true English verse and, of course, for his old English phrasing; but, then, he is to be taken on his merits, for his imagination and his narrative skill, and, so taken, he comes out a better example of sound poetical wit than Ovid himself, and more truly a follower of nature. Pope sees clearly and is not put off by literary prejudices; the theme of *Eloisa to Abelard* is neither better nor worse for dating back to the twelfth century, and he appropriates *The*

¹ Pp. 44 ff. Eversley Series edn. 1897.

Temple of Fame from Chaucer because he finds that its substance is good enough for him. Addison's estimate of *Cherry Chace* is made in nearly the same spirit; only, here something controversial comes in. He shows that the old English ballad has some of the qualities of classical epic; epic virtues are not exclusively Greek and Roman. Yet, curiously, there is an additional moral; the ballad is not used as an alternative to the modern taste for correct writing, but, on the contrary, as a reproof to the metaphysical school, an example of 'the essential and inherent perfection of simplicity of thought.' It is significant that the opposite manner, which is not simple, but broken up into epigram and points of wit, is called 'Gothick' by Addison; the imitators of Cowley are 'Gothick'; the medieval ballad, which many people would have reckoned 'Gothick,' is employed as an example of classical simplicity to refute them. 'Gothick' was so very generally used to denote what is now called 'medieval'—'the Gothick romances,' 'the Gothick mythology of elves and fairies'—that Addison's paradoxical application of the term in those two papers can hardly have been unintentional; it shows, at any rate, that the prejudice against Gothic art did not mislead him in his judgment of old-fashioned poetry. In his more limited measure, he agrees with Dryden and Pope. What is Gothic in date may be classical in spirit.

Medievalism was one of the minor eccentric fashions of the time, noted by Dryden in his reference to his 'old Saxon friends,' and by Pope with his 'mister wight'; but those shadows of 'The Upheaving of Ælfred' were not strong enough, for good or ill, either to make a romantic revival or to provoke a modern curse on paladins and troubadours. Rymer, indeed, who knew more than anyone else about old French and Provençal poetry, was the loudest champion of the unities and classical authority. Medieval studies, including the history of poetry, could be carried on without any particular bearing on modern productive art, with no glimmering of a medievalist romantic school and no threatening of insult or danger to the most precise and scrupulous modern taste. It would seem that the long 'battle of the books,' the debate of ancients and moderns in France and England, had greatly mitigated, if not altogether quenched, the old jealousy of the Middle Ages which is exemplified in Ben Jonson's tirade:

No Knights o' the Sun, nor Amadis de Gauls,
Primaleons, Pantagruels, public nothings,
Abortives of the fabulous dark cloister.

220 *The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages*

This is the old scholarly contempt for the Middle Ages ; it is coming to be out of date in Jonson's time. The books of chivalry recovered some of their favour, as they ceased to be dangerous distractions ; those who laughed at *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* were not ashamed to read *The Seven Champions of Christendom*. There is a pleasant apology for the old romances by Chapelain in France, an author more determined than Ben Jonson in his obedience to literary rules. And it may be supposed that, later, when the extreme modern party had gone so far as to abuse Homer for his irregularities and barbarous want of taste, there would be less inclination among sensible men to find fault with medieval roughness ; cavilling at superfluities in romance might be all very well, but it was too like the scandalous treatment of Homer by Perrault and his party ; those, on the other hand, who stood up for Homer might be the less ready to censure *Amadis of Gaul*. There may be something of this motive in Addison's praise of *Chevy Chase* ; at any rate, he has sense to find the classical excellences where the pedantic moderns would not look for anything of the sort.

Modern literature and the minds of modern readers are so affected by different strains of medieval influence through various 'romantic' schools, through history, travel and the study of languages, that it is difficult to understand the temper of the students who broke into medieval antiquities in the seventeenth century and discovered much poetry by the way, though their chief business was with chronicles and state papers. It is safe to believe that everything which appeals to any reader as peculiarly medieval in the works of Tennyson or Rossetti was not apparent to Hickee or Hearne or Rymer, any more than it was to Leibniz (a great medieval antiquary), or, later, to Muratori, who makes poetry one of his many interests in the course of work resembling Rymer's, though marked by better taste and intelligence. The Middle Ages were studied, sometimes, with a view to modern applications ; but these were generally political or religious, not literary. And, in literary studies, it is long before anything like *Ivanhoe* or anything like *The Defence of Guenevere* is discernible. Before the spell of the grail was heard again, and before the vision of Dante was at all regarded, much had to be learned and many experiments to be made. The first attraction from the Middle Ages, coming as a discovery due to antiquarian research and not by way of tradition, was that of old northern heroic poetry, commonly called Icelandic—'Islandic,' as Percy spells it. Gray,

Temple, The Death-Song of Ragnar Lodbrok 221

when he composed *The Descent of Odin* and *The Fatal Sisters*, drew from sources which had been made known in England in the seventeenth century. These, in their effect on English readers, formed the first example of the literary influence of the Middle Ages, consciously recognised as such, and taken up with antiquarian literary interest.

Of course, the whole of modern literature is full of the Middle Ages; the most disdainful modern classicist owes, in France, his alexandrine verse to the twelfth century and, in England, his heroic verse to a tradition older still. The poet who stands for the perfection of the renaissance in Italy, Ariosto, derives his stanza from the lyric school of Provence, and is indebted for most of his matter to old romances. Through Chaucer and Spenser, through *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, through many chapbooks and through the unprinted living folklore of England, the Middle Ages formed the minds of Dryden and Pope and their contemporaries. But, for a distinct and deliberate notice of something medieval found by study and considered to be available in translation or adaptation, one must go to Sir William Temple's remarks about *The Death-Song of Ragnar Lodbrok*; it is hard to find anything of the same sort earlier. What marks it out is not so much the literary curiosity which selects it, but the literary estimate which judges this ancient northern piece to have a present value. Thereby, Sir William Temple begins the modern sort of literary study which looks for suggestion in old remote and foreign regions, and he sets a precedent for the explorations of various romantic schools, wandering through all the world in search of plots, scenery and local colour.

Here, it may be objected that this kind of exploration was nothing new; that the Middle Ages themselves had collected stories from all the ends of the earth; that Elizabethans range as far as Southey or Victor Hugo; that Racine, too, calculates the effect of what is distant and what is foreign, in his choice of subjects for tragedy, *Iphigénie* or *Bajazet*. What, then, is specially remarkable in the fact that Scandinavian legend was noted as interesting, and that Sir William Temple gave an hour of study to the death-song of Ragnar? The novelty is in the historical motive. *The Death-Song of Ragnar* is intelligible without much historical commentary; anyone can understand the emphatic phrases: 'we smote with swords' (*pugnāvimus ensibus*); 'laughing I die' (*ridens moriar*)—not to speak of the mistranslated lines

222 *The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages*

which represent the heroes in Valhalla drinking ale out of the skulls of their enemies :

*Bibemus cerevisiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum.*

Those things¹ caught men's fancy ; and the honourable, courageous viking was launched to try his fortune in modern romantic literature. But there was the historical interest, besides ; and Temple, in his essay *Of Heroic Virtue*, notices the song of Ragnar because it explains something in the past, and contributes something to the experience of the human race. He takes up 'runic' literature again in his essay *Of Poetry* ; he is working on the same lines as Sidney and attending the progress of poesy from its early life among the barbarians. He vindicates, like Daniel, the right of the Gothic nations to a share in the humanities. And he proves, by particulars, what Sidney and Daniel had left vague ; he exhibits this specimen from a definite tract of country ; and his quotation has a double effect ; it touches those readers who may be looking for a new thrill and fresh sources of amazement ; it touches those also who, besides this craving, are curious about the past ; who are historically minded and who try to understand the various fashions of thought in different ages. Thus, one significance of this quotation from Ragnar's death-song is that it helps to alter the historical view of the world. Historical studies had suffered from the old prevalent opinion (still strong in the eighteenth century, if not later) that all ages of the world are very much alike. *The Death-Song of Ragnar* and other references to the heroic poetry of Norway were like distance marks which brought out the perspective.

Scandinavian suggestions did not lead immediately to any very large results in English poetry or fiction. Macpherson came in later and took their ground ; the profits all went to Ossian. Students of northern antiquities were too conscientious and not daring enough ; Percy's *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry* came out humbly in the wake of Macpherson ; his book is like what the Icelanders, in a favourite contemptuous figure, call 'the little boat towed behind'¹. But the history of Scandinavian studies is worth some notice, though Odin and his friends achieved no such sweeping victories as the heroes of Morven.

Temple's authorities are Scandinavian, not English, scholars ; he conversed at Nimeguen on these subjects with count

¹ 'It would be as vain to deny, as it is perhaps impolitic to mention, that this attempt is owing to the success of the Erse fragments' (*Five Pieces*, 1763, Preface).

Oxenstierna, and he quotes from Olaus Wormius. But northern studies were already flourishing in England by means of the Oxford press, to which Junius had given founts of type from which were printed his Gothic and Old English gospels, and where the founts are still preserved and ready for use. Junius's type was used in printing Hicke's Icelandic grammar, which was afterwards included in the magnificent *Thesaurus Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium*. It was used, also, for E. G.'s (Edmund Gibson's) Oxford edition of *Polemo-Middlinia* and of *Christis Kirk on the Grene* (1691), which was brought out as a philological joke, with no detriment to philological science. Gothic, Icelandic, Old English and the languages of Chaucer and Gawain Douglas are all employed in illustration of these two excellent comic poems, for the benefit of the 'joco-serious Commonwealth' to which the book is dedicated.

Hicke's *Thesaurus* is a great miscellaneous work on the antiquities of all the Teutonic languages. One page in it has now the authority of an original Old English document, for there he printed the heroic lay of *Finnsburh* from a manuscript at Lambeth which is not at present to be found. On the opposite page and immediately following is an Icelandic poem : Hervor at her father Angantyr's grave, calling upon him to give up the magic sword which had been buried with him. This poem is translated into English prose, and it had considerable effect on modern literature. It was thought good enough, and not too learned or recondite, to be reprinted in the new edition of Dryden's *Miscellany*, Part vi, in 1716, Icelandic text and all. It seems to have been an afterthought of the editor, or in compliance with a suggestion from outside which the editor was too idle to refuse—for the piece is printed with Hicke's heading, which refers to the preceding piece (*Finnsburh*) in the *Thesaurus* and compares the Icelandic with the Old English verse—quite unintelligible as it stands, abruptly, in the *Miscellany*¹. But, however it came about, the selection is a good one, and had as much success as is possible to those shadowy ancient things. It is repeated, under the title *The Incantation of Hervor* by Percy, as the first of his *Five Runic Pieces*; and, after this, it became a favourite subject for paraphrase; it did not escape 'Monk' Lewis; and it appears as *L'Épée d'Angantyr* in the *Poèmes barbares* of Leconte de Lisle.

Percy's second piece is *The Dying Ode of Ragnar Lodbrog*. This had not been left unnoticed after Temple's quotation from it. Thomas Warton the elder translated the two stanzas which Temple

¹ Part vi.

224 *The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages*

took from his authority, the *Literatura Runica* of Olaus Wormius; they appeared as 'a Runic Ode' in the posthumous volume of his poems (1748). They counted for something in the education of Thomas the younger and Joseph Warton, together with the architecture of Winchester and Windsor, and the poetry of Spenser and Milton.

It will be observed that Old English poetry had none of this success—very slight success indeed, but still ascertainable—which attended *The Death-Song of Ragnar* and *The Incantation of Hervor*. Perhaps, if Hickes had translated *The Fight at Finnsburh*—but he did not, and so the Icelandic page was taken and the Old English left. Apart from that accident, there was good reason for the greater success of the 'runic' or 'Islandic' poems. They are much more compact and pointed than anything in Old English. The poem of Hervor is an intensely passionate lyrical drama; the song of Ragnar is an emphatic rendering of the heroic spirit of the north; the poem is itself the product of an early romantic movement which had learned the artistic use of heroic phrases, and makes the most of them in a loud metallic way. The literary artifice can be detected now; the difference from the older heroic style is as great as that between Burns and Barbour in their idea of the valiant king Robert and the eloquence of Bannockburn. But this calculated and brassy emphasis all went to establish *The Death-Song* as a remarkable proof of early poetical genius in the north, and a type of northern heroic virtue.

The other three pieces in Percy's volume had less *vogue* than Ragnar and the sword of Angantyr. One is *The Ransome of Egill the Scald*, taken from Olaus Wormius. It had been appreciated already by Temple, who calls the poet by the name of his father, but means Egil when he says 'Scallogrim.' The passage may be quoted; it follows immediately on *The Death-Song of Ragnar*:

I am deceived, if in this sonnet, and a following ode of Scallogrim (which was likewise made by him after he was condemned to die, and deserved his pardon for a reward) there be not a vein truly poetical, and in its kind Pindaric, taking it with the allowance of the different climates, fashions, opinions, and languages of such distant countries.

Unfortunately, the prose history of Egil Skallagrimsson was not printed as yet, and could not be used by Percy. There is a curious neglect of history in Percy's notes on the two poems that follow: *The Funeral Song of Hacon* and *The Complaint of Harold*. The selection of the poems is a good one; but it is clear that, with the editor, the mythological interest is stronger than the

historical. His principal guide is *Introduction à l'histoire du Danemarck* by Chevalier Mallet, as to which we read: 'A translation of this work is in great forwardness, and will shortly be published.' It is curious to see how the connection with the Oxford press and the tradition of Junius and Hickes is still maintained; Percy here (as also in the preface to his *Reliques*) acknowledges the help of Lye, whose edition of the Gothic Gospels was published at Oxford in 1750. The 'Islandic Originals,' added by Percy after his translations, were plainly intended as a reminder to Macpherson that the original Gaelic of *Fingal* was still unpublished. The *Five Pieces*, it should be observed, were issued without Percy's name.

Gray's two translations from the Icelandic¹ are far the finest result of those antiquarian studies, and they help to explain how comparatively small was the influence of the north upon English poetry. How much Gray knew of the language is doubtful; but he certainly knew something, and did not depend entirely on the Latin translations which he found in Bartholinus or Torfæus. He must have caught something of the rhythm, in

*Vindum, vindum
Vef darradar,*

and have appreciated the sharpness and brilliance of certain among the phrases. His *Descent of Odin* and his *Fatal Sisters* are more than a mere exercise in a foreign language, or a record of romantic things discovered in little-known mythologies. The Icelandic poems were more to Gray than they were to any other scholar, because they exactly correspond to his own ideals of poetic style—concise, alert, unmuffled, never drawling or clumsy. Gray must have felt this. It meant that there was nothing more to be done with 'runic' poetry in English. It was all too finished, too classical. No modern artist could hope to improve upon the style of the northern poems; and the subjects of northern mythology, good as they were in themselves, would be difficult and dangerous if clothed in English narrative or dramatic forms. Gray uses what he can, out of his Icelandic studies, by transferring some of the motives and phrases to a British theme, in *The Bard*.

In Hickes's *Thesaurus* may be found many curious specimens of what is now called Middle English: he quotes *Poema Morale*, and he gives in full *The Land of Cockayne*. He discusses versification, and notes in Old English verse a greater regard for quantity than in modern English (giving examples from Cowley of short syllables lengthened and long shortened); while, in

¹ Cf. *ante*, chap. vii, pp. 129 ff.

discussing alliteration, he quotes from modern poets, Donne, Waller, Dryden. It might be said that the promise of the *History of English Poetry* is there; Hickes certainly does much in the ground later occupied by Warton. Gibson's little book may be mentioned again as part of the same work; and it had an effect more immediate than Hickes's 'semi-Saxon' quotations. There was an audience ready for *Christis Kirk on the Grene*, and E. G. ought to be honoured in Scotland as a founder of modern Scottish poetry and one of the ancestors of Burns¹. Allan Ramsay took up the poem, and, thus, E. G.'s new-year diversion (intended, as he says, for the Saturnalia) is related to the whole movement of that age in favour of ballads and popular songs, as well as specially to the new Scottish poetry of Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns.

If Percy's *Reliques* be taken as the chief result of this movement, then we may judge that there were in it two main interests—one, antiquarian; one, simply a liking for poetry, wherever found, with an inclination to find it in the 'silly sooth' of popular rimes. Thus, the search for ballads is only partially and accidentally medieval. But it has a likeness to all 'romantic' schools, in so far as it turns away from fashionable and conventional literature, and it was natural that lovers of ballads should also be fond of old English poetry in general—a combination of tastes well exhibited in the famous folio MS which was used by Percy and now bears his name.

Addison's essays on *Chevy Chace* and *The Children in the Wood* show how ballads were appreciated; and, in the last of these, he notes particularly how the late Lord Dorset 'had a numerous collection of old English ballads and took a particular pleasure in reading them.' Addison proceeds: 'I can affirm the same of Mr Dryden, and know several of the most refined writers of our present age who are of the same humour.' And then he speaks of Molière's thoughts on the subject, as he has expressed them in *Le Misanthrope*. Ballads, it is plain, had an audience ready for them, and they were provided in fair quantity long before Percy. The imitation of them began very early; Lady Wardlaw's *Hardyknute* was published in 1719 as an ancient poem; and again in Ramsay's *Evergreen* (1724).

Between ballads and Scottish songs, which seem to have been welcome everywhere, and ancient 'runic' pieces, which were praised occasionally by amateurs, it would seem as if old

¹ As to the publication of *Christis Kirk* in Watson's *Choice Collection* (1706-11) and Allan Ramsay's addition to the poem, cf. *ante*, vol. ix, pp. 366 and 367.

English poems, earlier than Chaucer, were neglected. But we know from Pope's scheme of a history of English poetry that they were not forgotten, though it was left for Warton to study them more minutely. Pope's liberality of judgment may be surprising to those who take their opinions ready made. He was not specially interested in the Middle Ages, but neither was he intolerant, whatever he might say about monks and 'the long Gothic night.' He never repudiated his debt to Spenser; and, in his praise of Shakespeare, he makes amends to the Middle Ages for anything he had said against them: Shakespeare, he says, is 'an ancient and majestick piece of Gothick architecture compared with a neat modern building.' But, before the mediæval poetry of England could be explored in accordance with the suggestions of Pope's historical scheme, there came the triumph of Ossian, which utterly overwhelmed the poor scrupulous experiments of 'runic' translators, and carried off the greatest men—Goethe, Bonaparte—in a common enthusiasm.

Ossian, like Ragnar Lodbrok, belongs to a time earlier than what is now generally reckoned the Middle Ages; it was not till after Macpherson that the chivalrous Middle Ages—the world of *Ivanhoe* or *The Talisman*, of *Lohengrin* or *Tannhäuser*—came to their own again. There was something in the earlier times which seems to have been more fascinating. But Ossian did not need to concern himself much about his date and origin; there was no serious rivalry to be feared either from *The Descent of Odin* or *The Castle of Otranto*. Only a few vestiges of mediæval literature contributed to the great victory, which was won, not unfairly, by rhythm, imagery and sentiment, historical and local associations helping in various degrees. The author or translator of Ossian won his great success fairly, by unfair means. To call him an impostor is true, but insufficient. When Ossian dethroned Homer in the soul of Werther, the historical and antiquarian fraud of Macpherson had very little to do with it. Werther and Charlotte mingle their tears over the 'Songs of Selma'; it would be an insult to Goethe to suppose that he translated and printed these 'Songs' merely as interesting philological specimens of the ancient life of Scotland, or that he was not really possessed and enchanted by the melancholy winds and the voices of the days of old. Blair's opinion about Ossian is stated in such terms as these:

The description of Fingal's airy hall, in the poem called *Berrathon*, and of the ascent of Malvina into it deserves particular notice, as remarkably noble and magnificent. But above all, the engagement of Fingal with the Spirit of

228 *The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages*

Loda, in *Caric-thura*, cannot be mentioned without admiration. I forbear transcribing the passage, as it must have drawn the attention of every one who has read the works of Ossian. The undaunted courage of Fingal, opposed to all the terrors of the Scandinavian god; the appearance and the speech of the awful spirit; the wound which he receives, and the shriek which he sends forth, 'as rolled into himself, he rose upon the wind,' are full of the most amazing and terrible majesty, that *I know no passage more sublime in the writings of any uninspired author.*

Blair, as a doctor of divinity and professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres, was bound to be careful in his language, and, if it here seems extravagant, it is certainly not careless. His deliberate judgment as to the sublimity of Ossian must be taken as absolutely sincere, and it cannot be sincere if not founded on the text as it stands, if bribed or biassed in any measurable degree by antiquarian considerations. And the praise of Goethe and Blair was honestly won by Macpherson; his imagery, thoughts and sentences are estimated by these critics for the effect upon their minds. What they desire is beauty of imagination, thought and language; these, they find in Ossian, the published Ossian, the book in their hands; if Macpherson wrote it all, then their praise belongs to him. Nothing can alter the fact that sentences were written and published which were good enough to obtain this praise; all Macpherson's craft as a philological impostor would have been nothing without his literary skill. He was original enough, in a peculiar way, to touch and thrill the whole of Europe.

The glamour of Ossian is only very partially to be reckoned among the literary influences of the Middle Ages. It is romantic, in every acceptance of that too significant word. But 'romantic' and 'medieval' are not the same thing. The Middle Ages help the modern romantic authors in many ways, and some of these may be found in Ossian; the vague twilight of Ossian, and the persistent tones of lamentation, are in accordance with many passages of old Scandinavian poetry—of *The Lays of Helgi* and *The Lament of Gudrun*, in the elder *Edda*—with many old ballads, with much of the Arthurian legend. But those very likenesses may prove a warning not to take 'medieval' as meaning the exclusive possession of any of those qualities or modes. If certain fashions of sentiment are found both in the elder *Edda* and in *Morte d'Arthur*, it is probable that they will be found also in ancient Babylon and in the South Sea islands. And, if the scenery and sentiment of Ossian are not peculiarly medieval, though they are undoubtedly romantic, the spell of Ossian, as we

may fitly call it—that is, the phrases and rhythmical cadences—are obviously due to the inspired writings with which Blair, by a simple and wellknown device of rhetoric, was willing to compare them. The language of Ossian is copied from David and Isaiah. It is enough to quote from the passage whose sublimity no uninspired author has outdone—the debate of Fingal and the ‘spirit of dismal Loda’:

‘Dost thou force me from my place?’ replied the hollow voice. ‘The people bend before me. I turn the battle in the field of the brave. I look on the nations and they vanish; my nostrils pour the blast of death. I come abroad on the winds: the tempests are before my face. But my dwelling is calm, above the clouds; the fields of my rest are pleasant.’

Another quotation may be taken from the other place selected by Blair (which, by the way, is close to Werther's last momentous quotation, following on ‘Selma’):

Malvina! where art thou, with thy songs, with the soft sound of thy steps? Son of Alpin, art thou near? where is the daughter of Toscar? ‘I passed, O son of Fingal, by Tor-lutha's mossy walls. The smoke of the hall was ceased. Silence was among the trees of the hill. The voice of the chase was over. I saw the daughters of the bow. I asked about Malvina, but they answered not. They turned their faces away: thin darkness covered their beauty. They were like stars, on a rainy hill, by night, each looking faintly through her mist.’

The last sentence is in a different measure from the rest of the passage. Most of it, and almost the whole of Ossian, is in parallel phrases, resembling Hebrew poetry. This was observed by Malcolm Laing, and is practically acknowledged by Macpherson in the parallel passages which he gives in his notes; his admirers dwelt upon the ‘uninspired’ eloquence which reminded them of the Bible. It sometimes resembles the oriental manner satirised by Goldsmith in *The Citizen of the World*¹: ‘there is nothing like sense in the true Eastern style, where nothing more is required but sublimity.’

But Macpherson did not invent the whole of Ossian out of his own head: he knew a good deal of Gaelic poetry. If he had been more of a Celtic scholar, he might have treated Gaelic songs as Hickes did *The Incantation of Hervor*, printing the text with a prose translation, and not asking for any favour from ‘the reading public.’ But he wished to be popular, and he took the right way to that end—leaving Percy in the cold shade with his *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry* and his philological compilations.

The life of Macpherson has the interest of an ironical fable.

230 *The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages*

Nemesis came upon him with a humorous cruelty ; no detective romance ever worked out a more coherent plot. The end of the story is that Macpherson, long after his first successes, was compelled by the enthusiasm of his supporters to provide them with Gaelic originals. He laboured hard to compose the Gaelic Ossian, when he was weary of the whole affair. He would gladly have been allowed to pass with credit as the original composer of the English Ossian, which was all that he really cared for. But his ingenuity had brought him to this dilemma, that he could not claim what really belonged to him in the invention of Ossian without affronting his generous friends ; and so, twenty years after his triumph, he had to sit down in cold blood and make his ancient Gaelic poetry. He had begun with a piece of literary artifice, a practical joke ; he ended with deliberate forgery, which, the more it succeeded, would leave to him the less of what was really his due for the merits of the English Ossian.

James Macpherson was born in 1736 near Kingussie, the son of a small farmer. He did well at the university of Aberdeen and then, for some time, was schoolmaster in his native parish, Ruthven. His literary tastes and ambitions were keen, and, in 1758, he published a poem, *The Highlander*. About this date, he was made tutor to the son of Graham of Balgowan, and, in 1759, he went to Moffat with his pupil (Thomas Graham, the hero of Barrosa) ; from which occasion the *vogue* of Ossian began. At Moffat, Macpherson met John Home, the author of *Douglas*, who was full of the romantic interest in the Highlands which he passed on to Collins, and which was shared by Thomson. Macpherson really knew something about Gaelic poetry, and particularly the poems of Ossianic tradition which were generally popular in Badenoch. But his own literary taste was too decided to let him be content with what he knew ; he honestly thought that the traditional Gaelic poems were not very good ; he saw the chance for original exercises on Gaelic themes. His acquaintance Home, however, wanted to get at the true Celtic spirit, which, at the same time, ought to agree with what he expected of it. Macpherson supplied him with *The Death of Oscar*, a thoroughly romantic story, resembling in plot Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, but more tragical—it ended in the death of the two rivals and the lady also. This was followed by others, which Home showed to Blair in Edinburgh. In the next year, 1760, appeared *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse language*.

Then, Macpherson went travelling in the Highlands and Western isles, persuaded by 'several people of rank, as well as taste.' The result was the complete epic of *Fingal: an ancient epic poem in six books*, which was published in 1762.

Several gentlemen in the Highlands and isles gave me all the assistance in their power, and it was by their means I was enabled to complete the epic poem. How far it comes up to the rules of the epopoea, is the province of criticism to examine. It is only my business to lay it before the reader, as I have found it.

In the *Fingal* volume was also published among shorter pieces *Temora, an epic poem*: 'little more than the opening' is Macpherson's note. But, in 1763, this poem, too, was completed, in eight books.

The 'advertisement' to *Fingal* states that

there is a design on foot to print the Originals as soon as the translator shall have time to transcribe them for the press; and if this publication shall not take place, copies will then be deposited in one of the public libraries, to prevent so ancient a monument of genius from being lost.

Nevertheless, it is clear that Macpherson, from the first, intended to take no more than was convenient from what he knew of Gaelic verse. He did not wish to translate such poems as captain Hector MacIntyre translated for Mr Jonathan Oldbuck. He did not ask for help from Irish scholars. He spoke slightly of the Irish tales of Finn; the traditional name of Finn MacCowl was not good enough, and Macpherson invented the name Fingal; he insisted that Fingal, Ossian, Oscar and all the poems were not merely Scottish but 'Caledonian'; in the glory of Ossian, the Irish have only by courtesy a share. This glory, in Macpherson's mind, was not romantic like the tales of chivalry, but heroic and political, like the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. He might have been content, and he might have been successful, with the purely romantic elements as he found them in Gaelic poems, whether of Scotland or of Ireland. But his fabrications (like those of Geoffrey of Monmouth) are intended to glorify the history of his native country, and Fingal and Oscar (like king Arthur in *The Brut*) are victorious adversaries of Rome. 'Both nations' (Caledonia and Ireland), says Macpherson, 'were almost the same people in the days of that hero'; but they are not equal; and Fingal the Caledonian hero comes to the relief of Ireland against the king of Lochlin, when Cuchullin the Irish champion has been defeated. Macpherson thus provoked Irish scholars and English sceptics equally, and in such a way that Irish scholars were generally cut off from a hearing in England. Johnson did not care

for them; what he asked for was the original Gaelic of the 'epopoea'; this the Irish Ossianic poems were not, and they were rejected by Macpherson himself. They would have exploded his history, and, with it, his epic scaffolding. Fingal, conqueror of the Romans, and Ossian, rival of Homer, had become necessary to Macpherson's scheme. And, as a literary man, Macpherson was right—amazingly clever in his selections and rejections and in the whole frame of his policy, so far as it was intended to catch the greatest number of readers. Romance is to be found there in its two chief modes—superficial variety of scenes, and the opposite mode of intense feeling. There is also enough to conciliate a severer taste, in the motives of national heroism, and in the poet's conformity with the standards of epic. Thus, all sorts of readers were attracted—lovers of antiquity, lovers of romance, hearts of sensibility and those respectable critics who were not ashamed to follow Milton, Dryden and Pope in their devotion to the epic ideal.

Macpherson's literary talent was considerable, and is not limited to his ancient epic poems. Reference will be made elsewhere¹ to his *History of Great Britain, from the Restoration in 1660 to the Accession of the House of Hannover* (1775). In 1773, he had published a prose translation of the *Iliad*, which was not highly appreciated. But it is interesting as an experiment in rhythm and as an attempt to free Homer from English literary conventions. Macpherson died in 1796, in his native Badenoch, in the house which he had built for himself and named 'Belleville'; he was buried in Westminster abbey, at his own request. A Gaelic text, incomplete, was published from his papers in 1807. Klopstock, Herder and Goethe took this publication seriously and tried to discover in it the laws of Caledonian verse. In 1805, Malcolm Laing brought out an edition of Ossian (and of Macpherson's own poems), in which the debts of Macpherson were exposed, with some exaggeration. Scott's article on Laing in *The Edinburgh Review* (1805) reaches most of the conclusions that have been proved by later critical research.

Percy's *Reliques* were much more closely related to the Middle Ages than Ossian was; they revealed the proper medieval treasures of romance and ballad poetry. They are much nearer than the 'runic' poems to what is commonly reckoned medieval. Percy's ballads are also connected with various other tastes—with the liking for Scottish and Irish music which had led to the publication

¹ Chap. XII, *post*.

of Scottish songs in D'Urfey's collection, in *Old English Ballads* 1723—1727, in Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* and Ramsay's *Tea Table Miscellany*. But, though there was nothing peculiarly medieval in *Fy, let us all to the Bridal* or in *Cowden Knowes*, the taste for such country songs often went with the taste for 'Gothic' romances.

The famous folio MS which Percy secured from Humphrey Pitt of Shifnal had been compiled with no exclusive regard for any one kind. The book when Percy found it was being treated as waste paper and used for fire-lighting. When it was saved from total destruction, it was still treated with small respect; Percy, instead of copying, tore out the ballad of *King Estmere* as copy for the printers, without saving the original pages. But most of the book is preserved; it has been fully edited by Furnivall and Hales, with assistance from Child and Chappell; what Percy took or left is easily discerned. Ritson, the avenger, followed Percy as he followed Warton, and, in the introduction to his *Engleish Romanceës*, displayed some of Percy's methods, and proved how far his versions were from the original. But Percy was avowedly an improver and restorer. His processes are not those of scrupulous philology, but neither are they such as Macpherson favoured. His three volumes contain what they profess in the title-page:

Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and other Pieces of our earlier Poets (chiefly of the Lyric kind). Together with some few of later date.

And there is much greater variety than the title-page offers; to take extreme cases, the *Reliques* include the song against Richard of Almaine and the song on the false traitor Thomas Cromwell, the ballads of *Edom o' Gordon* and *Sir Patrick Spens*, 'Gentle river' from the Spanish, *Old Tom of Bedlam* and *Lilliburlero*, *The Fairies Farewell* by Corbet and *Admiral Hosier's Ghost* by Glover. There are essays on ancient English minstrels, on the metrical romances, on the origin of the English stage, and the metre of *Pierce Plowman's Vision*, covering much of the ground taken later by Warton, and certainly giving a strong impulse to the study of old English poetry. Percy makes a strong and not exaggerated claim for the art of the old poets and, by an analysis of *Libius Disconius*, proves 'their skill in distributing and conducting their fable.' His opinion about early English poetry is worth quoting:

It has happened unluckily, that the antiquaries who have revived the works of our ancient writers have been for the most part men void of taste and genius,

234 *The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages*

and therefore have always fastidiously rejected the old poetical Romances, because founded on fictitious or popular subjects, while they have been careful to grub up every petty fragment of the most dull and insipid rhymist, whose merit it was to deform morality, or obscure true history. Should the public encourage the revival of some of those ancient Epic Songs of Chivalry, they would frequently see the rich ore of an Ariosto or a Tasso, tho' buried it may be among the rubbish and dross of barbarous times.

The public did not discourage this revival, and what Percy wanted was carried out by Ritson, Ellis, Scott and their successors. Perhaps the best thing in Percy's criticism is his distinction between the two classes of ballad; the one incorrect, with a romantic wildness, is in contrast to the later, tamer southern class, which is thus accurately described :

The other sort are written in exacter measure, have a low or subordinate correctness, sometimes bordering on the insipid, yet often well adapted to the pathetic.

As an example, Percy refers to *Gernutus* :

In Venice town not long agoe
A cruel Jew did dwell,
Which lived all on usurie
As Italian writers tell.

The difference here noted by Percy is the principal thing in this branch of learning, and it could hardly be explained in better words.

It was through Percy's *Reliques* that the Middle Ages really came to have an influence in modern poetry, and this was an effect far greater than that of Ossian (which was not medieval) or that of *The Castle of Otranto* (which was not poetical). The *Reliques* did not spread one monotonous sentiment like Ossian, or publish a receipt for romantic machinery. What they did may be found in *The Ancient Mariner*, and is acknowledged by the authors of *Lyrical Ballads* :

Contrast, in this respect, the effect of Macpherson's publication with the *Reliques* of Percy, so unassuming, so modest in their pretensions!—I have already stated how much Germany is indebted to this latter work; and for our own country its poetry has been absolutely redeemed by it. I do not think that there is an able writer in verse of the present day who would not be proud to acknowledge his obligations to the *Reliques*; I know that it is so with my friends; and for myself I am happy on this occasion to make a public avowal of my own (Wordsworth, 1815).

It is strange that there should be so little of *Reliques* in Chatterton. What one misses in the Rowley poems is the irregular verse of the ballads; the freest measures in the Rowley poems are borrowed from Shakespeare; the ballad called the *Bristowe*

Tragedie is in Percy's second class, written with 'a low or subordinate correctness sometimes bordering on the insipid,' e.g.

I greeve to telle, before youre sonne
Does fromme the welkinn flye,
He hath upon his honour sworne,
That thou shalt surelie die.

The real master of Chatterton is Spenser. Chatterton had a perfect command of the heroic line as it was then commonly used in couplets; he preferred the stanza, however, and almost always a stanza with an alexandrine at the end. He had learned much from *The Castle of Indolence*, but he does not remain content with the eighteenth century Spenserians; he goes back to the original. A technical variation of Chatterton's is proof of this: whereas the eighteenth century imitators of *The Faerie Queene* cut their alexandrines at the sixth syllable regularly, Chatterton is not afraid to turn over:

Tell him I scorne to kenne hem from afar,
Botte leave the vyrgyn brydall bedde for bedde of warre.
(*Ælla*, l. 347.)

And cries a guerre and slughornes shake the vaulted heaven.
(*Hastings* 2, l. 190.)

And like to them æternal alwaie stryve to be. (*Ibid.* l. 380.)

In following Spenser, he sometimes agrees with Milton: thus, *Elinoure and Juga* and the *Excelente Balade of Charitie* are in Milton's seven line stanza (rime royal, with the seventh line an alexandrine), thus:

Juga: Systers in sorrowe, on thys daise-ey'd banke,
Where melancholych broods, we wyll lamente;
Be wette wythe mornynge dewe and evene darke;
Lyche levynde okes in eche the odher bente,
Or lyche forlettenn halles of merriemente
Whose gastlie mitches holde the traine of fryghte
Where lethale ravens bark, and owlets wake the nyghte.

Elinoure: No moe the miskynette shall wake the morne
The minstrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie;
No moe the amblynge palfrie and the horne
Shall from the lessel rouze the foxe awaie;
I'll seke the foreste alle the lyve-longe daie;
All nete amonge the gravde chyrche glebe wyll goe,
And to the passante Spryghtes lecture mie tale of woe.

In the *Songe to Ælla*, again, there are measures from Milton's *Ode*:

Orr whare thou kennst fromm farre
The dysmall crye of warre,
Orr seest some mountayne made of corse of sleyme.

236 *The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages*

The poems attributed to Thomas Rowley are Elizabethan, where they are not later, in style; the spelling is freely imitated from the worst fifteenth century practice; the vocabulary is taken largely from Speght's glossary to Chaucer, from Kersey's *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* (1708) and Bailey's *Universal Etymological Dictionary* (1737). Chatterton does not seem to have cared much for Chaucer except as an authority for old words; he studied the glossary, not the text, and does not imitate Chaucer's phrasing. His poetry and his medieval tastes are distinct; his poetry is not medieval, and his medieval fictions (like those of Scott, to a great extent) are derived from admiration of the life and manners, from architecture and heraldry, from the church of St Mary Redcliffe, from the black-letter Bible in which he learned to read, and from the appearance of the old parchments which his father took from Canynge's coffin in the neglected muniment room of the church. His grandfather and great-grandfather had been sextons there, and the church was the ancestral home of his imagination, 'the pride of Brystowe and the Westernne lande.' The child made an imaginary Bristol of the fifteenth century, with personages who were seen moving about in it and distinctly known to him; the childhood of Sordello in Browning's poem is the same sort of life as Chatterton's. As he grew out of childhood and became a poet with a mastery of verse, he still kept up his fictitious world; his phantom company was not dispersed by his new poetical knowledge and skill, but was employed by him to utter his new poetry, although this was almost wholly at variance with the assumed age and habit of Thomas Rowley and his acquaintances. The Rowley poems are not an imitation of fifteenth century English verse; they are new poetry of the eighteenth century, keeping wisely, but not tamely, to the poetical conventions of the time, the tradition of heroic verse—with excursions, like those of Blake, into the poetry of Shakespeare's songs, and one remarkable experiment (noted by Watts-Dunton) in the rhythm of *Christabel*, with likeness to Scott and Byron:

Then each did don in seemlie gear,
What armour eche beseem'd to wear,
And on each sheeldē devices shone
Of wounded hearts and battles won,
All curious and nice echon;
With many a tassild spear.

But this, *The Unknown Knight* (which is not in the early editions of the Rowley poems), is an accident. Chatterton had here for

a moment hit on one kind of verse which was destined to live in the next generation ; but neither in the principal Rowley poems nor in those avowedly his own does he show any sense of what he had found or any wish to use again this new invention.

Thomas Chatterton was born in November 1752, and put to school at Colston's hospital when he was nine ; in 1765, he was apprenticed to a Bristol attorney. In April 1770, his master released him, and he came to London to try his fortune as an author and journalist. He had been a contributor to magazines for some time before he left home, and possessed very great readiness in different kinds of popular writing. He got five guineas for a short comic opera, *The Revenge* (humours of Olympus), and seems to have wanted nothing but time to establish a good practice as a literary man. He does not seem to have made any mistake in judging his own talents ; he could do efficiently the sort of work which he professed. But he had come to a point of bad luck, and his pride and ambition would not allow him to get over the difficulty by begging or sponging ; so he killed himself (24 August 1770).

The nature of his impostures is now fairly well ascertained. They began in his childhood as pure invention and imaginary life ; they turned to schoolboy practical joking (the solemn bookish schoolboy who pretends to a knowledge of magic or Hebrew is a wellknown character) ; then, later, came more elaborate jokes, to impose upon editors—*Saxon Achievements* is irresistible—and, then, the attempt to take in Horace Walpole with *The Ryse of Peyncteyning in Englande writen by T. Rowleie 1469 for Mastre Canynge*, a fraud very properly refused by Walpole. The Rowley poems were written with all those motives mixed ; but of fraud there was clearly less in them than in the document for the history of painting, because the poems are good value, whatever their history may be, whereas the document is only meant to deceive and is otherwise not specially amusing.

Chatterton was slightly influenced by Macpherson, and seems to have decided that the Caledonians were not to have all the profits of heroic melancholy to themselves. He provided translations of Saxon poems :

The loud winds whistled through the sacred grove of Thor ; far over the plains of Denania were the cries of the spirits heard. The howl of Hubba's horrid voice swelled upon every blast, and the shrill shriek of the fair Locabara shot through the midnight sky.

There is some likeness between Macpherson and Chatterton in their acknowledged works : Macpherson, in his poems *The Hunter*

238 *The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages*

and *The Highlander*, has great fluency with the heroic verse, and in prose of different sorts he was a capable writer. The difference is that Chatterton was a poet, with every variety of music, seemingly, at his command, and with a mind that could project itself in a hundred different ways—a true shaping mind. Nothing in Chatterton's life is more wonderful than his impersonality; he does not make poetry out of his pains or sorrows, and, when he is composing verse, he seems to have escaped from himself. His dealing with common romantic scenery and sentiment is shown in the quotation above from *Elinoure and Juga*; he makes a poetical use of melancholy motives, himself untouched, or, at any rate, undeluded.

The Wartons were devoted to the Middle Ages through their appreciation of Gothic architecture. It began with Thomas Warton the elder, who let his sons Joseph and Thomas understand what he himself admired in Windsor and Winchester. But, as with Chatterton, and even with Scott, an admiration of the Middle Ages need not lead to a study of medieval philology, though it did so in the case of Thomas the younger. In literature, a taste for the Middle Ages generally meant, first of all, a taste for Spenser, for Elizabethans—old poetry, but not too old. Thomas Warton the father was made professor of poetry at Oxford in 1718, and deserved it for his praise of the neglected early poems of Milton. It was indirectly from Warton that Pope got his knowledge of *Comus* and *Il Penseroso*. Warton's own poems, published by his son Thomas in 1748, contain some rather amazing borrowings from Milton's volume of 1645; his paraphrase of Temple's quotation from Olaus Wormius has been already mentioned. The younger Thomas had his father's tastes and proved this in his work on Spenser, his edition of Milton's *Poems upon several occasions* and his projected history of Gothic architecture, as well as in his history of English poetry. His life, well written by Richard Mant, is a perfect example of the easy-going university man, such as is also well represented in the famous miscellany which Warton himself edited, *The Oxford Sausage*. Warton was a tutor of Trinity, distinguished even at that time for neglect of his pupils and for a love of ale, tobacco, low company and of going to see a man hanged. His works are numerous¹; his poems in a collected edition were published in 1791, the year after his death. He was professor of poetry 1757 to 1767, Camden professor

¹ See bibliography.

of history from 1785 and poet laureate in the same year. His appointment was celebrated by the *Probationary Odes* attached to *The Rolliad*.

The advertisement to Warton's *Poems* (1791) remarks that the author was 'of the school of Spenser and Milton, rather than that of Pope.' The old English poetry which he studied and described in his history had not much direct influence on his own compositions; the effect of his mediæval researches was not to make him an imitator of the Middle Ages, but to give him a wider range in modern poetry. Study of the Middle Ages implied freedom from many common literary prejudices, and, with Warton, as with Gray and Chatterton and others, the freedom of poetry and of poetical study was the chief thing; metrical romances, Chaucer and Gower, Lydgate and Gawain Douglas, led, usually, not to a revival of mediæval forms, but to a quickening of interest in Spenser and Milton. Nor was the school of Pope renounced or dishonoured in consequence of Warton's 'Gothic' taste; he uses the regular couplet to describe his mediæval studies:

Long have I loved to catch the simple chime
Of minstrel-harps, and spell the fabling rime;
To view the festive rites, the knightly play,
That deck'd heroic Albion's elder day;
To mark the mouldering halls of barons bold,
And the rough castle, cast in giant mould;
With Gothic manners Gothic arts explore
And muse on the magnificence of yore¹.

Thomas Warton's freedom of admiration does not make him disrespectful to the ordinary canons of literary taste; he does not go so far as his brother Joseph. He is a believer in the dignity of general terms, which was disparaged by his brother; this is a fair test of conservative literary opinion in the eighteenth century.

The *History of English Poetry* (in three volumes, 1774, 1778, 1781) was severely criticised; not only, as by Ritson, for inaccuracy, but, even more severely, for incoherence. Scott is merciless on this head:

As for the late laureate, it is well known that he never could follow a clue of any kind. With a head abounding in multifarious lore, and a mind unquestionably imbued with true poetic fire, he wielded that most fatal of all implements to its possessor, a pen so scaturient and unretentive, that we think he must have been often astonished not only at the extent of his lucubrations, but at their total and absolute want of connection with the subject he had assigned to himself².

¹ Verses on Sir Joshua Reynolds's painted window at New College, Oxford: 1782.

² See Scott's art. on Todd's *Spenser*, in *The Edinburgh Review*, 1805.

240 *The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages*

This does not make allowance enough, either for the difficulties of Warton's explorations or for the various purposes of literary history. Warton certainly had no gift for historical construction. But the art of Gibbon is not required for every history, and the history of literature can spare a coherent plan, so long as the historian provides such plenty of samples as Warton always gives. Obviously, in literature, the separate facts may be interesting and intelligible, while the bare facts of political history can but rarely be such. The relation of book to book is not like the relation of one battle to another in the same war, or of one political act to the other events of a king's reign. In literary history, desultory reading and writing need not be senseless or useless; and Warton's work has and retains an interest and value which will outlast many ingenious writings of critics more thoroughly disciplined. Further, his biographer Mant has ground for his opinion (contrary to Scott's) that Warton

can trace the progress of the mind, not merely as exemplified in the confined exertions of an individual, but in a succession of ages, and in the pursuits and acquirements of a people.

There is more reasoning and more coherence in Warton's history than Scott allows.

Joseph Warton did not care for the Middle Ages as his brother did, but he saw more clearly than Thomas how great a poet Dante was; 'perhaps the *Inferno* of Dante is the next composition to the *Iliad*, in point of originality and sublimity¹.' The footnote here ('Milton was particularly fond of this writer' etc.) shows, by its phrasing, how little known Dante was at that time to the English reading public. Though Joseph Warton was not a medievalist like Thomas, he had that appreciation of Spenser and Milton which was the chief sign and accompaniment of medieval studies in England. His judgment of Pope and of modern poetry agrees with the opinion expressed by Hurd in his *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762: six years after the first part of Joseph Warton's *Essay*, eight years after Thomas Warton on *The Faerie Queene*).

What we have gotten by this revolution, you will say, is a great deal of good sense. What we have lost, is a world of fine fabling; the illusion of which is so grateful to the *Charmed Spirit* that in spite of philosophy and fashion *Faery* Spenser still ranks highest among the Poets; I mean with all those who are either come of that house, or have any kindness for it.

Hurd's *Letters* are the best explanation of the critical view which saw the value of romance—'the Gothic fables of chivalry'—without

¹ *Essay on Pope*, sect. v.

any particular knowledge of old French or much curiosity about any poetry older than Ariosto. Not medieval poetry, but medieval customs and sentiments, were interesting; and so Hurd and many others who were tired of the poetry of good sense looked on Ariosto, Tasso and Spenser as the true poets of the medieval heroic age. It should be observed that the age of 'good sense' was not slow to appreciate 'the fairy way of writing'—the phrase is Dryden's, and Addison made it a text for one of his essays on Imagination.

At the same time as Thomas Warton, another Oxford man, Tyrwhitt of Merton, was working at old English poetry. He edited the *Rowley* poems. His *Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer* and his *Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales* ('printed before Mr Warton's book was published') are the complement of Warton's work. Warton is not very careful about prosody; his observations on the stanza of *The Faerie Queene* are dull and inaccurate. Tyrwhitt was interested in the history of verse, as Gray had been, and, from his grammatical knowledge and critical sense, he made out the rule of Chaucer's heroic verse which had escaped notice for nearly 400 years. No other piece of medieval scholarship in England can be compared with Tyrwhitt's in importance. Chaucer was popularly known, but known as an old barbarous author with plenty of good sense and no art of language. The pieces of Chaucer printed at the end of Dryden's *Fables* show what doggerel passed for Chaucer's verse, even with the finest judges, before Tyrwhitt found out the proper music of the line, mainly by getting the value of the *e* mute, partly by attending to the change of accent.

Tyrwhitt is the restorer of Chaucer. Though the genius of Dryden had discovered the classical spirit of Chaucer's imagination, the form of his poetry remained obscure and defaced till Tyrwhitt explained the rule of his heroic line and brought out the beauty of it. The art of the grammarian has seldom been better justified and there are few things in English philology more notable than Tyrwhitt's edition of Chaucer.

CHAPTER XI

LETTER-WRITERS

I

HORACE WALPOLE is generally acknowledged as 'the prince of letter-writers,' and he is certainly entitled to this high literary rank in consideration of the extent and supreme value of his correspondence. Byron styled Walpole's letters 'incomparable,' and all who know them must agree in this high praise. English literature is particularly rich in the number and excellence of its letter-writers; but no other of the class has dealt with so great a variety of subjects as Walpole. His letters were, indeed, the chief work of his life.

As the beauty of the art largely depends on the spontaneity of the writers in the expression of their natural feelings, it would be futile to attempt to decide the relative merits of the great letter-writers in order to award the palm to the foremost or greatest of the class. We should be grateful for the treasures bequeathed to us and refrain from appraising their respective deserts. To weigh the golden words of such gracious spirits as Gray, Cowper or Charles Lamb, in order to decide which of them possesses the highest value, seems a labour unworthy of them all. Sincerity is the primary claim upon our respect and esteem for great writers of letters; and the lack of this rules out the letters of Pope from the place in literature to which they would otherwise be entitled. Now, in spite of the cruel criticism of Macaulay, we have no hesitation in claiming sincerity as a characteristic of Walpole's letters.

Walpole lives now and always will live in public esteem as a great letter-writer; but he was also himself a distinguished figure during his lifetime. Thus, his name attained to a fame which, in later years, has been considerably dimmed, partly by the instability which reflects itself in his writings, and, also, by the virulent censure to which he has been subjected by some critics of

distinction. Macaulay's complete indictment of Horace Walpole as a man has left him with scarcely a rag of character. The charges brought against him are, however, so wholesale that the condemnation may be said to carry with it its own antidote; for it is not a mere caricature, but one almost entirely opposed to truth. To many of these unjust charges, any candid review of Walpole's career in its many aspects, exhibiting him as a man of quality, a brilliant wit, both in conversation and in writing, an author of considerable mark, a connoisseur of distinction and a generous and ready friend, will form a sufficient answer. A fuller reply, however, is required to those accusations which touch his honour and social conduct through life. Macaulay speaks of Walpole's 'faults of head and heart,' of his 'unhealthy and disorganised mind,' of his disguise from the world 'by mask upon mask,' adding that 'whatever was little seemed great to him, and whatever was great seemed to him little.' Now, Walpole placed himself so often at his reader's mercy, and, occasionally, was so perverse in his actions as to make it necessary for those who admire his character to show that, though he had many transparent faults, his life was guided by honourable principles, and that, though not willing to stand forth as a censor of mankind, he could clearly distinguish between the great and little things of life and, when a duty was clear to him, had strength to follow the call. His affectation no one would wish to deny; but, although this is an objectionable quality, it can scarcely be treated as criminal. In fact, Walpole began life with youthful enthusiasm and with an eager love of friends, but soon adopted a shield of fine-gentlemanly pretence, in order to protect his own feelings.

Horatio Walpole was born at the house of his father (Sir Robert Walpole) in Arlington street, on 24 September 1717. After two years of study with a tutor, he went to Eton in April 1727, where he remained until the spring of 1735, when he entered at King's college, Cambridge. He had many fast Etonian friends, and we hear of two small circles—'the triumvirate,' consisting of George and Charles Montagu and Walpole, and 'the quadruple alliance,' namely, Gray, West, Ashton and Walpole¹. He left the university in 1739, and, on 10 March, set off on the grand tour with Gray, of which some account has already been given in this volume². Of the quarrel between them, Walpole took the whole blame upon himself; but, probably, Gray was also at fault. Both kept silence as to the cause, and the only authentic particulars are to be

¹ Cf. chap. vi, p. 117, *ante*.

² Cf. *ibid.* pp. 118—119.

found in Walpole's letter¹ to Mason, who was then writing the life of Gray—a letter which does the greatest credit to Walpole's heart. The friendship was renewed after three years and continued through life; but it was not what it had been at first, though Walpole's appreciation of the genius of Gray was always of the strongest and of the most enthusiastic character.

After Gray left Walpole at Reggio, the latter passed through a serious illness. His life was probably saved by the prompt action of Joseph Spence (who was travelling with Lord Lincoln), in summoning a famous Italian physician who, with the aid of Spence's own attentive nursing, brought the illness to a successful end. Walpole, when convalescent, continued his journey with Lord Lincoln and Spence; but, having been elected member of parliament for Callington in Cornwall at the general election, he left his companions and landed at Dover, 12 September 1741. He changed his seat several times, but continued in parliament until 1768, when he retired from the representation of Lynn. He was observant of his duties, and a regular attendant at long sittings, his descriptions of which are of great interest. On 23 March 1742, he spoke for the first time in the House, against the motion for the appointment of a secret committee on his father. According to his own account, his speech 'was published in the Magazines, but was entirely false, and had not one paragraph of my real speech in it.' On 11 January 1751, he moved the address to the king at the opening of the session; but the most remarkable incident in his parliamentary career was his quarrel, in 1747, with the redoubtable speaker Onslow. More to his credit were his strenuous endeavours to save the life of the unfortunate admiral Byng.

The turning-point of his life was the acquisition of Strawberry hill. The building of the house, the planning of the gardens and the collection of his miscellaneous artistic curiosities soon became of absorbing interest to Walpole. Much might be said of him as a connoisseur; his taste has been strongly condemned; but, although he often made much of what was not of great importance, he gradually collected works of enduring value, and the dispersion of his property in 1842 came to be regarded as a historical event². Judge Hardinge was just when he wrote: 'In his taste for architecture and vertu there were both whims and foppery, but still with fancy and genius³.' The opening of the private press in

¹ 2 March 1778.

² The contents of Strawberry hill realised £38,450. 11s. 9d., and would be valued now at many times that amount.

³ Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii, p. 525.

1757, the *Officina Arbuteana* or the *Elzevirianum*, as he called it, also, gave Walpole, with much additional work, a great deal of pleasure. He was enabled to print his light verses and present them to his distinguished visitors, and could make preparations for the printing of his projected works. Conway called his cousin 'Elzevir Horace.' Walpole was very proud to be able to begin the work of his press by printing two unpublished odes by Gray¹.

Walpole's head was so full of Strawberry hill, and he mentioned it so frequently in his letters, that he sent a particular description to Mann (12 June 1753) with a drawing by Richard Bentley, 'for it is uncomfortable in so intimate a correspondence as ours not to be exactly master of every spot where one another is writing reading or sauntering.' He frequently produced guides to the 'Castle'; but the fullest and final one is the *Description of the Villa* printed in 1784, and illustrated by many interesting plates. Walpole was very generous in allowing visitors to see his house; but these visitors were often very inconsiderate, and broke the rules he made. He wrote to George Montagu (3 September 1763):

My house is full of people and has been so from the instant I breakfasted, and more are coming—in short I keep an inn: the sign 'The Gothic Castle.' Since my gallery was finished I have not been in it a quarter of an hour together; my whole time is passed in giving tickets for seeing it and hiding myself while it is seen.

In December 1791, Horace Walpole succeeded his nephew as earl of Orford. The prodigality, and then the madness, of the third earl forced his uncle to take upon himself the duties of a man of business, in order to keep the estate from dissolution. He had to undertake the management of the family estate, because there was no one else inclined to act. When he had put things into a better state, the earl's sudden return to sanity threw everything into confusion again, as he was surrounded by a gang of sharpers. Horace Walpole developed unexpected business qualities, and,

¹ They were published by Dodsley, out of whose hands the MS was 'snatched' by Walpole, in the presence of Gray. Several works of interest were printed at the press, such as Hentzner's *Journey into England* (a charming little book), *Mémoires de Grammont*, *The Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, etc., and several of Walpole's own works. A bibliography of the Strawberry hill books is given by Austin Dobson as an appendix to his *Horace Walpole, a Memoir*. The output of the press was highly satisfactory, considering that the whole staff consisted of a man and a boy. In a letter to Sir David Dalrymple (23 February 1764), Walpole makes some peevish remarks about his press: 'The plague I have had in every shape with my own printing, engravers, the booksellers, etc., besides my own trouble, have almost discouraged me from what I took up at first as an amusement, but which has produced very little of it.'

according to his own account, was able to reduce the mismanaged estate to order and solvency.

In April 1777, the nephew went mad again ; and, on his recovery, in 1778, the uncle gave up the care of him. He was subjected to continual anxiety during the remainder of his nephew's life ; but he did not again take charge of the estate. When he himself came into the property, there was little left to manage. The picture gallery at Houghton, which Horace greatly loved, was sold to the empress Catharine II of Russia ; and, before Lord Orford died, in December 1791, he had become practically bankrupt. Horace Walpole had thus to take up an earldom which had fallen on evil days. He was not likely, in his old age, to accept with pleasure a title whose credit he could not hope to retrieve. He refused to enter the House of Lords ; but, however much he might wish to do so, he could not relieve himself of the title¹. He died on 2 March 1797, at the house in Berkeley square to which he had moved from Arlington street.

A rapid glance through Walpole's correspondence will soon reveal to us the secret of his life, which explains much for which he has been condemned. The moving principle of his conduct through life was love for, and pride in, his father. It is well, therefore, to insist upon the serious purpose of much of Horace's career, and to call to mind how signally his outlook upon affairs was influenced by the proceedings of his family. He was proud of its antiquity and of its history from the conquest downwards ; but he knew that no man of mark had emerged from it until his father came to do honour to his race ; so, with that father, the pride of his son began and ended. Sir Robert Walpole's enemies were his son's, and those of the family who disgraced their name were obnoxious to him in consequence. In a time of great laxity, Margaret, countess of Orford, wife of the second earl, became specially notorious, and the disgracefulness of her conduct was a constant source of disgust to him. His elder brother Robert, the second earl, was little of a friend, and mention has already been made of the misconduct of his nephew George, the third earl (who succeeded to the title in 1751 and held it for forty years).

¹ There is some misapprehension as to this. Within a few days of the death of his nephew, Walpole subscribed a letter to the duke of Bedford—'The Uncle of the late Earl of Orford'; but he did not refuse to sign himself 'Orford,' although Pinkerton printed in *Walpoliana* a letter dated 26 December 1791, signed 'Hor. Walpole'—but this was an answer to a letter of congratulation from Pinkerton himself on the succession, the advantages of which Walpole denied.

The public came slowly into possession of Walpole's great literary bequest. A series of *Miscellaneous Letters* was published in 1778 as the fifth volume of the collected edition of his *Works*. In 1818, *Letters to George Montagu* followed, and, in subsequent years, other series appeared¹. The first collected edition of *Private Correspondence* was published in 1820, and a fuller edition in 1840. But the reading world had to wait until 1857 for a fairly complete edition of the letters arranged in chronological order. This, edited in nine volumes by Peter Cunningham with valuable notes, held its own as the standard edition, until Mrs Paget Toynbee's largely augmented edition appeared. The supply of Walpole's letters seems to be well-nigh inexhaustible, and a still fuller collection will, probably, appear in its turn.

We have here a body of important material which forms both an autobiography and a full history of sixty years of the eighteenth century. Although the letters contain Walpole's opinions on events as they occurred day by day, he communicated them to his different correspondents from varied points of view. It is a remarkable fact, which proves the orderly and constructive character of the writer's mind, that the entire collection of the letters, ranging over a very long period, forms a well connected whole, with all the appearance of having been systematically planned.

The first letter we possess is to 'My dearest Charles' (C. Lyttelton), and was written when Walpole was fifteen years of age (7 August 1732). In it he says :

I can reflect with great joy on the moments we passed together at Eton, and long to talk 'em over, as I think we could recollect a thousand passages which were something above the common rate of schoolboy's diversions.

In the last known letter from his hand², written to the countess of Upper Ossory, to protest against her showing his 'idle notes' to others, Walpole refers to his fourscore nephews and nieces of various ages, who are brought to him about once a year to stare at him 'as the Methusalem of the family.' He wants no laurels :

I shall be quite content with a sprig of rosemary thrown after me, when the parson of the parish commits my dust to dust. Till then pray Madam accept the resignation of your ancient servant, Orford.

The same spirit runs through the entire correspondence. It constantly displays his affectionate feelings towards his friends and the lightness with which he is able to touch on his own misfortunes. Throughout his life, he was troubled by 'invalidity'; yet he could repudiate any claim to patience, and ask Mann (8 January 1786)

¹ See bibliography.

² 16 January 1797.

if people of easy fortunes cannot bear illness with temper what are the poor to do, who have none of our alleviations? The affluent, I fear, do not consider what a benefit ticket has fallen to their lot, out of millions not so fortunate; yet less do they reflect that chance, not merit, drew the prize out of the wheel.

He suffered from gout throughout his life; but he always made light of the affliction. He told Mason (Christmas day 1779) that he had had a relapse, though a slight one, and 'called it only a codicil to my gout. Mr Gibbon said "very well; but I fancy it is not in consequence of your *will*."' There was no mistake about the reality of his attacks; for chalk-stones were continually breaking out from his fingers, and he told Lady Ossory that, if he could not wait upon her, he hoped she would have the charity 'to come and visit the chalk-pits in Berkeley Square.'

Walpole studied letter-writing as an art and understood its distinctive features. There is no violent change in his style from beginning to end of his correspondence; but a gradual growth may be observed in his artistic treatment of his matter. He could criticise other letter-writers with judgment and good taste; but there was one, above all, who was only to be worshipped, and that was Madame de Sévigné. He tells Richard Bentley¹ that

My Lady Hervey has made me most happy by bringing me from Paris an admirable copy of the very portrait [of Mme de Sévigné] that was Madame de Simiane's [her granddaughter]. I am going to build an altar for it, under the title of *Notre Dame des Rochers*!

Walpole addresses the same Lady Hervey from Paris (8 October 1765) to the effect that he had called upon Madame Chabot.

She was not at home, but the Hotel de Carnavalet was; and I stopped on purpose to say an *Ave Maria* before it. It is a very singular building, not at all in the French style, and looks like an *ex voto* raised to her honour by some of her votaries [Mme de Sévigné's]. I don't think her honoured half enough in her own country².

Mrs Toynbee's edition contains a total of three thousand and sixty-one letters, addressed by Walpole to one hundred and sixty

¹ 24 December 1754.

² This interesting old house is now well known as the home of the Carnavalet museum. Eleven years after this, Madame Du Deffand teased Walpole by sending him a snuffbox with a portrait of Mme de Sévigné copied from one he greatly admired. This was sent with a letter signed 'Rabutin de Sévigné' and beginning thus: '*Je connois votre folle passion pour moi; votre enthousiasme pour mes lettres, votre vénération pour les lieux que j'ai habités.*' In acknowledging the gift from judge Hardinge of four drawings of the *château de Grignan*, in a letter dated 4 July 1779, Walpole wrote: 'I own that Grignan is grander, and in a much finer situation than I had imagined; as I concluded the witchery of Madame de Sévigné's ideas and style had spread the same leaf-gold over places with which she gilded her friends.' (See Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii, p. 536.)

correspondents, many of them men and women of mark. The number of letters to some of these personages are very few, but among them are seven, to each of whom over one hundred letters were written by him. Sir Horace Mann heads the list with 820, then comes the countess of Upper Ossory with 400. The other five have smaller numbers, as George Montagu 263, William Mason 217, William Cole 180, Henry Conway 179 and Mary Berry 159. The lifelong correspondence with Mann exhibits a unique instance of friendship, maintained without personal intercourse for forty-five years. Walpole might well say to his friend (4 December 1785), 'You and I have long out-friendshipped Orestes and Pylades.'

Mann was an early friend of Walpole, and his appointment in 1737 as assistant to Charles Fane (afterwards second viscount Fane), envoy extraordinary at the court of Florence, by Sir Robert Walpole, was entirely owing to this intimacy. In 1740, Mann became Fane's successor, and Walpole visited him at Florence in the same year. After returning to England in September 1741, Walpole never saw his friend again. Mann never left Italy, although, in 1755, he succeeded his elder brother in the possession of the family estate at Linton, Kent. His chief duties were to look after the two 'pretenders' and to entertain distinguished English travellers in Italy. He was kept informed by Walpole of all that was going on in England, and he returned the favour by writing continuously in reply, though, it must be said, giving Walpole lead in return for his gold¹. It should, however, not be overlooked, that, when writing to Mann and other friends abroad, Walpole always feared the opening of his letters at the post office. He complains to the earl of Hertford²:

As my letters are seldom proper for the post now I begin them at any time, and am forced to trust to chance for a conveyance. This difficulty renders my news very stale.

Walpole, writing to Lady Ossory³, praised women as far better letter-writers than men. When he wrote 'I could lay down as an infallible truth in the words of my god-father, *Pennis non homini datis*, the English of which is, "It was not given to *man* to write letters,"' it is just possible that it occurred to him how the dictum might apply to his friend Mann. Some of Walpole's best letters

¹ Peter Cunningham described Mann's letters as 'utterly unreadable.' A selection of them was published by Doran in 1876, under the irritating title *Mann and Manners at the Court of Florence*.

² 8 August 1764.

³ Christmas day 1773.

were addressed to his frequent correspondent Lady Ossory. Mary Berry would have stood higher in the numerical list; but Walpole did not become intimate with her and her father and sister until late in his life (in the winter of 1788). Madame Du Deffand's letters to Walpole were first printed by Miss Berry and afterwards reprinted in Paris¹. A complete edition of these letters, edited by the late Mrs Toynbee, was published in 1912. Walpole's letters to Madame Du Deffand were burnt at his particular request. It is supposed that he did not wish them to be published, lest his French should be criticised. He wrote to Mason²: 'Mme Du Deffand has told me that I speak French worse than any Englishman she knows.' A little too much has been made of Walpole's gallicisms, although there certainly is a remarkable one in the preface to *Historic Doubts on Richard III*:

It is almost a question whether if the dead of past ages could revive, they would be able to *reconnoitre*³ the events of their own times as transmitted to us.

Thomas Pitt, first Lord Camelford (nephew of the great Chatham), writing to judge Hardinge in 1789, refers to the translation of Walpole's *Essay on Gardening* by the duc de Nivernais:

I shall be glad to see the work of M. de Nivernois, if it answers at all to the specimens you have sent me. The truth is that, as Mr Horace Walpole always thinks in French he ought never to write in English; and I dare be sworn Nivernois' translation will appear the more original work of the two⁴.

Did Hannah More venture to 'chaff' Walpole when she sent him anonymously a clever letter dated 'Alamode Castle, June 20, 1840' and headed it 'A Specimen of the English language, as it will be written and spoken in the next century. In a letter from a lady to her friend in the reign of George V'? Walpole acknowledged this letter (5 April 1785) with cordiality and much praise, to show that 'his withers were unwrung.' Walpole expressed to Lady Ossory (Christmas day 1781) his opinion that 'Letters ought to be nothing but extempore conversation upon paper,' and, doubtless, his conversation was much like his letters, and as excellent. His wit was ready and brilliant in both forms of communication. He was himself proud of the witty apophthegm which he seems to have first imparted to Mann by word of mouth:

Recollect what I have said to you, that this world is a comedy to those who think, a tragedy to those who feel. This is the quintessence of all I have learnt in fifty years⁵!

¹ See bibliography.

² 5 July 1773.

³ This use of the word 'reconnoitre' in English was quite obsolete in Walpole's day.

⁴ Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, vol. vii, p. 118.

⁵ 5 March 1772.

At any rate, the saying has found its way into books of familiar quotations.

Numerous instances might be given of the value of the letters in illustration of history; but, in spite of the popular notion as to the frivolity of a large part of their contents, it may safely be said that matters of moment are dealt with throughout the series, and sidelights are to be found on every page. There is, first, the Jacobite rising of 1745. Then, we have the trials of the Jacobites, and, for a time, there is peace, broken by the excitement of Wilkes's publication of *The North Briton* and subsequent riots. Walpole was attacked in no. 2 of *The North Briton*; and Wilkes was annoyed that he did not seem to mind the attack. In a letter to Mann¹, Walpole laments the state of the nation, and, after giving instances of the grievous increase of gambling, he writes 'We are not a great age, but surely we are tending to some great revolution.' The American war was the next great event to supply Walpole with material for invective and complaints of bad government. At the end of his life came the great convulsion of the French revolution and, in September 1789, he congratulated Hannah More on the demolition of the Bastille, the reform of which he related fourteen years before². The enormities of the revolutionaries changed his political views, as they did those of the majority of Englishmen, and he welcomed with enthusiasm Burke's *Reflections*. He said that it painted the queen 'exactly as she appeared to me the first time I saw her when Dauphiness³'.

Many of Walpole's anecdotes are valuable as illustrations of the manners of the time and contain information not to be found elsewhere; but the chief interest of his correspondence remains autobiographical. The first hundred pages of Mrs Toynbee's edition contain letters, from 1732 to 1741, to Charles Lyttelton, Gray, West, George Montagu, Thomas Aslton and Henry Conway, for the most part written during Walpole's travels. The first letter to Mann was written on 11 September 1741. From this time, the complete autobiography may be said to begin, and it continues to the end. Walpole wrote an interesting advertisement prefixed to the *Letters to Mann*, explaining his reasons for preserving them, which is too long to quote here, but will be found in a note to the first letter. For the incidents of his early life we must search

¹ 4 February 1770.

² 25 October 1775.

³ See, also, his anecdote of Marie-Antoinette as queen, in his letter to Mary Berry, 8 July 1790.

elsewhere, and he has left us the main particulars in the *Short Notes of My Life*.

Walpole's character may be easily understood by anyone who studies his correspondence. In early life, he was not very different from a large number of the highbred men of the eighteenth century who took pride in their social position, for it is necessary to remember that there were two classes of men in the English society of this age—the jovial and the coarse, and the reserved and refined. Sir Robert Walpole belonged to the former, and his son Horace to the latter. Horace was never very young, and his father said of himself that he was the younger of the two. Horace adds¹: 'Indeed I think so in spite of his forty years more.' The son began life with a character for frankness and enthusiasm; but, as he grew into the cynical man of the world, he became colder in manner to mere acquaintances, reserving his true self only for his bosom friends. He cultivated an extreme fastidiousness and severe refinement, which caused him to exhibit a distaste for a robust humour that he considered vulgar. This powerful prejudice caused him to propound much absurd criticism. He could not admire Fielding because he kept 'low company,' and condemned the 'vulgarity of his character.' For the beautiful and pathetic *Voyage to Lisbon* he could find no praise, and he refers to 'Fielding's Travels or rather an account of how his dropsy was treated,' and how he was teased by an innkeeper's wife in the Isle of Wight². He could not appreciate the genius of Richardson and refers to

those tedious lamentations—*Clarissa*, and *Sir Charles Grandison*, which are pictures of high life as conceived by a bookseller, and romances as they would be spiritualised by a Methodist preacher³.

Sterne was no more fortunate in obtaining the good opinion of Walpole, who writes to Henry Zouch:

The second and third volumes of *Tristram Shandy*, the dregs of nonsense, have universally met the contempt they deserve: genius may be exhausted;—I see that folly's invention may be so too⁴.

He could appreciate Johnson's great qualities; but he was repelled by his roughness. He said wittily:

Johnson made the most brutal speeches to living persons, for though he was goodnatured at bottom he was very ill-natured at top.

In considering Walpole's affected remarks on his own literary character, we should bear in mind the expressed opinions of so

¹ 22 January 1742.

² 20 December 1760.

³ 27 March 1755.

⁴ 7 March 1761.

aristocratic an author as Byron, at a much later date. Walpole thought it would disgrace him to be known as a learned author, although, in his heart, he was proud of his books. He discloses his true character with a fine instinct more frequently when writing to Mann than to any other correspondent. At a quite early date, he takes Mann to task for over-estimating his abilities.

I must answer for your brother a paragraph that he showed me in one of your letters 'Mr W.'s letters are full of wit; don't they adore them in England?' 'Not at all—and I don't wonder at them; for if I have any wit in my letters, which I do not at all take for granted, it is ten to one I have none out of my letters.... Then as to adoring; you now see only my letters, and you may be sure I take care not to write you word of any of my bad qualities, which other people must see in the gross; and that may be a great hindrance to their adoration. Oh! there are a thousand other reasons I could give you, why I am not the least in fashion. I came over in an ill season: it is a million to one that nobody thinks a declining old minister's son has wit. At any time men in opposition have always most; but now it would be absurd for a courtier to have even common sense¹.

The history of the growth of Walpole's works is fully detailed in the *Correspondence*; and, apparently, nearly all his books were written at high pressure. He particularly notes how long a time was occupied in their production. He was a dabbler in literature from his early life. He wrote, in 1742, a sermon on painting for the amusement of his father, which was afterwards published in *Ædes Walpolianæ*, and he was continually writing occasional verses, a practice in which he persevered when he possessed a private printing-press. It was not, however, until 1753 that he may be said to have begun his literary career with the writing of some clever papers in *The World*, a periodical written by men of fashion for men of fashion. His first substantive work was *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England*, printed at the Strawberry hill press in 1758. It is of no great value as a bibliography, but, dealing as it does with a distinctive subject, is of occasional use as well as of some interest. The next work, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, also printed at the Strawberry hill press, in 1762, is the only one of Walpole's works which has really held its position. It was reprinted several times by its author and twice reedited. The publication originated in the purchase of Vertue's valuable collections from his widow in 1756. Walpole, ten years before, had visited Vertue with the purpose of learning something about the MSS, of the existence of which he had previously heard. Vertue's notes, which are now preserved at the British museum, are disjointed and difficult to

¹ 7 January 1742.

decipher, and, therefore, it was much to Walpole's credit that he was able to produce from them a useful book, which has been constantly reprinted. Unfortunately, although a competent connoisseur, he had not sufficient knowledge to enable him to write a satisfactory history of painting, and his editors had not sufficient courage to correct his errors at all thoroughly, for he had a wonderful craze respecting the historical value of some old pictures which he had bought and incorrectly described in his *Anecdotes*¹. It can hardly be doubted that the existence of Walpole's book has prevented the publication of a complete and trustworthy history of English painting.

Walpole's next works were *The Castle of Otranto* (1764—5) and *The Mysterious Mother* (1768). Byron affirmed that Walpole was 'the father of the first romance and the last tragedy in our language,' and he praised highly both romance and tragedy; but very few modern readers are likely to agree with him. *The Castle of Otranto* was originally published as a translation from an Italian original which appeared at Naples in 1529; but, when success was assured, it was acknowledged by its author. Of this story, which has become a sort of a classic of English literature, though few now care to read it, some account has been given in an earlier chapter². *The Mysterious Mother* was printed at Strawberry hill in 1768; and, although Walpole perceived the unfitness for the stage of a tragedy with so repulsive a subject, he seems to have cherished a lingering hope of its production there, as he wrote an epilogue to it for Mrs Clive to speak. In reading the play we see that the slowness of the action was of itself sufficient to exclude it from performance; for, even an eighteenth century audience could not be expected to sit out four acts of the ravings of a woman the cause of whose remorse and agony is not disclosed until the end of the fifth act. Fanny Burney, being on friendly terms with Walpole, was anxious to read the play; but, after reading it, she 'felt a sort of indignant aversion rise' in her mind 'against the wilful author of a story so horrible; all the entertainment and pleasure I had received from Mr Walpole seemed extinguished.' Fanny's friend Mr Turbulent (Guiffardière) said: 'Mr Walpole has chosen a plan of which nothing can equal the abomination but the absurdity.'

Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III,

¹ Cf., for instance, his self-delusion as to his 'suit of the house of Lancaster,' long since corrected by Sir George Scharf.

² See chap. III, pp. 60—61, *ante*.

Walpole on his Literary Work. Chesterfield 255

written about the same time as *The Mysterious Mother*, offers a good example of Walpole's literary work. He chose an interesting subject and treated it with spirit. He was not, however, prepared to undertake the necessary research, and thus laid himself open to much severe criticism¹. As two of his chief opponents were Milles, president, and Masters, a fellow, of the Society of Antiquaries, he resigned his fellowship of the society and swore hostility to most antiquaries, although a few, such as Cole and Gough, retained his favour. * He never forgave his critics; but he had succumbed to their censures after a short fight.

Walpole's own feelings respecting his literary productions were very mixed. He wrote to Lady Ossory (15 September 1787):

I have several reasons for lamenting daily that I ever was author or editor.... Were I to recommence my life, and thought as I do now I do not believe that any consideration could induce me to be an author.... It is pride not humility, that is the source of my present sentiments. I have a great contempt for middling authors. We have not only betrayed want of genius but want of judgement.

These confessions have been treated as untrue, and as an affected condemnation of his writings. But this is unjust. He valued them as containing his own opinions, well expressed, on subjects which required elucidation; but he knew that they were not sound enough to bear learned criticism—and he quite sincerely repudiated his possession of special learning.

From Horace Walpole's we pass to some other names of renown in the form of literature in which he excelled.

Philip, fourth earl of Chesterfield, was one of the foremost English statesmen of his age; but he was so unlike an ordinary Englishman that his character has been much misunderstood by his countrymen. He thoroughly appreciated the French, and was appreciated by them in return. Sainte-Beuve considers him to have united the good qualities of the two nations, and he describes the *Letters to his Son* as a rich book, which, in spite of some objectionable passages, contains not a page without some happy observation worthy of being kept in remembrance. In any case, Chesterfield must be considered a unique personality. He was particularly unfortunate in his relations with Johnson, who was certainly not fair to him; and the cruel caricature in *Barnaby Rudge* of him as Sir John Chester, described as 'an elegant and polite, but heartless and unprincipled gentleman,' must have seriously

¹ Cf. as to this essay chap. XII, post.

injured his fame among many of those unacquainted with history. He was not unprincipled or heartless, and selfishness was by no means a marked feature of his character. His shining mental qualities were universally acknowledged, and he was accepted as a shrewd man of the world, with engaging manners; but we can learn something more than this about him from his letters.

Of Chesterfield's abilities as a statesman, his country did not obtain the full benefit, largely in consequence of court intrigues; for, though the ablest statesman of his time, after Walpole (if Pitt be left out), he was persistently set aside. His time came when he was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1745. He held office for less than a year, but proved his power of governing in a dangerous time, by the measures which he took to prevent disturbances. He gained the gratitude of the people, and the memory of his rule during a critical period remained fresh for more than a century. He retained his interest in Ireland, and always considered the Irish as his countrymen, because he had ruled over them. He withdrew from public life, partly on account of ill health; and, in 1752, his deafness had become very serious. In 1757, he emerged from his retirement in order to effect a reconciliation between the duke of Newcastle and Pitt.

Chesterfield has the reputation of eloquence; but his was not unstudied. Horace Walpole denied that Chesterfield was an orator, because his speeches were written; yet, in a letter to Mann (15 December 1743), he declared that 'the finest oration [he] ever did hear' was one from Chesterfield—and this was delivered against Sir Robert Walpole. Chesterfield's wit, like his speeches, was, to a certain extent, prepared; but it was the kind of wit which is the most agreeable form of wisdom.

Although he had many enemies, he had a genius for friendship. His greatest friend was Richard, second earl of Scarborough, whose character he drew—a man held in so high a general esteem that Chesterfield declares:

He was the best man I ever knew, the dearest friend I ever had.... We lived in intimate and unreserved friendship for twenty years, and to that I owe much more than my pride will let my gratitude own.

On Scarborough's melancholy death, Chesterfield wrote to his protégé Dr Chenevix¹: 'We have both lost a good friend in Scarborough; nobody can replace him to me; I wish I could replace

¹ 18 February 1740.

him to you; but as things stand I see no great hopes of it.' Chesterfield appointed Chenevix to the first Irish bishopric in his gift (Killaloe) and, shortly afterwards, translated him to Waterford. He retained the bishop as a lifelong friend, and in the printed correspondence there are many bright letters to him which are full of kindly feeling, and to which he subscribed himself 'with the greatest truth and affection.' Another lifelong friend was the diplomatist Solomon Dayrolles, a godson of Chesterfield, whose letters to him are of an intimate character and full of the most natural feelings, expressed in an altogether charming manner. The name of Dayrolles will always be associated with that of Chesterfield, because of the dying statesman's considerate order, 'Give Dayrolles a chair.' Many other interesting letters are to be found in the correspondence, such as those to the Dublin bookseller, alderman Faulkener, whose friendship Chesterfield secured when in Ireland and retained through life; and Lady Suffolk, a much esteemed friend. This general correspondence is extremely interesting, and the letters it contains are models of what letters should be—natural, kindly and witty.

But Chesterfield's fame as a letter-writer must rest on his *Letters to his Son* and those to his *Godson*. His devotion to these two young men is a very remarkable indication of his true character. From 1737 (when his age was forty-three years) to the year of his death, it became little less than an obsession. He began writing letters of advice to his illegitimate son Philip Stanhope when the child was only five years old. When he had reached twenty-five, another Philip Stanhope (of Mansfield Woodhouse) was born. This was Chesterfield's godson and successor, whose education he undertook, and to whom he began to write educational letters when he was four years old. He, doubtless, was led to undertake these letters by the recollection of the neglect he had experienced from his own father, and his sense of its consequences.

When sitting in judgment on Chesterfield's letters to his son, we should not omit to remember that they were never intended for any eye but that of the receiver. He wrote (21 January 1751):

You and I must now write to each other as friends and without the least reserve; there will for the future be a thousand things in my letters which I would not have any mortal living but yourself see or know.

The *Letters* are written in English, Latin and French, and contain a large amount of valuable information on history, geography, and so forth, put in an easy and convenient form for the pupil. Philip Stanhope was censured for bad writing and bad spelling

and for inattention. His father told him that nothing was too small for attentive consideration and that concentrated attention on one subject at a time was of paramount importance: 'There is time enough for everything in the course of the day if you do one thing at once, but there is not time enough in the year if you will do two things at once.'

Honour and morality, the need of which is strongly urged in the *Letters*, do not include sexual morality: the writer recommends his son to seek intimate association with married women of fashion, in order to improve his manners, which, by nature, were somewhat boorish. The general principles of good breeding continually urged in the *Letters* have been strangely misunderstood. The object of life is to be pleased, and, in order to attain this, we must please others; but it is quite evident that more than surface pleasing is here intended. Both respect for the feelings of others and sympathy with them are enjoined. The young man is told 'never to be ashamed of doing what is right,' but to use his own judgment instead of blindly following others in what the fashionable world considers to be pleasure. Such is a sample of Chesterfield's wise saws, many of which have become familiar quotations, and which show his recollection of his own bitterly repented mistakes in early life. When Philip Stanhope went out into the world and his early education was completed, his father continued to send him letters of advice; but, in 1768, the young man died, and the father learned that he had been married and had two sons. Chesterfield received this unexpected news with composure, and wrote kindly to the widow, Eugenia Stanhope, saying that he would undertake all the expenses connected with the bringing up of her boys. He did not remove them from her care, but took much interest in them, and became attached to them, observing their different characters and advising as to them.

Chesterfield's literary fame rests upon his *Letters to his Son*, which were never intended for publication; but it has been augmented by his *Letters to his Godson*, which, also, were not intended to see the light of publicity. Fourteen of the letters on the art of pleasing, or, as the writer entitled them, 'The Duty, Utility and Means of Pleasing,' were first published in 1774 in four numbers of *The Edinburgh Magazine and Review*. In 1776, they were added to a Dublin edition of *Letters to his Son*, and were incorrectly described as written to the son—instead of to the godson. In 1778, they were reproduced as a supplement to

Maty's Memoirs of Lord Chesterfield. The complete series of *Chesterfield's Letters to his Godson* was not printed until 1890, when it was edited by the fourth earl of Carnarvon. Lord Carnarvon, by means of the charming *Life* which he prefixed to the *Letters*, placed Chesterfield's good name on a more substantial basis than that upon which it had hitherto rested.

These *Letters* follow very much the plan of their predecessors. They are sometimes in English, and more often in French. They contain the same form of instruction and anecdote, are written with the same mixture of wit and wisdom, and breathe the same affectionate interest of the writer in the doings of his correspondent. One of the letters may be specially mentioned, since it inculcates the spirit of two commandments, on which, according to the highest authority, 'hang all the law and the prophets.' Chesterfield writes :

I must from time to time remind you of two much more important dutys, which I hope you will never forget nor neglect. I mean your duty to God and your duty to Man.... Your duty to Man is very short and clear, it is only to do to him whatever you would be willing that he should do to you. And remember in all the business of your life to ask your conscience this question *Should I be willing that this should be done to me?* If your conscience which will always tell you truth answer No, do not do that thing.

Chesterfield took immense pains to show his two pupils how to live; and it evidently gave him great pleasure to watch over them, and to express to each of them his satisfaction in their progress. He must, however, have suffered disappointment when he found that, in point of manners, neither of them did justice to his intentions. His son, we learn from others, was 'loutish,' and Fanny Burney says of his godson that 'with much share of humour, and of good humour also, [he] has as little good breeding as any man I ever met with.'

Fanny Burney bore two surnames in succession; but her maiden name is that by which all true lovers know her, because it was when she had no right to any but this that she wrote and gained her fame. She may be Madame d'Arblay on certain formal occasions; but the author of *Evelina* is far too English for a foreign name to sit easy upon her¹. The pictures of important events and the intimate records of Fanny's distinguished friends in her diaries and letters place these writings on a very high plane, entitling them to rank as reproductions of eighteenth century life not very far below the volumes of Walpole and Boswell. She relates all she saw and did with so

¹ As to Fanny Burney as a novelist, see chap. III, pp. 63 ff. *ante*.

much spirit and vivacity, filling in the blanks of other writers, that the reading of the various incidents is an inexhaustible pleasure. It may, indeed, be said that she discloses the inner life of three different worlds. In her *Early Diary* (1768—78), edited by Mrs Ellis (1889), the doings of her family are fully displayed, and the professional world of Dr Burney ('that clever dog,' as Johnson called him) is brightly sketched; Garrick, too, is constantly gliding over the scene and playing the fool in his inimitable way. But the most popular character of all is the eccentric 'daddy' Crisp—Samuel Crisp, the recluse of Chessington hall near Epsom—who was the special friend and correspondent of his 'Fannikin.' In the later *Diary and Letters* (1778—1840), edited by Mrs Charlotte Barrett (1842—6), there is more about the larger literary and political world, including the great event of the Hastings trial. The full and particular account of court life is of the greatest interest and value. On 6 July 1786, Fanny Burney was appointed second keeper of the robes to queen Charlotte, a position she held for five years. She received much kindness from the king and queen, who were fond of her; and, although, by reason of the rigid etiquette, the service was hard, she had much pleasant intercourse with her companions in the palace, whose portraits she painted with spirit. Her great and incessant trouble, however, was her inevitable long and close association with the terrible Mrs Schwellenberg, otherwise *Cerbera*. In course of time, the confinement which Fanny had to undergo affected her health, and her friends cried out for her release, even Walpole uttering complaints. Windham threatened to set 'The Club' on Dr Burney to induce him to obtain her freedom, and Boswell threatened to interfere—much to Fanny's annoyance, for she did not love the 'memorandummer' as she called him. Eventually, arrangements were made, and she finally left court in July 1791, the queen granting out of her own privy purse a pension or retiring allowance.

A most interesting feature of these diaries and letters is the introduction of clear-cut portraits of the people whom the writer knew and met. Johnson alluded to her powers in this respect when he addressed her as 'You little character-monger'; and, here, her early novel writing stood her in good stead. The description of Boswell's persecution of her at Windsor, while pressing unsuccessfully for the use of Johnson's letters, and reading to her, at the gates of the castle which she would not let him enter, bits from the forthcoming *Life*, is a fine bit of high comedy. Among Fanny Burney's later friends were the Lockes, owners of Norbury

park, above the vale of Mickleham. On her frequent visits to her hospitable friends, she became intimate with the French *émigrés* at Juniper hall; and, on 31 July 1793, she was married to one of them—d'Arblay—at Mickleham church. The pair had but little upon which to set up house; but Locke gave them a site, and the handsome subscription of generous friends for the novel *Camilla* produced sufficient funds for building a cottage, which was named Camilla Lacey. The marriage was a happy one in spite of lack of means; but, in 1801, d'Arblay determined to return to France, and his wife followed him. The restoration of Louis XVIII brought better times, but, in July 1815, general d'Arblay met with an accident and was placed on the retired list of the French army. Austin Dobson describes him as one of the most delightful figures in his wife's *Diary*. On 3 May 1818, he died at Bath. This sad event virtually closes the work, and, although Madame d'Arblay lived until 1840, there are few letters left after her husband's death.

Mrs Elizabeth Montagu was one of a bright company of brilliant women¹; and, in spite of rivals, she reigned supreme for fifty years as the chosen hostess of the intellectual society of London. Mrs Vesey, for a time, was a prominent rival, because, as wife of Agmondesham Vesey, a member of 'The Club,' she came forward as the special hostess of that select company. The fame of Mrs Montagu has much waned, and, probably, her letters, published by her nephew Matthew Montagu in 1809—13, are little read now. This collection does not reach a date later than 1761; of the remainder of the correspondence from that date to the end of Mrs Montagu's life, consisting, for the most part, of letters to Mrs Robinson and a few other friends, Doran made a selection, which he printed with remarks of his own in biographical form, in 1873, under the title *A Lady of the last Century (Mrs Elizabeth Montagu) illustrated in her unpublished Letters*. Although this lady was surrounded by the intellect of her time (she informed Garrick that she never invited idiots to her house), she did not succeed in emulating Fanny Burney in the portraiture of her friends. Windham praised her letters highly, but more for their style than for the particular interest of the subjects discussed. 'The flow of her style,' he writes, 'is not less natural, because it is fully charged with shining particles, and sparkles as it flows.' Her correspondent

¹ For a general account of the Blue Stockings, see vol. xi. The word first occurs in Mrs Montagu's correspondence, in 1757.

during fifty years was Lady Margaret Harley, daughter of the second earl of Oxford and wife of the second duke of Portland, who was also a life long friend of Mrs Delany.

Elizabeth Robinson was the elder daughter of Matthew Robinson, a Yorkshire squire, and her early education was advanced by the instruction of Dr Conyers Middleton, the second husband of her maternal grandmother, who lived at Cambridge. Her father, also, was fond of encouraging her to make smart repartees to his witty and caustic remarks, until he was beaten in these encounters and had to discontinue them. She became rather a formidable young lady and from her volatile disposition she acquired the sobriquet 'Fidget.' She married, in 1742, Edward Montagu, a grandson of the first earl of Sandwich, a quiet man who was contented that his wife should rule in her own drawing-room. Doran describes him as 'a mathematician of great eminence and a coal-owner of great wealth.' The match appears to have been a happy one, although the tastes of the two parties were very different.

Mrs Montagu was fond of society, and the pleasures of the town had a great attraction for her; but she was also a great reader and somewhat of a student, so she was often glad to exchange the gaieties of London for the quiet pleasures of the country. She formed a sort of salon at her house in Hill street and gathered a brilliant company round her. Johnson was glad to be one of her honoured guests; but his feelings towards her seem to have been mixed. He acknowledged that she was 'a very extraordinary woman,' adding 'she has a constant stream of conversation, and it is always impregnated, it has always meaning.' At other times, he said some disagreeable things of her and to her. Something in her talk seems to have annoyed him—possibly her sharp repartees may not have pleased the dogmatic doctor. Lyttelton, Burke, Wilberforce and Reynolds were also among her 'favourite guests. Mrs Montagu's husband died in 1775 and left all his property to his wife; but, though Horace Walpole at once jumped to the conclusion that she would marry again, she preferred to adopt a nephew, who succeeded to her possessions. She continued to be a hostess and built herself a mansion on the north-west corner of Portman square; but the glory had, to a great extent, departed, and the large parties that could be accommodated in the new house were dull compared with the smaller gatherings in Hill street. In her later letters, she gives much information respecting the management of her large estates, in which she proved herself a good economist. Her *Essay*

on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare with Remarks upon the Misrepresentations of Mons. De Voltaire (1769) has been noticed elsewhere¹.

David Garrick² was a brilliant and agreeable letter-writer, and, even when angry with those correspondents who worried him exceedingly, he continued to be bright and lively in his replies. His letters give an admirable idea of his mercurial disposition, and it has been said that he was never second in the keenest encounter of wits. The two quarto volumes of his correspondence, published by James Boaden in 1831—2, are of great value and interest, consisting of letters from many distinguished persons, and his answers to them. The miscellaneous letters were collected by Garrick himself, and copies of his own letters added to them. It has been suggested that he may have had the intention of using them as the groundwork of an autobiography; at any rate, he must have considered it important to keep the originals of his various controversies for his own justification. The correspondence is now preserved, together with family letters (not printed by Boaden) and some others, in the Forster collection at the Victoria and Albert museum. They form thirty-five bound volumes and are of considerable value. Boaden, however, arranged the letters carelessly, without putting his materials in a satisfactory chronological order or providing a much-needed index; but he added a good life of the actor, largely founded upon the materials printed by him. An improved, and more convenient, edition containing a fairly complete collection of Garrick's letters, while condensing those of his correspondents, would be a valuable addition to our literature. As it is, however, Boaden's collection shows how important a figure Garrick filled in the intellectual world of the eighteenth century.

The list of his correspondents contains the names of most of the distinguished men of his time, such as Lords Camden, Chatham and Lyttelton, Johnson, Burke, Reynolds, Goldsmith, Boswell, Burney, Hogarth, Hume, Sheridan and Steevens. Burke, who entertained the highest opinion of Garrick, was one of his best friends. He addressed him as 'My dear David,' 'My dear Garrick' and sometimes 'My dearest Garrick,' and concluded his letters in terms of affection. Johnson and Garrick, notwithstanding their early relations, never got further than 'Dear sir,' and ended their letters

¹ See *Ante*, vol. v, p. 293 p and cf. vol. xi.

² For Garrick as an actor, manager and dramatist, see chap. iv, pp. 85—86, *ante*.

in formal style. Mrs Montagu was a frequent correspondent and the writer of some of the best letters in the collection. On one occasion, she is found entreating Garrick, on behalf of her friend Mrs Vesey, to obtain the election of that lady's husband Agmondesham Vesey, into the select circle of 'The Club.' The bulk of the correspondence relates to theatrical affairs, as to which Garrick was in constant trouble, by reason of his strenuous attention to his duties as manager. The actors are constantly complaining, and the actresses, who were jealous of him and of each other, sometimes almost drove him mad. Mrs Cibber, Mrs Yates, Mrs Abington and Mrs Clive—all gave trouble in various ways; but Garrick's feelings were essentially different as to the last two ladies in the list. Mrs Abington permanently annoyed him. He added to a letter, written by her in 1776: 'The above is a true copy of the letter, examined word by word, of that worst of bad women Mrs Abington, to ask my playing for her benefit, and why?' On the other hand, Kitty Clive and he were always quarrelling and making it up, since they thoroughly esteemed each other. In 1765, Kitty wrote an angry letter: 'Sir, I beg you would do me the favour to let me know if it was by your order that my money was stopped last Saturday.' In 1776, she wrote a letter which Garrick endorsed 'My Pivy—excellent.' It was not only the actors and actresses who annoyed Garrick—the playwrights were equally, if not more, troublesome. There is a long series of letters between Murphy and Garrick, which shows that they were continually at war with one another. The latter part of the second volume of Boaden's work is full of interesting letters from Frenchmen and Frenchwomen of distinction, proving how highly Garrick's genius was appreciated in France. Diderot, Marmontel, Mme Necker, Fréron, Mlle Clairon and Le Kain were among his correspondents.

The letters of Garrick do not throw much light upon his training for the stage. He seems to have been born an actor, with all the qualities of a first-rate comedian, while his achievements as a tragedian were the result of his genius and the powers of his imagination. He was of no school, and he had no master. He was well educated and possessed a singular charm of manner; but he obtained his great position by incessant study, persistent practice and wide observation. Burke described him as one of the deepest observers of man. Well might Quin say that, if Garrick was right, he and his school were all wrong! He liked to astonish spectators by his sudden change from the all-inspiring tragedian to the

laughter-forcing comedian. His Lear and his Abel Drugger were equally amazing. It was the freshness, the brightness and life of his style that made the instant acceptance of him as the greatest of living actors secure. At thirty, he was joint lessee of Drury lane theatre. In 1776, he retired from the stage and sold his moiety of the theatre to Sheridan, Linley and Ford. He kept up his interest in the stage; but he had little time to enjoy his well earned rest, and died in 1779, universally regretted. Burke wrote an epitaph, which unfortunately was rejected in favour of a foolish inscription by Pratt, for the monument in Westminster abbey. It was in a passage of the former that Garrick was said to have 'raised the character of his profession to the rank of a liberal art.'

It may not seem inappropriate to add in this place a few words concerning the series of *Discourses* delivered by Sir Joshua Reynolds, from 1769 to 1790, to the students of the Royal Academy. These *Discourses* have become a classic of our language, because they are justly regarded as a model of art criticism, devoted as they are to essentials and written in a style of great beauty and distinction, and exhibiting in every page Reynolds's love and knowledge of his art, as well as the literary powers of his mind. The advice of a master grounded on his own knowledge and practice must always possess a real value, and Reynolds is severe in his condemnation of the futility of much art criticism by amateurs.

'There are,' he writes, 'many writers on our Art, who not being of the profession and consequently not knowing what can or what cannot be done, have been very liberal of absurd praises in their descriptions of favourite works. They *always* find in them what they are resolved to find.' And, again: 'it has been the fate of *Arts* to be enveloped in mysterious and incomprehensible language, as if it was thought necessary that even the terms should correspond to the idea entertained of the instability and uncertainty of the rules which they expressed.'

In urging the duty of industry and perseverance, he has been supposed to imply a doubt as to the existence of genius; but, when he affirms that the supposed genius must use the same hard means of obtaining success as are imposed upon others, a deeper scepticism than was really his need not be imputed to him. It was a false idea of genius which he desired to correct.

Genius is supposed to be a power of producing excellences which are out of the reach of the rules of art: a power which no precepts can teach, and which no industry can acquire.

In another place, he says :

'The industry which I principally recommended is not the industry of the hands, but of the mind.' Further, when advocating the duty of clear

expression: 'If in order to be intelligible, I appear to degrade art by bringing her down from the visionary situation in the clouds, it is only to give her a solid mansion upon the earth.'

The first *Discourse* was delivered at the opening of the Royal Academy and deals with the advantages to be expected from the institution of that body. The ninth *Discourse* is, again, general, and was delivered on the removal of the Royal Academy from Pall Mall to Somerset place. The fifteenth and last contains the president's farewell to the students and members of the Royal Academy and a review of the scope of the *Discourses*, ending with an eulogium on Michel Angelo :

I reflect not without vanity that these *Discourses* bear testimony of my admiration of that truly divine man; and I should desire that the last words which I should pronounce in this Academy, and from this place, might be the name of MICHEL ANGELO.

Burke, who was in the president's chair, then descended from the rostrum, taking the lecturer's hand, and said, in Milton's words :

The Angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he awhile
Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear¹.

The incident illustrates the deep interest taken by Burke in his friend's *Discourses*; and it has been suggested that he had much to do with their composition. But they so evidently contain Reynolds's own individual views, and the thoughts are expressed so naturally and clearly, that such an idea must be put aside as absurd. Reynolds was a highly cultured man, and, doubtless, he gained much in clearness of literary insight by his intimate association with such men as Johnson and Burke; but a careful study of the *Discourses* would prove to most readers that the language as well as the thoughts were Reynolds's own. He was, however, not the man to reject suggested improvement in style from his distinguished friends, and, doubtless, both Johnson and Burke proposed some verbal improvements in the proofs.

The general reception of the work was extremely favourable; and that it was appreciated abroad is evidenced by the empress Catharine of Russia's present to Reynolds of a gold snuffbox, adorned with her portrait in relief, set in diamonds, as an expression of her appreciation of the *Discourses*.

The plan of the *Discourses*, carried on through many years, is consistent throughout. The writer did not interfere with the teaching of the professors; but it was his aim to deal with the

¹ *Paradise Lost*, bk VIII, vv. 1—3.

general principles underlying the art. He started by pointing out the dangers of facility, as there is no short path to excellence. When the pupil's genius has received its utmost improvement, rules may, possibly, be dispensed with ; but the author adds : ' Let us not destroy the scaffold until we have raised the building.' In claiming the right to teach, he modestly says that his hints are in a great degree founded on his own mistakes.

The earlier half of the series dealt with the objects of study, the leading principles to be kept in view and the four general ideas which regulate every branch of the art—invention, expression, colouring and drapery. Much stress is laid upon the importance of imitation ; but this word must be accurately defined :

Study Nature attentively but always with those masters in your company ; consider them as models which you are to imitate, and at the same time as rivals with whom you are to contend.

The second half is appropriated to the consideration of more general points, such as genius and imagination. The tenth *Discourse*, on sculpture, is the least satisfactory of the series. The fourteenth *Discourse* is of special interest as relating to Gainsborough ; and the particulars of the meeting of the two great painters at the death-bed of Gainsborough are charmingly related.

Although great changes have taken place in public opinion in the relative estimation of various schools of painting, most of Reynolds's remarks, dealing as they do with essentials, remain of value. The book is charming reading for all who love art, and the reader will close it with a higher appreciation of the character of the man and the remarkable insight of the great painter.

Hannah More's life was a remarkable one, and her fame as an author, at one time considerable, was kept alive until near the middle of the nineteenth century. It is at present nearly dead and is not likely to revive. But her correspondence is most undeservedly neglected, for she was a good letter-writer, and her accounts of the doings of the intellectual world are of great interest, and worthy to be read after Fanny Burney and Mrs Thrale. We have full information respecting the doings of Johnson's circle from different points of view ; but there is much fresh information in Hannah More's letters. Boswell was offended with the young lady and is often spiteful in his remarks about her. The story of the value of her flattery¹ has been made too much of, for there is

¹ See Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. Hill, G. B., vol. III, p. 298.

plenty of evidence that Johnson highly esteemed the character of Hannah More. Sally More was a lively writer and she gives a vivid picture of her sister's intercourse with Johnson in 1775.

We drank tea at Sir Joshua's with Dr Johnson. Hannah is certainly a great favourite. She was placed next him, and they had the entire conversation to themselves. They were both in remarkably high spirits; it was certainly her lucky night! I have never heard her say so many good things. The old genius was extremely jocular, and the young one very pleasant.

The scene had changed when Hannah More met Johnson at Oxford, in the year of his death, at dinner in the lodge at Pembroke. She wrote home :

Who do you think is my principal cicerone at Oxford? Only Dr Johnson, and we do so gallant it about! You cannot imagine with what delight he showed me every part of his own college....When we came into the Common room, we spied a fine large print of Johnson, framed and hung up that very morning with this motto: 'And is not Johnson ours, himself a host?' Under which stared you in the face 'From Miss More's *Sensibility*.' This little incident amused us;—but alas! Johnson looks very ill indeed—spiritless and wan. However he made an effort to be cheerful and I exerted myself much to make him so.

The triumphant entrance into the great London world by Hannah More, a young Bristol schoolmistress, is difficult to account for except on the grounds of her remarkable abilities. An agreeable young lady of seven and twenty, fresh from the provinces, who gained at once the cordial friendship not only of Garrick, Reynolds, Johnson and Horace Walpole but of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu and the literary ladies of the day, and who became herself one of the leaders of the Blue Stockings, must have been a woman very much out of the common. When Hannah More came first to London, she visited Reynolds, whose sister promised to introduce her to Johnson. She then met Garrick, who was first interested in her because of some intelligent criticism of his acting which he had seen. He and his wife became Hannah's dearest friends, and, on hearing of Mrs Garrick's death, Hannah More wrote to a friend (21 October 1822):

I spent above twenty winters under her roof, and gratefully remember not only their personal kindness, but my first introduction through them into a society remarkable for rank, literature and talents.

She kept up her correspondence with her distinguished London friends; but most of them had died before she had arrived at middle age. We then notice a considerable change in the subjects of her correspondence, and her letters are occupied with the

progress of some of the great movements in which she was interested. Wilberforce was a constant correspondent, and he found her a warm helper in the anti-slavery cause. When she and her sisters gave up their school at Bristol and retired on a competence, she devoted all her time to philanthropic purposes. This is not the place for dealing with the subjects of her voluminous writings, and they are only referred to here as an indication of the more serious character of the later correspondence¹.

Gilbert White's *Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne* (1789) holds a unique position in English literature as the solitary classic of natural history. It is not easy to give, in a few words, a reason for its remarkable success. It is, in fact, not so much a logically arranged and systematic book as an invaluable record of the life work of a simple and refined man who succeeded in picturing himself as well as what he saw. The reader is carried along by his interest in the results of far-sighted observation; but, more than this, the reader imbibes the spirit of the writer which pervades the whole book and endears it to like-minded naturalists as a valued companion.

For some twenty years or more (1767—87), White wrote a series of letters to Thomas Pennant and Daines Barrington, giving a remarkable account of the chief instances of the special habits of animals and of natural phenomena which he was daily observing. Although these correspondents asked him questions and remarked upon his observations, they learned much more from White than he from them. Pennant is severely criticised by Thomas Bell, one of the editors of White's work, who writes: 'The man to whom the vain and self-seeking author of "British Zoology" was so greatly indebted is almost entirely ignored.' The late Alfred Newton, in his notice of Gilbert White in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, however, exonerates Pennant, noting that 'In the preface he generally but fully acknowledges White's services.' White's friendship with Barrington appears to have begun about the end of 1767, the first published letter to him being dated June 1769. Barrington, in 1770, suggested the publication of White's observations; but, although White thought favourably of the advice, he was diffident and did not prepare his materials for press until January 1788. Even then, there was more delay, so the book was not published until 1789.

White seems to have collected largely, with the ultimate object

¹ Cf., as to Hannah More, post, vol. xi.

of forming a naturalist's calendar; for, writing to Pennant on 19 July 1771, he expresses his diffidence in respect to publishing his notes because

I ought to have begun it twenty years ago.—If I was to attempt anything, it should be somewhat of a Natural History of my native parish, an *Annus Historio-Naturalis*, comprising a journal for one whole year, and illustrated with large notes and observations.'

Eventually, he did not make any considerable alteration in his letters but left all the vivid pictures in their original setting; and *The Naturalist's Calendar* did not see the light until two years after his death—in 1795.

A *Quarterly* reviewer¹, speaking of White, describes him as 'a man the power of whose writings has immortalised an obscure village and a tortoise,—for who has not heard of Timothy—as long as the English language lives.' The life history of Timothy may be read in White's letters, and in the amusing letter to Miss Hecky Mulso, afterwards Mrs Chapone (31 August 1784), written by him in the name of Timothy. The tortoise was an American, born in 1734 in the province of Virginia, who remembered the death of his great-great-grandfather in the 160th year of his age. Thomas Bell disputes the American origin and believes the animal to have belonged to a north African species, naming it *testudo marginata*; but Bennet held that it was distinct and he described and named it *T. Whitei*, after the man who had immortalised it.

Selborne may be obscure; but it is a beautiful village in a beautiful country eminently suited for the purpose of White in making it the centre of a life's work of zoological research and observation. The book was immediately popular both with the general public and with all naturalists, many of the most eminent of which class have successively edited it with additional and corroborative notes.

White's was an uneventful life as we usually understand the phrase; but it was also a full and busy one, the results of which have greatly benefited his fellow men. He was born and died at Selborne; and that delightful neighbourhood was the centre of his world. But it would be a mistake to forget that he was a man of capacity equal to the duties of a larger sphere. He was for fifty years a fellow of Oriel college, Oxford, and, for some of these years, dean of the college. In 1757, there was an election for the provostship, when, although Musgrave was chosen, White had many supporters. He quitted residence at Oxford in the following

¹ Vol. LXXI, no. 141, p. 8 note; art. on *The Honey-Bee*.

year, with the intention of settling permanently at Selborne. He refused several college livings for this reason, although he held the living of Moreton Pinckney in Northamptonshire as a non-resident incumbent. Notwithstanding this apparent indifference to duty, he worked successively in several curacies, the last being that of his beloved Selborne.

II

THE WARWICKSHIRE COTERIE

Somewhat apart from the more famous letter-writers of the age stood a circle of friends, some of whom might be described as in the great world while none were exactly of it, whose correspondence, and more general literary work, are full of interest. They were all, at one time or another, dwellers in Warwickshire or on its borders, lived at no great distance from each other and wrote frequently when they did not meet. Perhaps the poet Shenstone is the most obvious link between them: they all were acquainted with him, if they were not all personally known to each other. The circle includes Henrietta Lady Luxborough, of Barrels near Henley-in-Arden; Frances duchess of Somerset, one of whose residences was Ragley near Alcester; Richard Graves, who belonged to the family which owned Mickleton, not actually in Warwickshire but not far from Stratford-on-Avon; Richard Jago, who was vicar of Harbury and held other cures in the county; William Somerville, of Edstone near Henley; and it was completed by persons who were not so much writers themselves as friends of men of letters, such as Anthony Whistler (who had been at Pembroke college, Oxford, with Graves and Shenstone), and Sanderson Miller, antiquary and architect, the builder of the tower on Edge-hill commemorated by Jago in his poem. Nearly all of these wrote good letters, which were published, and most of them at least dabbled in literature also, in light verse or easy prose. And all were more or less in the net of the omnivorous publisher Robert Dodsley, who did a great deal to make Shenstone and the Leasowes famous¹.

Of Somerville², a scholar and a gentleman (though his writing

¹ As to Robert Dodsley, see *ante*, vol. ix, pp. 190—1 *et al.*

² This spelling has been continued in the present chapter for the sake of uniformity. The name was, however, always spelt *Somerville* in the autograph letters of its owner and in his works printed in his lifetime.

does not always suggest it) some account has already been given in an earlier chapter¹: his prose, in prefaces and letters, many of the latter still unpublished, is of the good, sonorous, somewhat pedantic kind which was beginning, even when he wrote, to be old-fashioned. Another country gentleman was Anthony Whistler of Whitchurch, an Eton boy, who imbibed 'such a dislike to learning languages that he could not read the Classics, but no one formed a better judgment of them,' and was 'a young man of great delicacy of sentiment.' As an undergraduate, he published anonymously, in 1736, a poem entitled *The Shuttlecock*. He died in 1754, aged forty. For many years he had corresponded with Shenstone and Graves, and, on his death, the former wrote to the latter "the triumvirate which was the greatest happiness and the greatest pride of my life is broken." Few of their letters, unfortunately, are preserved. Through Sanderson Miller, the squire of Radway at the foot of Edge-hill and the friend of all the noble builders and gardeners of the age (except Horace Walpole who rarely lost an opportunity of laughing at him), the Warwickshire coterie had links at once with the great world and with the greatest writer of the age. It was in his drawing-room that Fielding read the manuscript of *Tom Jones* to an admiring circle of ladies and gentlemen; and for an improvement which Pitt generously designed in his garden Miller happily thanked

The Paymaster, well skilled in planting,
Pleased to assist when cash was wanting,
He bid my Laurels grow: they grew
Fast as his Laurels always do.

It was no doubt as a refuge from domestic unhappiness that Lady Luxborough turned to literature and sought the friendship of lesser poets. Born about 1700, she was half-sister of Henry St John, afterwards viscount Bolingbroke, to whom she was all her life devotedly attached². In 1727, she married Robert Knight, son of the cashier of the South Sea company, whom Horace Walpole contemptuously calls a 'transport.' About nine years later, she was separated from her husband in consequence of some scandal which has never been verified. Horace Walpole, who disliked her and her friends, speaks of a 'gallantry' in which Dalton, tutor to the son of Lady Hertford (afterwards duchess of Somerset) was concerned; but this is unlikely, for the friendship of the two ladies

¹ See chap. v, pp. 109 ff. *ante*. As to Jago, see *ibid.* pp. 112—113. As to Shenstone, see chap. vii, pp. 149 ff., *ante*.

² Cf. *ante*, vol. ix, p. 217 and note.

was unbroken, and Lady Hertford was a particularly upright and scrupulous person. Family tradition associates her rather with Somerville; but this, again, does not seem probable. Whatever the cause, Henrietta Knight was banished to Barrels in 1736, and never saw her husband (who became Lord Luxborough in 1746 and earl of Catherlough in 1763, seven years after her death) again.

At Barrels, she lived quietly, but made friends with her neighbours, and became the centre of a literary society which included Shenstone and Somerville, Graves, Jago and a number of Warwickshire clergy. She was the 'Asteria' of their poems, which commemorated her love of letters, her library and her garden. Her letters to Shenstone were carefully preserved by him, and he described them as 'written with abundant ease, Politeness, and Vivacity; in which she was scarce equalled by any woman of her time.' She, certainly, wrote with simplicity and charm about trivial things, such as her friends' poetry and her own horticultural experiments—one of her letters contains a delightful defence of autumn; and, after the manner of ladies in society who have any knowledge of literature, she had an exaggerated appreciation of the literary achievements of her friends. Her adulation of Shenstone is so excessive that one almost begins to suspect her of a warmer feeling. The letters which he received from her between 1739 and 1756 were published by Dodsley in 1775, and three years later there appeared, under the editorship of Thomas Hull the actor, two more volumes of correspondence between them, with other letters from the duchess of Somerset, Miss Dolman (Shenstone's cousin), Thomas Percy (of the *Reliques*) who had himself connections with Warwickshire¹, Dodsley, Whistler and others. They discussed public affairs sparingly, though, in later years, they were all, through the Lytteltons, much interested in Pitt; they talked a great deal about gardens, and waterfalls, statues and urns; and they cast a favourable eye upon contemporary literature, admiring Thomson (whose *Spring* was dedicated to Lady Hertford), thinking very well of Gray's *Elegy*, and being 'highly entertained with the *History of Sir Charles Grandison*, which is so vastly above *Pamela* or *Clarissa*.' Though the authors were students of the greater letter-writers, of Mme de Sévigné, Pope and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, their own interests were simple, only slightly tinged with the sentimental affectations of

¹ As to Percy, see chap. 7, *ante*.

the shepherdesses and hermits with whom the poets played, genuinely delighting in out of door pleasures, but not averse from a good dinner and a glass of wine. They present a picture of English country life, in a literary circle, unsurpassed, if not unique, in its veracity and completeness. Hull's collection goes down to 1775, and is concluded by some rather tedious reflections from a 'Miss N——' upon Venice and the residences and manners of John, third duke (and thirty-first earl) of Atholl, a benevolent personage who drowned himself in the Tay in 1774.

The *Correspondence between Frances Countess of Hertford (afterwards Duchess of Somerset) and Henrietta Louisa Countess of Pomfret*, which was not published till 1805, belongs to an earlier period, extending from 1738 to 1741. The two ladies were both of the bedchamber of queen Caroline, and it was Lady Hertford who obtained the pardon of Savage through the queen's influence. Johnson, who pays her a lofty compliment on this, is less polite towards her interests in literature, and tells us that it was her 'practice to invite every summer some poet into the country, to hear her verses, and assist her studies,' adding that this honour was one year conferred on Thomson, but he 'took more delight in carousing with Lord Hertford and his friends than assisting her ladyship's poetical operations, and therefore never received another summons.' Another poet who dedicated a volume to her was Isaac Watts, and Shenstone's ode, *Rural Elegance*, was also, after her death, inscribed to her memory. Her correspondent Henrietta, countess of Pomfret, was granddaughter of lord chancellor Jeffreys, and her letters from France and Italy faintly recall the style of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, with some details, not uninteresting, of life at foreign courts. Lady Hertford was a shrewd observer, and contributes opinions on the early methodists which represent the judgment of the quiet, cultivated, religious society to which, after her retirement from court, she belonged. Two smart poems in Dodsley's collection¹ refer to her supposed affection for Sir William Hamilton; and gossips made free with her name, but quite without reason. Her later years, at least, those of warm friendship with Lady Luxborough, were secluded and sad.

'After a Ball or Masquerade,' she wrote, in language which well illustrates the style of these letters, 'have we not come Home very well contented to pull off our Ornaments and fine Cloaths in order to go to rest? Such, methinks,

¹ Vol. vi, pp. 280—1.

in the Reception we naturally give to the Warnings of bodily Decays; they seem to undress us by Degrees, to prepare us for a Rest that will refresh us more powerfully than any Night's Sleep could do.'

There is, indeed, in most of the members of this coterie, a pensive, even plaintive, tone. Jago found the country clergyman's quiet melancholy natural to him, and, if Shenstone began by being sad as night only for wantonness, his retirement at the Leasowes, in spite of the interest of his wilderness, his waterfall and his urns, and the polite appreciation of his fashionable neighbours, soon tinged his sedentary and self-indulgent life with sorrow and regret as well as with dyspepsia and fretfulness. But he could write a cheerful letter and a bright and ingenious essay to the last. His friend Graves, to whom a large number of his letters were addressed, in the *Recollections of some particulars* of his life (1788), perhaps the most interesting of his works, gives him not undeserved credit for

such a justness of thought and expression, and such a knowledge of human nature as well as of books that, if we consider how little [he] had conversed with the great world, one would think he had almost an intuitive knowledge of the characters of men.

He had, indeed, all the acuteness of observation which belongs to the literary recluse, and he wrote with an entire absence of affectation and an easy grace which made his letters not unworthy to stand among the very best of those which the eighteenth century produced. Passages of pleasant fancy or humour, of description and of criticism, occur again and again in his correspondence, and, whatever may be said of his poetry, his prose style is eminently felicitous. Admirers of good writing have too long neglected him.

The same may be said of his intimate friend, Richard Graves, well known to all the Warwickshire coterie. He wrote so much that there is a natural temptation to regard him as a mere scribbler or a literary hack. Such a judgment would be most unjust. ~~He~~ lived to be nearly ninety, and in so many years it is no tedious achievement to have written some dozen books that are worth reading, besides a few more which, perhaps, are not. Graves was a fellow of All Souls, and there began a lifelong friendship with Blackstone. He was a poet, and a collector of poems: *Euphrosyne* and *The Festoon* bear witness. He was a translator of Marcus Aurelius and of many ancient epigrams. He was a correspondent of clever people, but better pleased to receive than to write letters and not one to copy and preserve those

he had written. He was a diligent country parson (not to be confused with his son, sometime vicar of Great Malvern, whose boyish skill in Latin was commended by Shenstone), never away for a month at a time in all the fifty-five years he was rector of Claverton. In that delightful village, at an easy distance from Bath, by a charming country road, along which he walked almost every weekday for more than fifty years, he resided from 1749 to 1804, paying occasional visits to London, to Warwickshire and to the Leasowes. He was chaplain to the countess of Chatham, and became private tutor to several eminent persons, such as Prince Hoare and Malthus; and, at Bath, he was a popular figure, the intimate friend of 'lowborn Allen' and his nephew-in-law, bishop Warburton. He had the knack of writing pleasing trivialities in the form of essays, which contained often curious information, entertaining anecdotes and sound morals. But his chief success, which should preserve his memory green, was as a novelist. He was unquestionably the most natural and effective writer of prose tales in his time, and might almost claim to be the originator of unemotional, impassionate romances of rural life and manners.

The Spiritual Quixote (1772), his most famous story, and the only one which, in his own time, achieved a second edition, is a tale of a young country squire who was influenced by the methodists and took a long tour of the midlands, suffering a number of mild adventures, as a follower of Whitefield. Graves had been at Pembroke, Oxford, and never quite overcame his disdain of the servitor. He makes great fun of the followers of methodism; but he always respects genuine piety. Descriptions of open air preaching and of the treatment of the preachers are frequent: he could never get rid of the conviction that, in spite of irregularities, methodism was showing the parish clergy how to do their duty. But this is only a small part of the interest of *The Spiritual Quixote*: its real attraction lies in the accounts of the social life and entertainments of the time, the ways of travellers and the customs of rustics and innkeepers. So, again, *Columella, or the Distressed Anchorite* (1776), which, like its predecessor, has a detailed (this time faintly disguised) picture of Shenstone, records the travels of a lawyer and a college don and the placid, but not always proper, recreations of a sluggish country gentleman of small fortune and literary interest. There is a placid satisfaction in the outlook on life which represents not only the attitude of *Columella's* old friends but that of Graves himself. Thus, he speaks of the journey

of Atticus the 'solemn Head of a college,' and Hortensius 'the sage Counsel learned in the law':—

The consciousness of having punctually discharged every duty of their respective stations diffused an ease and cheerfulness over their minds, and left them open to enjoyment, and at leisure to receive amusement from every object that presented itself in the way. The freshness of the morning, the serenity of the air, the verdure of the fields, every gentleman's seat, every farm-house, and every cottage they passed by, or every village they rode through, afforded some kind of pleasing reflections to persons of their happy disposition.... Thus if they overtook or were overtaken by anyone on the road, even of the lowest rank, instead of passing him by with a supercilious air, as if he were of a different species, they considered him in the same light as a sportsman would a partridge or a woodcock, as one that might afford them either pleasure or instruction; and usually commenced a conversation.

This was the way in which Graves lived and wrote. Yet he was not blind, as *Columella* shows, to the seamy side of things.

More delicate than *Columella* are the two charming little volumes entitled *Eugenius or Anecdotes of the Golden Vale* (1785), which, from a description or two of scenery, suggest that the neighbourhood of the Wye was familiar to the writer and thus account, perhaps, for the reference in *The Spiritual Quixote* to Pope's 'Man of Ross'—'What, old Kyrle! I knew him well; he was an honest old cock and loved his pipe and a Tankard of cider as well as the best of us.'—They show, too, as do other of Graves's writings, in a touch here and there, a knowledge of the habits and sufferings of the poor almost as intimate as Crabbe's. *Plexippus or The Aspiring Plebeian*, published (anonymously as was *Columella*) in 1790, is a quiet tale of the love affairs of two young men, eminently sober and respectable, told in the pleasantest vein of Graves's quiet observation of mankind. Cheltenham, Wales and London are the scenes of the story, which is of the placid type that Graves loved. In his later years, he wrote essays and studies of character, with a few *vers de société*, all very gentle, unaffected and trivial; and he kept green, to the last, the memory of his friend Shenstone and the literary circle in which he had moved.

The venue was now changed to Bath, where everybody in the later eighteenth century (except poor Lady Luxborough, the terms of whose separation from her husband would not allow her even to go on the Bath road) came sooner or later. At Lady Miller's, of Bath Easton, the undoubted original of Mrs Leo Hunter, a company of poetasters and dilettantes met every week for some years; Graves, who was constantly present, records, with a little flutter of satisfaction, that on one occasion he met four duchesses. The

results of their poetic contests were published in 1775 as *Poetical Amusements at a Villa near Bath*, increased to three volumes a year later, a sign of the popularity of this tepid form of literary dissipation. The verses themselves are often ingenious, and the 'candid reader' is asked by their editor to

recollect that they were frequently the production of a few days—most of them of as many hours; [and] that they originated amidst the hurry of plays, balls, public breakfasts, and concerts, and all the dissipations of a full *Bath Season*—alike unfriendly to contemplation and the Muses. •

By the time they were written, most of the earlier and much more brilliant literary coterie to which Graves had belonged had passed away, and he was the only survivor with any claim to be a true man of letters. The Leasowes had received all the wit and fashion of the earlier time, and lovers of good literature had always been welcome at Barrels. It is, indeed, round Shenstone and Lady Luxborough, the poet and the letter-writer of unaffected charm, that the memory of the Warwickshire coterie lingers; but Richard Graves, who long survived them both, won for himself a place in English letters, not lofty, but secure, where none of his friends could excel him.

CHAPTER XII

HISTORIANS

I

HUME AND MODERN HISTORIANS

'As for good [English] historians,' Voltaire wrote in 1734, 'I know of none as yet : a Frenchman [Rapin] has had to write their history¹.' His criticism was just, and, before him, both Addison and Bolingbroke had noted the backwardness of English literature so far as history was concerned. Yet there was no lack of interest on the part of the educated classes in the history of their own nation, for, during the first half of the eighteenth century, several histories of England appeared which, in spite of gross defects, found many readers. Nor is this interest difficult to account for. Closely connected with the conservatism of the national character, it had been fostered by the conflicts through which the nation had passed in the preceding century ; for, in these conflicts, great respect was shown for precedent ; in the struggle with Charles I, though it was temporarily subversive of ancient institutions, the parliamentary party made constant appeals to historic liberties, while the lawyers and judges on the king's side found weapons in the same armoury and cited records in support of the exercise of arbitrary authority. The process of subversion was sharply checked, and reverence for the ancient constitution was exhibited by the invitation to Cromwell to assume the crown. More lately, the revolution of 1688 had been a vindication of historic rights, conducted with a punctilious observance of time honoured procedure. Principles involved in these conflicts still divided the nation into two opposing parties, and whigs and tories alike were eager to find such support for their opinions as might be derived from history. Whigs, for example, would turn to Oldmixon or

¹ *Œuvres*, vol. xxiv, p. 137; see Gibbon's *Memoirs*, p. 295; ed. Hill, G. B.

Rapin, tories to the *History of England* by Thomas Carte, the nonjuror, which though written without literary skill, was superior, as regards the extent of the author's researches, to any English history of an earlier date than that of the appearance of his first two volumes (1747, 1750); his fourth and last volume, which goes down to 1654, was published in 1755, the year after his death; his *Life of James, Duke of Ormond* (1736), a tedious book, is of first-rate importance, especially as regards Irish history. The general interest in English history had been vastly strengthened by the appearance of Clarendon's *History*, which has been treated in a previous volume as belonging essentially to the class of contemporary memoirs, and it had been encouraged by the publication, at the expense of the state, of *Fœdera et Conventiones* (1704—35), edited by Thomas Rymer and Robert Sanderson, in twenty volumes, a collection of public documents of great value for most periods of our history before the seventeenth century, the last document included in it being dated 1654. This work laid a new foundation for the writing of history on a scientific basis, from documentary authorities; its value was thoroughly appreciated by Rapin, who used it in his *History*, and, from time to time, published summaries of its contents which were translated into English under the title *Acta Regia* (1726—7).

Yet this interest did not, as has already been seen, call forth, before Hume wrote, any history of England by a native historian that is worthy to be classed as literature; indeed, it was in itself adverse to the appearance of such a work, for it caused English history to be written for party purposes, and, consequently, no effort was made to write it in a philosophic spirit, or to present it in well devised form or in worthy language; it fell into the hands of hacks or partisans. Only one Englishman of that time wrote history in a style that, of itself, makes his book valuable, and he did not write English history. Simon Ockley, vicar of Swavesey, Cambridgeshire, who had early devoted himself to the study of eastern languages and customs, was appointed professor of Arabic at Cambridge in 1711. The first volume of his *Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt by the Saracens*, generally known as *The History of the Saracens*, appeared in 1708, the second in 1718, with an introduction dated from Cambridge gaol, where he was then imprisoned for debt: he had in past years received help from the earl of Oxford (Harley); but that had ceased, and the poor scholar had a large family. Gibbon, who admired and used his work, speaks of his fate as 'unworthy of the man and of his

country¹. His *History* extends from the death of Mahomet, 632, to that of the fifth Ommiad caliph, 705 ; it was cut short by the author's death in 1720, after a life of incessant and ill-requited toil. The *Life of Mohammed* prefixed to the third edition of his *History*, which was issued for the benefit of his destitute daughter in 1757, is by Roger Long, master of Pembroke hall, Cambridge. Ockley based his work on an Arabic manuscript in the Bodleian library which later scholars have pronounced less trustworthy than he imagined it to be. His English is pure and simple, his narrative extraordinarily vivid and dramatic, and told in words exactly suited to his subject—whether he is describing how Caulah and her companions kept their Damascene captors at bay until her brother Derar and his horsemen came to deliver them, or telling the tragic story of the death of Hosein. The book was translated into French in 1748, and was long held to be authoritative. As a history, its defects are patent, its account of the conquest of Persia, for example, is so slight that even the decisive battle of Cadesia is not mentioned ; nor is any attempt made to examine the causes of the rapid successes of the Saracen arms : it reads, indeed, more like a collection of sagas than a history. Such defects, however, do not impair its peculiar literary merit.

A change in the character of British historical writing began in the middle of the century ; it was raised by Hume to a foremost place in our prose composition ; its right to that place was maintained by Robertson, and, finally, in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, it rose to the highest degree of perfection that it has ever attained in this, or, perhaps, in any, country. That its two earliest reformers should both have been Scotsmen is one of many illustrations of the activity of the Scots at that time in all the higher spheres of thought and of literary production. When the failure of the Jacobite cause put an end to the struggle for Scottish national life as an independent political force, it would almost seem as though the educated class in Scotland consciously set themselves to endow their country with an independent life in the domains of philosophy, literature, science and art² ; for their efforts were not made in isolation ; they were made by men who constantly communicated with each other or consorted together, especially in Edinburgh, where, from 1754, they formed themselves into the 'Select Society,' of which both Hume and Robertson were

¹ *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi, p. 4, note, ed. Bury, J. B.

² Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. iii, p. 871.

members, and which met every week to discuss philosophical questions. While this intellectual life was distinctly national, its output was not marred by its local character. Political affairs had for centuries driven or led Scots abroad: the habit of resorting to other countries remained, and Scottish thinkers and writers kept in touch with the intellectual life of other peoples, and especially of the French, the ancient allies of Scotland. In their mode of expression, too, the desire to be widely read and the necessity of gaining a larger and richer market for their books than they could find at home made them careful to avoid local peculiarities, and write in such a way as would be acceptable to English readers. Though this movement attained its full development during the latter half of the century, it had been in progress for several years.

It was during those years that David Hume first became known as a philosopher and essayist; his earliest book, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739—40), written when he was not more than twenty-eight, met with a chilling reception which gave little promise of his future renown. His metaphysical opinions led him to put a special value on the study of history. As his scepticism limited mental capability to sensible experience, so he regarded past events as affording experience. Holding mankind to be much the same under all conditions, he considered that history, by exhibiting the behaviour of men in the past, enables us to discover the principles of human action and their results, and to order our conduct accordingly: its records are 'so many collections of experiments by which the moral philosopher fixes the principles of his science,' and man obtains a guide for his own conduct. Hume would therefore be drawn to study history, and, believing that a knowledge of it would be of public utility by affording men experience, he would be inclined to record the experiments from which they could derive it. A three years' residence in France from 1734 to 1737, most of it spent 'very agreeably' at La Flèche, on the Loir, then famous for its great Jesuits' college, probably strengthened this inclination and influenced his style. Historical study was being eagerly pursued in France. Among the religious orders, the Benedictines were preparing *Le Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, issuing their *Gallia Christiana*, and beginning their histories of the French provinces, while the Dominicans had produced the *Scriptores* of their order, and the Jesuits were engaged on *Acta Sanctorum*. On the lay side, the *Académie des Inscriptions* was carrying on the publication of

the royal ordinances, and gathering a store of historical erudition¹. Count de Boulainvilliers had already treated French history in a philosophic spirit, and Voltaire, in his exquisite little *Histoire de Charles XII*, had shown that historical writing might be endowed with literary excellence. A strange contrast Hume must have seen in this activity and accomplishment to the condition of historical work in Great Britain. Elegance in the structure of sentences and an almost excessive purity of language, which marked contemporary French literature, were specially inculcated by the Jesuits, the masters of French education. Hume's *History* shows enough French influence to justify us in considering his long visit to La Flèche as an important factor in its character.

Some insight into the conduct of the great affairs of nations he gained as secretary to general St Clair during his ineffectual expedition against Lorient in 1746, when Hume acted as judge advocate, and while attached to St Clair's embassy to Vienna and Turin in 1748. By 1747, he had 'historical projects.' His appointment as librarian to the faculty of advocates at Edinburgh, in 1752, gave him command of a large library well stocked with historical works, and he forthwith set about his *History of England*. Intending to trace the steps by which, as he believed, the nation had attained its existing system of government, he had at first thought of beginning his work with the accession of Henry VII; for he imagined that the first signs of revolt against the arbitrary power of the crown were to be discerned during the Tudor period, and of carrying it down to the accession of George I. Finally, however, he began with the accession of James I, alleging, as his reason, that the change which took place in public affairs under the Tudor dynasty was 'very insensible,' and that it was 'under James that the House of Commons first began to rear its head, and then the quarrel betwixt privilege and prerogative commenced.' The first volume of his *History of Great Britain*, containing the reigns of James I and Charles I, appeared in 1754. He was sanguine in his expectations of the success of the work; but, though for a few weeks it sold well in Edinburgh, it met with almost universal disapprobation and seemed likely to sink into premature oblivion. Its unfavourable reception was mainly due, as we shall see later, to political reasons. Hume was bitterly disappointed, and even thought of retiring to France and living there under an assumed name. His second volume, which ended

¹ Carré, H., *Histoire de France* (Lavisse), vol. viii, ii, pp. 182—3.

² Burton, J. H., *Life of Hume*, vol. i, p. 375.

with the revolution of 1688, and appeared in 1756, was less irritating to whig sensibilities : it sold well and helped the sale of the first. Then he worked backwards, and published two volumes on the Tudor reigns in 1759, ending, in 1761, with two on the history from the time of Julius Caesar to the accession of Henry VII. He did not carry out his original idea of bringing his work down to 1714. By that time, the sale of his *History* had become large, and had made him, he said, 'not merely independent but opulent'; and it kept its place in popular estimation as the best comprehensive work on English history for at least sixty years. The first two published volumes were translated into French in 1760; and, in Paris, where Hume resided from 1763 to 1766, during part of the time as secretary of legation, he received, both as historian and as philosopher, an amount of adulation which excited the spleen of Horace Walpole¹.

Hume gave so little time to preparation for his task that it is evident that he had no idea of writing a scientific history. With all due allowance for the infinitely greater facilities which now exist for arriving at the truth, it cannot be contended that he took full advantage of such authorities as were then accessible: he seems to have been content with those under his hand in the advocates' library; he was not critical as to their comparative values; and he was careless in his use of them. His *History*, consequently, contains many misstatements which he might have avoided—some of small importance, others of a serious kind, as they affect his conclusions. Of these, a typical instance, noticed by Hallam², is, that he misstates the complaint of the Commons in 1396 that sheriffs were continued in office beyond a year, as a petition that they might be so continued, and uses this mistake in defence of the misgovernment of Richard II.

His later published volumes, on the history before the Tudor dynasty, become more and more superficial as he advances further into times which were obscure to him, in which he took no interest, regarding them as ages of barbarism, and on which he would scarcely have written save for the sake of completeness. What he set out to do was to write a history which would be generally attractive—for he appealed '*ad populum* as well as *ad clerum*'³—and would be distinguished from other histories alike by its style and by its freedom from political bias, a matter on which he was insistent in his correspondence. He approached his work, then, in

¹ *Letters*, vol. vi, p. 301, ed. Toynbee.

² *Middle Ages*, vol. iii, p. 75, ed. 1860.

³ Hume to Clephane, Burton, vol. i, p. 397.

a spirit of philosophic impartiality, or, at least, believed that he did so—a belief commonly dangerous to a historian—and, throughout its course, adorned it with judgments and reflections admirable in themselves though not always appropriate to facts as they really were. Here, his philosophical treatment ends: he shows no appreciation of the forces which underlay great political or religious movements. As a sceptic, he did not recognise the motives which led men to work for a common end, or the influences which guided them. Such movements were, to him, mere occurrences, or the results of personal temperament, of the ambition, obstinacy, or fanaticism of individuals. The advance of historical study is indebted to him; for his praiseworthy attempts at various divisions of his narrative to expound social and economic conditions were an innovation on the earlier conception of a historian's duty as limited to a record of political events.

Hume's *History* occupies a high place among the few masterpieces of historical composition. His expression is lucid, conveying his meaning in direct and competent terms. It is eminently dignified, and is instinct with the calm atmosphere of a philosophic mind which surveys and criticises men and affairs as from an eminence. Its general tone is ironical, the tone of a man conscious of intellectual superiority to those whose faults and follies he relates. His sentences are highly polished; they are well balanced and their cadence is musical. They are never jerky, and they flow on in a seemingly inevitable sequence. Their polish does not suggest elaboration; their beauties, so easy is Hume's style, appear careless and natural. In fact, however, he made many corrections in his manuscript; he was anxious to avoid Scotticisms and, in a careful revision of the first edition of his earlier volumes, removed all he detected. Johnson, with his usual prejudice against Scotsmen, declared, he 'does not write English, the structure of his sentences is French.' Though this was a conversational exaggeration, it was more deliberately echoed by Lord Mansfield, and it is so far true that Hume's easy style indicates French influence, and, as Horace Walpole observed, the influence of Voltaire. The same may be said of the style of other contemporary Scottish writers, of Robertson, Adam Smith and Ferguson. While he never falls below dignity, he never rises to eloquence. The prose of his age was generally colourless, and his abhorrence of enthusiasm of every kind rendered this greyness of tone especially appropriate as a vehicle of his thoughts. Yet, though elegance rather than vigour is to be looked for in his writing, its irony gives it a force which, at

the least, is as powerful as any which could be obtained by a more robust style. His excellences are not without their defects. Charmed, at first, by the polish of his sentences, the reader may, perhaps, soon find them cold, hard and monotonous; and since historical narrative will not excite sustained interest unless it appeals to the imagination and emotions as well as to the judgment, Hume's attitude of philosophic observer and dispassionate critic may become wearisome to him and, as he discovers that the philosopher is not free from prejudice, even irritating. In the composition of his *History*, Hume shows in a remarkable degree a skill which may be described as dramatic: when working up to some critical event, he selects and arranges his facts, so that each leads us a step further towards the climax that he has in view; he tells us nothing that is extraneous to his immediate purpose; there is no anticipation and no divagation in his narrative.

In spite of his belief in his own impartiality, Hume was justly accused of tory prejudice, and this caused the ill-success of his first published volume. He did not, of course, regard the royal authority as founded on divine appointment any more than on contract. As a utilitarian, he held that the end of government was the promotion of the public good, and that monarchy was based on the necessity of escape from lawless violence. While he admitted that resistance to sovereignty might be justifiable, he considered this doctrine so dangerous to society, as opening the door to popular excesses, that it should be concealed from the people unless the sovereign drove his subjects from their allegiance. This theory affected his view of the Stewart period. Ignorant of common law, as a Scotsman might well be, and of earlier English history, and inclined to scepticism, he failed to recognise the fundamental liberties of the nation. To him, they were 'privileges,' more or less dependent on the will and strength of the monarch; they had no common foundation in the spirit of the people, there was no general 'scheme of liberty.' He held that, at the accession of James I, the monarchy was regarded as absolute, and that, though Charles pushed the exercise of the prerogative too far, it was practically almost unlimited. The parliament made encroachments upon it: Charles defended his lawful position. Hume did not undervalue the liberties for which the parliamentary party contended, but he blamed them for the steps by which they asserted and secured them. His opinions were probably affected by his dislike of the puritans as much as by his erroneous theory of constitutional history: 'my views of things,' he wrote, 'are more

conformable to Whig principles, my representations of persons to Tory prejudices.' His scepticism led him to sneer at a profession of religious motives. To the church of England in Charles's reign, he 'accorded his approval as a bulwark of order, and, possibly, because in his own day it afforded many examples of religious indifference; and, including all the sects under the common appellation of puritans, he condemned them as 'infected with a wretched fanaticism' and as enemies to free thought and polite letters. The extent to which his prejudices coloured his treatment of the reign of Charles I may be illustrated by his remarks on the penalties inflicted by the Star chamber and by his sneer at the reverence paid to the memory of Sir John Eliot, 'who happened to die while in custody.'

His second volume was not so offensive to the whigs, for he held that limitations to the prerogative had been determined by the rebellion, and that Charles II and James II tried to override them. In his treatment of the reign of Elizabeth, his misconception of the constitution again came to the front and again caused offence; for he regarded the queen's arbitrary words and actions as proofs that it was an established rule that the prerogative should not be questioned in parliament, and that it was generally allowed that the monarchy was absolute. The same theory influenced his treatment of some earlier reigns, especially those of Henry III, Edward II and Richard II. His contempt for the Middle Ages as a rude and turbulent period, which he derived from, or shared with, Voltaire encouraged his error. Quarrels between kings and their subjects might result in diminutions of monarchical powers, but, in such barbarous times, no system of liberty could have been established. No one now reads Hume's *History*, though our more conscientious and more enlightened historians might learn much from it as regards the form in which the results of their labours should be presented: its defects in matter, therefore, are of little consequence, while its dignity, its masterly composition and its excellence of expression render it a literary achievement of the highest order.

In 1759, William Robertson, a presbyterian minister of Edinburgh, published his *History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and of James VI until his Accession to the Crown of England*, in two volumes: it was received with general applause and had a large sale. Robertson was rewarded by his appointment as principal of Edinburgh university in 1762, and as historiographer royal. In 1769 appeared his *History of Charles V* in

three volumes, for which he received £4500, a larger sum than had ever been paid for a historical work : it brought him an European reputation ; it was translated into French in 1771 ; Voltaire declared that it made him forget his woes, and Catherine II of Russia, who sent him a gold snuff-box, that it was her constant travelling companion. His *History of America*, in two volumes, recording the voyages of discovery, conquests and settlements of the Spaniards, was published in 1771, and, in 1791, his *Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India*.

Robertson paid more attention to authorities than Hume did, but sometimes misunderstood them, besides being uncritical, and apt to be superficial. Like Hume, he comments on events in a philosophic strain ; but his comments are often commonplace, and, like Hume, too, he fails to appreciate the forces at work in great social or political movements. Nevertheless, he had the historic sense in a measure given to none of his contemporaries before Gibbon : he had some idea of the interdependence of events and of the unity of history as one long drama of human progress to which even checks in this direction or that contribute fresh forces. His *History of Scotland* is remarkably fair, though, here and elsewhere, he shows a strong protestant bias : his mistaken view of the character and aims of Esme Stewart, earl of Lennox, is probably connected with the earl's 'firm adhesion to the protestant faith.' In common with Hume, he did not satisfy the more ardent admirers of Mary, queen of Scots ; and, in reply to both, William Tytler, a writer to the signet and a member of the Select Society, wrote his *Inquiry as to the Evidence* against her, in two volumes (1760), which passed through four editions and was twice translated into French. Before him, Walter Goodall, the advocates' sublibrarian, had defended her in his *Examination of the [Casket] Letters &c.*, in two volumes (1754), an ingenious book, proving that the French versions of the letters were translated ; and so the endless dispute began.

Robertson's *Charles V* opens with a view of the 'Progress of Society during the Middle Ages,' which Hallam praises highly and Carlyle, in boyhood, found inspiring. His misrepresentation of the state of learning, especially among the clergy, from the eighth to the eleventh century, has been exposed by Maitland¹ : it illustrates the contempt with which he, in common with Hume, regarded the Middle Ages, his careless use of authorities, his tendency to hasty generalisation and his religious bias. Other defects might be pointed out, but, though his review can no longer

¹ *Dark Ages, passim.*

*be regarded as authoritative, it is interesting and meritorious as the earliest attempt made by a British historian to present, on a large scale, a general view of history. In his work on the emperor's reign, his record of events, though insufficient and, occasionally, inaccurate, is, on the whole, more trustworthy than his estimate of their significance or of the characters and conduct of the chief actors in them. His erroneous description of the emperor's life at Yuste, as withdrawn from this world's affairs, is due to the authorities he used: in his day, access had not been allowed to the records at Simancas which have enabled later writers to give a very different account of it.

Robertson's style, in its lucidity, polish and signs of French influence, has a strong likeness to that of Hume: his sentences are well balanced, they lack Hume's ironic tone, but seem more alive than his. They are more sonorous, and often end with some word or words of weighty sound and Latin derivation, as when, speaking of the feeling of the English against queen Mary, he says, 'they grasped at suspicions and probabilities as if they had been irrefragable demonstrations.' Robertson's 'verbiage' and use of big words, illustrated in this sentence, Johnson humorously declared to have been learnt from him¹. Some development may be discerned in his writing: passages in his *Charles V* show that he was beginning to write history with an animation of which there is little sign in his *Scotland*, and this tendency ripened in his *America* into a faculty for rhetorical narrative finely displayed in his description of the voyage and landing of Columbus and some other passages. As history, his *America* is now of small value, for it is based on insufficient authorities, but, nevertheless, it is delightful to read. His books were, at least at first, more popular than Hume's *History*: as the work of a minister of religion, they did not alarm religious people, many of whom regarded all that Hume wrote as likely to be dangerous: his style was more attractive to simple folk, and they were impressed by the evidences of his learning in directions wholly beyond their knowledge. 'Hume's friendship with his younger rival², and the cordial admiration which Gibbon expressed for both of them³, are among the pleasing incidents in our literary history.

The works of Hume and Robertson seem to have excited other Scotsmen to write history. 'I believe,' Hume wrote in 1770, 'this

¹ Boswell, *Life*, vol. III, p. 178.

² Burton, *Life*, vol. II, *passim*.

³ Gibbon, *Autobiography*, p. 122, ed. Hill, G. B.; Dugald Stewart, *Life of Robertson*, p. 267.

is the true historical age and this the historical nation : I know no less than eight Histories on the stocks in this country¹. The letter which begins with these words refers especially to a *History of England* by Robert Henry, an Edinburgh minister, in six volumes, of which the first appeared in 1771, and which ends with the death of Henry VIII. It is arranged under various headings, as political and military affairs, religion, commerce, and so forth ; and its interest lies in the assertion, already, though not so strongly, made in Hume's *History*, that history is concerned with all sides of social life in the past. It is mainly written from second-hand authorities and is inordinately dull. Nevertheless, its comprehensiveness made it popular : it brought its author £3300 and a crown pension of £100 and was translated into French.

The character of the historical work of Sir David Dalrymple or Lord Hailes, the title he took as a Scottish judge (1766), was determined by professional instinct. He edited two small volumes of documents belonging respectively to the reigns of James I and Charles I, and compiled *Annals of Scotland from the Accession of Malcolm III to the Accession of the House of Stewart*, in two volumes (1776, 1779). This book contains an accurate and bare record of events, impartially stated, supported by references to authorities, and illustrated in footnotes and appendixes. Hailes, though one of the Select Society, was more closely connected with Johnson than with his fellow members. Johnson read the proofs of the *Annals* and praised its 'stability of dates' and its 'punctuality of citation,' though it had not 'that painted form which is the taste of the age'—a hit at Robertson—but also aptly described it as a 'Dictionary' containing 'mere dry particulars.' Hailes's attack on Gibbon is noticed in the next chapter².

Another Dalrymple, Sir John, of Cranstoun, a baronet, and, later, a judge, who was also a member of the Select Society, and had written an essay on feudal property, produced his *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* from 1684 to 1692, in two parts (1771—8), beginning with a review of affairs from 1660. The appendixes to his chapters contain a mass of previously unpublished political correspondence of first-rate importance on which he based his work. His first volume caused much stir, for it revealed the extent to which English politics, in the reign of Charles II, had been influenced by French intrigues, and disgusted the whigs by exhibiting Sidney's acceptance of money from Barillon. Dalrymple wrote in a pompous strain, and Johnson ridiculed his 'foppery'

¹ Letters to Strahan, pp. 155 ff.

² See chap. XIII, *post*.

and 'bouncing style'. He continued his work, in a new edition (1790), to the capture of the French and Spanish fleets at Vigo.

Another history, which may have been 'on the stocks' in Scotland in 1770, is Robert Watson's *History of the Reign of Philip II*, published in two volumes in 1777, the year of its author's promotion as principal of St Salvator's college, St Andrews. It contains a full and careful account of the revolt of the Netherlands, derived from van Meteren, Bentivoglio and Grotius, but its comparatively scanty notices of other Spanish affairs and of the foreign policy of Philip II are unsatisfactory². Watson's style is similar, though inferior to Robertson's: his sentences are generally well balanced, but some are less skilfully constructed; he is verbose, and, though his narrative shows a perception of the things which appeal to the emotions, it lacks emotional expression. Horace Walpole greatly admired his book³, which passed through several editions and was translated into French, German and Dutch. At the time of his death in 1781, Watson was engaged on a *History of Philip III*, which was completed by William Thomson, a prolific Scottish writer.

Incursions into the field of history were made by two English authors of the governing class. Walpole's *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III* (1768) is an attempt to show that Richard was probably innocent of the crimes imputed to him by Lancastrian writers. Sir George Buck⁴, Carte and William Guthrie, whose *History of England to 1688* in four volumes (1744—51) was little read and is of no importance, had, in different degrees, anticipated him; but Walpole was the first to argue the case with skill. He got it up well, his points are clearly put, and his pleading is witty and readable. The question has been revived and adequately discussed in our own day. Some of the accusations which Walpole criticises are no longer maintained by competent historians, but Walpole could not (nor can any one) show sufficient cause for doubting that Richard had part, at least, in the murder of Henry VI, that he put Hastings to death without a trial and that he murdered his nephews. Walpole was much pleased with his own book and bitterly resented adverse criticism from Hume⁵ and others⁶.

¹ Boswell, *Life*, vol. II, pp. 210, 237; vol. V, p. 403.

² Forneron, H., *Histoire de Philippe II* (1881), vol. I, p. 392, says that, with Gregorio Leti, Watson contributed most to substitute legend for fact in the history of Philip II.

³ *Letters*, vol. I, p. 224.

⁴ Cf. *ante*, vol. VII, p. 448.

⁵ In *Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne*. See Walpole, *Short Notes of My Life*.

⁶ See bibliography.

George, first baron Lyttelton, a second rate whig statesman, whose active interest in other departments of literature is noticed elsewhere¹, worked intermittently for some thirty years at his *History of the Life of Henry II*, which he produced, in three volumes, in 1767. The whole work, Johnson records, was printed twice over and a great part of it three times, 'his ambitious accuracy' costing him at least £1000². He used the best authorities he could find, and gives a minute and accurate account of the political events of Henry's reign, together with remarks not always according to knowledge on its constitutional and legal aspects. His style is clear, but remarkably flat, his narrative inanimate, and his reflections, in which 'Divine Providence' frequently appears, are often almost childish. His opinions on the constitution in the twelfth century flattered whig sentiment. Hume jeered at his whiggery and his piety; Johnson was offended by his whiggery; and Gibbon, referring to a review of the book which he had written in *Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne*, declared that the public had ratified his judgment that the author's 'sense and learning were not illuminated by a single ray of genius³.' Horace Walpole's remark, 'How dull one may be if one will but take pains for six or seven and twenty years together!', is just, though, as work conscientiously and, to some extent, efficiently done, the book deserves some kinder comment. Lyttelton was a patron of poorer authors, and among those he befriended was Archibald Bower, a Scot, who wrote for booksellers. Bower asserted that he had been a Jesuit and a counsellor of the inquisition in Italy, that he had escaped and had become a protestant. Between 1748 and 1753, he issued to numerous subscribers three volumes of a *History of the Popes* written with a great show of learning and ending at 757. Through Lyttelton's influence, he was appointed librarian to the queen (1748), and clerk of the buck-warrants (1754). In 1756—8, however, John Douglas, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, published proofs that Bower's account of himself was false, and that his volumes, text and references, were stolen from other authors, two-thirds of his first volume being practically translated from Tillemont⁴. He defended himself vigorously so far as his own story was concerned, and gradually completed his *History* in seven volumes, the seventh going down to 1758, but disposing of the history from 1600 onwards in twenty-six pages. The book,

¹ See chap. v, ante.

² *Lives of the Poets*.

³ *Memoirs*, pp. 178—4, ed. Hill, G. B.

⁴ *Letters*, vol. vii, p. 122.

⁵ See bibliography as to Gibbon's debt to Tillemont, cf. chap. xiii, post.

which was avowedly written against the claims of the see of Rome, has no literary merit. Bower, though an impudent impostor, had some learning, but his last four volumes are not of historical importance, and the reputation of his *History* did not survive Douglas's attack.

History was written as hackwork by two authors of eminent genius. Tobias George Smollett was hired to write a history to rival Hume's work, of which the first two volumes had then appeared, and, in 1757, he produced his *Compleat History of England to 1748*, in four volumes, written in fourteen months. He boasts of having consulted over three hundred books. When he began to write, he had 'a warm side' to whig principles; but he changed his opinions as he proceeded. The *History* sold well, and Hume, while contemptuous, was annoyed at his rivalry¹. Smollett wrote a continuation; the part from the revolution was revised and republished as a continuation of Hume's *History* and, as such, passed through several editions. It favours the tory side and is written in a robust and unaffected style. Oliver Goldsmith, in the preface to his *History of England to 1760*, in four volumes (1771), disclaims any attempt at research, and says that 'he wrote to instruct beginners and to refresh the minds of the aged, and 'not to add to our historical knowledge but to contract it.' In matter, his *History* is indebted to Hume. Both it and his two smaller books on the same subject are written in the charming and graceful style which makes all his prose works delightful. The smaller books, at least, were extensively used in education within the last seventy years. Neither Smollett, though he took his *History* seriously, nor Goldsmith should be considered as a historian.

Ireland found its historian at home. Thomas Leland, senior fellow of Trinity college, Dublin, wrote a *History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II*, ending with the treaty of Limerick (1691), which was published in 1773 in three volumes. Though he consulted some original authorities, he founded his work, after losing the guidance of Giraldus, mainly on those of Ware, Camden, Stanihurst, Cox and Carte, noting his authorities in his margins though without precise references. He writes in a lucid, straightforward, but inanimate style, and, though some of his statements and comments are capable of correction by modern scholars, his narrative, as a whole, is accurate, sober and impartial. *The History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, from 1745 to 1761, by Robert Orme, published in two volumes

• ¹ Burton, J. H., *Life*, vol. II, p. 58.

(the second in two 'sections') in 1763—78, is a contemporary memoir, for Orme was in India in the company's service during practically the whole time of which he wrote. It is a record of noble deeds written with picturesque details, and in dignified and natural language appropriate to its subject. Its accuracy in all important matters is unquestionable¹. It is too full of minor events which, however interesting in themselves, bewilder a reader not thoroughly acquainted with the history. Nor does it lay sufficient stress on events of the first magnitude. To this defect, all contemporary memoirs are, relatively, liable, and, in Orme's case, it is heightened by his excessive minuteness. It has been observed that he errs in treating the native princes rather than the French 'as principals in the story.' This, which would be a fault in a later history, is interesting in Orme's book, as it shows the aspect under which affairs appeared to a competent observer on the spot. William Russell's *History of Modern Europe*, from the time of Clovis to 1763, in five volumes (1779—86), is creditable to its author, who began life as an apprentice to a bookseller and printer, and became 'reader' for William Strahan, the publisher of the works of Gibbon, Hume, Robertson and other historians. Its sole interest consists in Russell's idea that Europe, as a whole, has a history which should be written by pursuing what he calls 'a great line.' He was not the man to write it: his book is badly constructed; far too large a space is given to English history; there are strange omissions in his narrative and several blunders.

Together with the development of historical writing, this period saw a remarkable increase in the publication of materials for it in the form of state papers and correspondence. The share taken by Lord Hailes and Sir John Dalrymple in this movement is noticed above. A third volume of Carte's *Ormond*, published in 1735, the year before the publication of the two containing the duke's *Life*, consists of a mass of original letters to which he refers in the *Life*. A portion of the *State Papers of the Earl of Clarendon* was published in three volumes by the university of Oxford in 1767. The publication of the *Thurloe Papers* by Thomas Birch has already been noted in this work². Birch, rector of St Margaret Pattens, London, and Depden, Suffolk, did much historical work, scenting out manuscript authorities with the eagerness of 'a young setting dog.' His more important productions are *An Inquiry into the Share which Charles I had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan* (1747), in answer to Carte's contention in his

¹ Macaulay, *Essay on Clive*.

² See vol. vii, pp. 187—8.

Ormond that the commission to the earl was not genuine; *Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, 1592—1617* (1749); *Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth* from 1581 (1754), mainly extracts from the papers of Anthony Bacon at Lambeth; and *Lives of Henry, prince of Wales and archbishop Tillotson*. At the time of his death (1766), he was preparing for press miscellaneous correspondence of the times of James I and Charles I. This interesting collection presenting the news of the day has been published in four volumes, two for each reign, under the title *Court and Times* etc. (1848). Birch, though a lively talker was a dull writer; but his work is valuable. He was a friend of the family of lord chancellor Hardwicke, who presented him to seven benefices.

The second earl of Hardwicke shared Birch's historical taste, and, in 1778, published anonymously *Miscellaneous State Papers, from 1501 to 1726*, in two volumes, a collection of importance compiled from the manuscripts of lord chancellor Somers. In 1774, Joseph Maccormick, a St Andrews minister, published the *State Papers and Letters* left by his great-uncle William Carstares, private secretary to William III, material invaluable for Scottish history in his reign, and prefixed a life of Carstares. The manuscripts left by Carte were used by James Macpherson, of Ossianic fame, in his *Original Papers*, from 1660 to 1714, in two volumes (1775). In the first part are extracts from papers purporting to belong to a life of James II written by himself, Carte's extracts being supplemented by Macpherson from papers in the Scottish college at Paris. The second part contains Hanover papers, mostly extracts from the papers of Robethon, private secretary to George II, now in the British Museum; the copies are accurate, but some of the translations are careless¹. Also, in 1775, he produced a *History of Great Britain* during the same period, in two volumes, which is based on the papers, and is strongly tory in character. For this, he received £3000. His style is marked by a constant recurrence of short and somewhat abrupt sentences. Both his *History* and his *Papers* annoyed the whigs, especially by exhibiting the intrigues of leading statesmen of the revolution with the court of St Germain². His *Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (1771) contains boldly asserted and wildly erroneous

¹ For the James II papers and their relation to the *Life of James II*, ed. Clarke, J. S., 1816, see Ranke, *History of England* (Eng. trans.), vol. vi, pp. 29 ff., and, for the Hanover papers, Chance, J. F., in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* vol. xiii (1898), pp. 55 ff. and pp. 538 ff.

² Horace Walpole, *Last Journals*, vol. i, pp. 444—5, ed. Stuart, A. F.

theories, particularly on ethnology, inspired by a spirit of excessive Celticism.

Much interest was excited by the speculations of the French *philosophes*, in some measure the literary offspring of Locke and enthusiastic admirers of the British constitution. Influenced by Montesquieu's famous *Esprit des Lois* (1748), Adam Ferguson, Hume's successor as advocates' librarian (1757) and then a professor of philosophy at Edinburgh, published his *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767). Hume advised that it should not be published, but it was much praised, was largely sold and was translated into German and French. Nevertheless, Hume's judgment was sound; the book is plausible and superficial¹. It is written in the polished and balanced style of which Hume was the master². The admiration expressed on the continent for the British constitution led Jean Louis Delolme, a citizen of Geneva, who came to England about 1769, to write an account of it in French which was published at Amsterdam in 1771. An English translation, probably not by the author, with three additional chapters, was published in London in 1775, with the title *The Constitution of England*; it had a large sale both here and in French and German translations abroad, and was held in high repute for many years. Delolme was a careful observer of our political institutions and, as a foreigner, marked some points in them likely to escape the notice of those familiar with them from childhood. The fundamental error of his book is that it regards the constitution as a nicely adjusted machine in which the action of each part is controlled by another, instead of recognising that any one of the 'powers' within it was capable of development at the expense of the others³; though, even as he wrote, within hearing of mobs shouting for 'Wilkes and Liberty,' one of them, the 'power of the people,' was entering on a period of development. To him, the outward form of the constitution was everything: he praised its stability and the system of counterpoises which, he believed, assured its permanence, so long as the Commons did not refuse supplies; he failed to see that it was built up by living forces any one of which might acquire new power or lose something of what it already had, and so disturb the balance which he represented as its special characteristic and safeguard.

¹ Stephen, Sir L., *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. II, p. 215.

² Ferguson's *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* is noticed in the following chapter.

³ Stephen, *u.s.* 209—214.

CHAPTER XIII

HISTORIANS

II

GIBBON

THE mind of Gibbon, like that of Pope, from which, in many respects, it widely differed, was a perfect type of the literary mind proper. By this, it is not meant that either the historian or the poet was without literary defects of his own, or of weaknesses—one might almost say obliquities—of judgment or temperament which could not fail to affect the character of his writings. But, like Pope and very few others among great English men of letters, Gibbon had recognised, very early in his life, the nature of the task to the execution of which it was to be devoted, and steadily pursued the path chosen by him till the goal had been reached which he had long and steadily kept in view¹. Like Pope, again, Gibbon, in the first instance, was virtually self-educated; the intellectual education with which he provided himself was more conscientious and thorough, as, in its results, it was more productive, than that which many matured systems of mental training succeed in imparting. The causes of his extraordinary literary success have to be sought, not only or mainly in the activity and the concentration of his powers—for these elements of success he had in common with many writers, who remained half-educated as well as self-educated—but, above all, in the discernment which accompanied these qualities. He was endowed with an inborn tendency to reject the allurements of hand-to-mouth knowledge and claptrap style, and to follow with unfaltering determination the guidance which study and reason had led him to select. Thus,

¹ His statement (*Memoirs*, ed. Hill, G. Birkbeck—the edition cited throughout this chapter—p. 195) that 'he never presumed to accept a place,' with Hume and Robertson, 'in the triumvirate of British historians' may be taken *cum grano*.

as culminating in the production of his great work, Gibbon's literary labours were very harmonious, and, so far as this can be asserted of any performance outside the field of pure literature, complete in themselves. While carrying them on, he experienced the periods of difficulty and doubt which no worker is spared; but, though the flame flickered at times, it soon recovered its steady luminosity. After transcribing the caliph Abdalrahman's reflection, how, in a reign of fifty years of unsurpassed grandeur, he had numbered but fourteen days of pure and genuine happiness, he adds in a note:

If I may speak of myself (the only person of whom I can speak with certainty) *my* happy hours have far exceeded the scanty numbers of the caliph of Spain; and I shall not scruple to add, that many of them are due to the pleasing labour of the present composition¹.

Thus, while he was continuously engaged in occupations which never ceased to stimulate his energies and to invigorate his powers, he was also fortunate enough to achieve the great work which proved the sum of his life's labours, to identify himself and his fame with one great book, and to die with his intellectual task done. Macaulay, the one English historian whose literary genius can be drawn into comparison with Gibbon's, left the history of England which he had 'purposed to write from the accession of King James II down to a time which is within the memory of men living' a noble fragment. Gibbon could lay down his pen, in a summer-house in his garden at Lausanne, 'in the day, or rather night, of the 27th of June, 1787,' after writing this final sentence of his completed book:

It was among the ruins of the Capitol, that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life; and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the public².

Though what Gibbon calls 'the curiosity of the public' may have exhausted itself long since, the candid judgment of many generations and of almost every class of readers has confirmed the opinion formed at once by Gibbon's own age. His great work remains an enduring monument of research, an imperishable literary possession and one of the highest encouragements to intellectual endeavour that can be found in the history of letters.

The facts of Gibbon's life—in themselves neither numerous nor startling—are related by him in an autobiography which,

¹ *Decline and Fall*, chap. LII.

² *Of. Memoirs*, p. 225.

by general consent, has established itself as one of the most fascinating books of its class in English literature. This is the more remarkable, since the *Memoirs of My Life and Writings*, as they were first printed by Gibbon's intimate friend the first earl of Sheffield (John Baker Holroyd), who made no pretence of concealing his editorial method, were a *cento* put together out of six, or, strictly speaking, seven, more or less fragmentary sketches written at different times by the author¹. Lord Sheffield was aided in his task (to what extent has been disputed) by his daughter Maria Josepha (afterwards Lady Stanley of Alderley), described by Gibbon himself as 'a most extraordinary young woman,' and certainly one of the brightest that ever put pen to paper. The material on which they worked was excellent in its way, and their treatment of it extraordinarily skilful; so that a third member of this delightful family, Lord Sheffield's sister 'Serena,' expressed the opinion of many generations of readers in writing of the *Memoirs*: 'They make me feel affectionate to Mr Gibbon².' The charm of Gibbon's manner as an autobiographer and, in a lesser degree, as a letter-writer, lies not only in his inexhaustible vivacity of mind, but, above all, in his gift of self-revelation, which is not obscured for long either by over-elaboration of style or by affectation of *chic* (such as his more than filial effusions to his stepmother or his facetious epistles to his friend Holroyd occasionally display). Out of all this wealth of matter, we must content ourselves here with abstracting only a few necessary data.

Edward Gibbon, born at Putney-on-Thames on 27 April 1737, came of a family of ancient descent³, tory principles and ample income. His grandfather, a city merchant, had seen his wealth engulfed in the South Sea abyss—it was only very wise great men, like Sir Robert Walpole, or very cautious small men, like Pope,

¹ For details, see bibliography. Frederic Harrison, in *Proceedings of the Gibbon Commemoration* (1895), describes the whole as 'a *pot-pourri* concocted out of the MS with great skill and tact, but with the most daring freedom.' He calculates that possibly one-third of the MS was not printed at all by Lord Sheffield. The whole series of autobiographical sketches are now in print. Rowland Prothero, in a note in his edition of *Private Letters of Edward Gibbon* (1758–94)—the edition cited throughout this chapter as *Letters*—vol. i, p. 155, shows, by the example of a letter (no. xxxiii) patched together by Lord Sheffield out of five extending over a period of six months, that he applied the same method to the *Letters* published by him in 1814.

² *The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd*, ed. Adeane, Jane, p. 372.

³ The Gibbons were connected, among others, with the Actons, and Edward Gibbon, the historian's father, was a kinsman of the great-grandfather of the late Lord Acton.

who knew when to withdraw from the brink ; but he had realised a second fortune, which he left to a son who, in due course, became a tory member of parliament and a London alderman. Edward, a weakly child—so weakly that ‘in the baptism of each of my brothers my father’s prudence successively repeated my Christian name... that, in case of the departure of the eldest son, this patronymic appellation might still be perpetuated in the family’, was, after two years at a preparatory school at Kingston-upon-Thames, sent to the most famous seminary of the day, Westminster school. But, though he lodged in College street at the boarding-house of his favourite ‘Aunt Kitty’ (Catherine Porten), the school, as readers of Cowper do not need to be reminded, was ill-suited to so tender a nursling ; and Gibbon remained a stranger to its studies almost as much as to its recreations. More than this—he tells us, in words that have been frequently quoted, how he is

tempted to enter a protest against the trite and lavish praise of the happiness of our boyish years, which is echoed with so much affectation in the world. That happiness I have never known, that time I have never regretted².

Yet, even his boyhood had its enjoyments, and the best of these was, also, the most enduring. His reading, though private, was carried on with enthusiasm, and, before he was sixteen, he had, in something more than outline, covered at least a large part of the ground which he afterwards surveyed in *The Decline and Fall*³. Before, however, his boyhood was really over, his studies were suddenly arrested by his entry, as a gentleman-commoner, at Magdalen college, Oxford, on 3 April 1752. No passage of his *Memoirs* has been more frequently quoted than his account of his *Alma Mater*, whom, if not actually ‘dissolved in port,’ he found content with the leavings of an obsolete system of studies, varied by prolonged convivialities, tinged, in their turn, by way of sentiment, with a futile Jacobitism⁴. The authorities of his college made no pretence of making up by religious training for the neglect of scholarship. He was, he says, forced by the ‘incredible neglect’ of his tutors to ‘grope his way for himself’ ; and the immediate result was that, on 8 June 1753, he was

¹ As a matter of fact, all his five brothers died in infancy.

² *Memoirs*, p. 216.

³ Morison, J. C., *Gibbon* (English Men of Letters), pp. 4—5.

⁴ For comparison pictures of the intellectual barrenness of Oxford in the period 1761—92, see *Memoirs*, appendix 15, where Sir James Stephen’s account of Cambridge in 1812—16 is also cited.

received into the church of Rome by a Jesuit named Baker, one of the chaplains to the Sardinian legation, and that, in the same month, his connection with Oxford came to an abrupt close. He had, at that time, barely completed his sixteenth year; but he tells us that, 'from his childhood, he had been fond of religious disputation.'

No. sooner had Gibbon left Oxford than his taste for study returned, and he essayed original composition in an essay on the chronology of the age of Sesostris. But the situation had another side for a 'practical' man like the elder Gibbon, who might well view with alarm the worldly consequences entailed, at that time, by conversion to Roman catholicism. He seems to have tried the effect upon his son of the society of David Mallet, a second-rate writer patronised in turn by Pope, Bolingbroke and Hume. But Mallet's philosophy 'rather scandalised than reclaimed' the convert, and threats availed as little as arguments. For, as he confesses, in his inimitable way, he 'cherished a secret hope that his father would not be able or willing to effect his menaces,' while 'the pride of conscience' encouraged the youth 'to sustain the honourable and important part which he was now acting.' Accordingly, change of scene (and of environment) was resolved upon as the only remedy left. In June 1753, he was sent by his father to Lausanne, where he was settled under the roof and tuition of a Calvinist minister named Pavillard, who afterwards described to Lord Sheffield 'the astonishment with which he gazed on Mr Gibbon standing before him: a thin little figure' (time was to render the first epithet inappropriate), 'with a large head, disputing and urging, with the greatest ability, all the best arguments that had ever been used in favour of Popery¹.'

To Lausanne, Gibbon became so attached that, after he had returned thither in the days of his maturity and established reputation, it became, in Byron's words² one of

the abodes

Of names which unto [them] bequeath'd a name.

His Swiss tutor's treatment of him was both kindly and discreet, and, without grave difficulty, weaned the young man's mind from the form of faith to which he had tendered his allegiance.

¹ *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 2, note.

² *Childe Harold*, canto III, st. 105. For an account of Lausanne and the Gibbon relic there and elsewhere, see Read, Meredith, *Historic Studies in Vaud, Berne and Savoy*, 2 vols. 1897: vol. II in especial.

In matters spiritual, Gibbon inclined rather to frivolity than to deliberate change; nor was this the only illustration of a disposition of mind 'clear' as the air and 'light' like the soil of Attica, and one in which some of the highest and of the deepest feelings alike failed to take root. It is, at the same time, absurd to waste indignation (as, for instance, Schlosser has done) upon his abandonment of an early engagement to a lady of great beauty and charm, Suzanne Curchod, who afterwards became the wife of the celebrated Necker. The real cause of the rupture was the veto of his father, upon whom he was wholly dependent, and whose decision neither of the lovers could ignore¹.

Gibbon did not leave Lausanne till April 1758. During his five years' sojourn there, his life had been the very reverse of that of a recluse—a character to which, indeed, he never made any pretension. As yet, he had not reached his intellectual manhood; nor is it easy to decide in what degree a steadfast ambition had already taken possession of him. Though his reading was various, it was neither purposeless nor unsystematic. He brought home with him, as the fruit of his studies, a work which was in every sense that of a beginner, but, at the same time, not ill calculated to attract the public. Before sending it to the printer, however, he cheerfully took the experienced advice of Paul Maty, editor of *The New Review*, and entirely recast it. The very circumstance that Gibbon's *Essai sur l'Étude de la Littérature*, published in 1761, was written in French shows under what influences it had been composed and to what kind of readers it was primarily addressed. Its purpose is one more defence of classical literature and history, the study of which was then out of fashion in France; but, though the idea is good, the style lacks naturalness—a defect due to the youthfulness of the writer far more than to the fact of his having written his treatise in a foreign tongue; for he had already acquired a mastery over French which he retained through life.

Before, however, he had entered the lists as an English author, he had passed through a different, but by no means barren, experience of life. A few days before the publication of his essay,

¹ A full account of their relations from first to last, characteristic of both the man and the age, will be found in an editorial note to *Letters*, vol. i, p. 40, and cf. *ibid.* vol. i, p. 81, note, as to 'the last phase.' In June 1794, Maria Josepha wrote: 'I thought I had told you that Madame Necker had the satisfaction of going out of the world with the knowledge of being Mr Gibbon's First and Only love' (*Girlhood*, p. 288). The passage in the *Memoirs* referring to Gibbon's renunciation of his engagement, was, as F. Harrison shows, unscrupulously recast by Lord Sheffield.

he joined the Hampshire militia, in which, for two years, he held in succession the rank of captain, major and colonel, and became, practically, the commander of a smart 'independent corps of 476 officers and men,' whose encampment on Winchester downs, on one occasion, at least, lasted four months, so that for twice that period he never took a book into his hands. His predilection for military history and the accounts of marches and campaigns was of old standing, and afterwards reflected itself in many passages of his historical masterpiece.

There cannot be any reason for doubting his statement that, during all this time, he was looking to the future rather than to the present, and that the conviction was gaining upon him of the time having arrived for beginning his proper career in life. It was in the direction of history that Gibbon's reading had lain almost since he had been able to read at all; and, by 1760 or thereabouts, Hume and Robertson were already before the world as historical writers who commanded its applause, and the reproach of having failed to reach the level of Italian and French achievement in this branch of literature could no longer be held to rest upon English writers. Gibbon, as a matter of course, was familiar with the chief historical productions of Voltaire, and, during his visit to Paris, in 1763, became personally acquainted with more than one French historian of note¹. Thus, he could not fail to agree with Hume that 'this was the historical age².' But, though he had no doubt as to the field of literature in which it behoved him to engage, he hesitated for some time with regard to the particular historical subject upon which he should fix his choice. Charles VIII's Italian expedition (which subject he rejected for the good reason that it was rather the introduction to great events than important in itself), the English barons' war, a Plutarchian parallel between Henry V and Titus and the biographies of more than one British worthy—that of Sir Walter Raleigh in especial—attracted him in turn. Gradually, he arrived at the conclusion that the theme chosen by him must not be narrow, and must not be English. The history of Swiss liberty, and that of Florence under the Medici, hereupon, for a time, busied his imagination—the former, he afterwards actually began, in French, but abandoned after, in 1767—8, the first book of it had been read to 'a literary society of foreigners in London,' and unfavourably received by

¹ *Memoirs*, pp. 135 ff., cf. appendix 24.

² *Letters of Hume* to Strachan, p. 155, cited *ibid.* appendix 21.

them¹. But if, like Milton, he was embarrassed by the wealth of themes which presented themselves to his literary imagination, he ended, again like Milton, by choosing what, in its development, proved the grandest and noblest of them all.

Soon after the disbandment of the militia on the close of the war in 1763, he paid a long visit to the continent, spending some time in Paris and then in Lausanne, where, during the better part of a year, he prepared himself for a sojourn in Italy by a severe course of archaeological study². He crossed the Italian frontier in April 1764, and reached Rome in October. Here, on the 15th of that month, as he records in a passage which is one of the landmarks of historical literature, it was

—as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the bare-footed fryars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind³.

For, as he adds, the conception of his life's work was, at first, confined within these limits, and only gradually grew in his mind into the vaster scheme which he actually carried into execution. We shall, perhaps, not err in attributing a direct incitement towards this expansion to the title, if not to the substance, of Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et leur décadence* (1734), which, to a mind like Gibbon's, already occupied with part of the theme, could hardly fail to suggest such an achievement as that to which, in the end, his genius proved capable of rising⁴.

Still, a long interval separates the original conception of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* from the execution of even its first instalment. During the years 1756 to 1764, he produced a series of miscellaneous historical writings, which, in part, may be described as preliminary studies for the great work of which the design had now dawned upon him. Some of them were in the synoptical form for which he always had a special predilection, characteristic of a mind desirous, with all its inclination to detail, of securing as wide as possible a grasp of the theme on which it was engaged—

¹ Cf. Morison, J. C., *Gibbon*, pp. 38—40; and see, as to *Introduction à l'Histoire Générale de la République des Suisses*, *Memoirs*, pp. 171—2. This fragment, on a theme which has more fitfully than enduringly attracted the attention of English historians, is largely based on Tschudi. It is printed in vol. III of *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon* (1814 ed.).

² Morison, J. C., *Gibbon*, p. 51.

³ *Memoirs*, p. 167.

⁴ The similarity in title, and the difference in design, are well pointed out in the preface to the 1776 edition of the German translation of *The Decline and Fall* by Wenck, F. A. W.

e.g. the first of the whole series, *Outlines of the History of the World—The Ninth Century to the Fifteenth inclusive*. Others were of the nature of small monographs, showing Gibbon's complementary interest in close and accurate investigations—such as *Critical Enquiries concerning the Title of Charles the Eighth to the Crown of Naples* (1761)¹. To a rather later date belongs the review (in French) (1768) of Horace Walpole's *Historic Doubts*², which treats this celebrated *tour de force* politely, but as a striking, rather than convincing, piece of work and ends with arguments derived from Hume, showing that the *sentiment général* on the subject represents the better grounded conclusion³. We pass by the classical studies belonging to the same period (1762 to 1770)⁴, noting only the long collection of French 'minutes' taken from the *magnum opus* of Cluverius in 1763 and 1764, as a preparation for his Italian tour, and entitled *Nomina Gentesque Antiquae Italiae*, and the wellknown *Observations on the Design of the VIth Book of the Aeneid*, Gibbon's first larger effort in English prose. The attack which the latter piece makes upon Warburton's hypothesis, that Vergil's picture symbolises the mystic conception of ancient religion, is very spirited; but modern scholarship is in this instance in sympathy with the theory denounced⁵. During the greater part of the year 1770, in which these *Observations* appeared (and in which Gibbon also put to paper some *Remarks on Blackstone's Commentaries*), Gibbon's father was afflicted by an illness which, in November, proved fatal; yet the coincidence of this illness with a long interval of silence in the letters addressed by 'Junius' to *The Public Advertiser* and to its printer has been made the starting-point of a theory that Gibbon was the author of the famous *Letters*⁶!

The death of Gibbon's father involved the son in a mass of uncongenial business, and, in the end, he found himself far from being a wealthy man. Still, he had saved enough from the wreck to be able, in the autumn of 1772, to establish himself in London, where he found easy access to the materials which he needed for the progress of his great work, together with the stimulus, which he could ill spare, of intellectual society in club and

¹ The French introduction to the intended Swiss *History* has been already noted.

² Cf., as to this, chap. XII, *ante*.

³ For all these, see vol. III of *Miscellaneous Works*.

⁴ For all these, see *ibid.* vol. IV.

⁵ Cf. Morison, J. C., *Gibbon*, p. 29. The *Observations* are printed in vol. IV, the *Remarks on Blackstone* in vol. V, of *Miscellaneous Works*.

⁶ See Smith, James, *Junius Unveiled* (1909).

drawing-room¹. In 1774, he entered the House of Commons, and, two years later, the first volume of *The Decline and Fall* was published.

The success of his political venture, in itself, was moderate; but he has recorded that 'the eight sessions that I sat in parliament were a school of civil prudence, the first and most essential virtue of an historian².' Although, while sitting for Liskeard till 1781 and then for Lymington till 1783, he remained a silent member, he voted steadily for Lord North's government and, afterwards, adhered to him in his coalition with Fox. In 1779, he was rewarded for his public fidelity by a commissionership of trade and plantations³, which he held till its abolition in 1782. The salary of the office was of much importance to him⁴; indeed, he thought himself unable to live in England without it, and when, on its suppression, he was disappointed in his hopes of other official employment, he, in the year before the downfall of the coalition, 'left the sinking ship and swam ashore on a plank⁵.' In truth, Gibbon was so conscious of his complete lack of the requisite gifts that (as he apologetically confesses) he rapidly relinquished the 'fleeting illusive hope of success in the parliamentary arena.' He was, however, persuaded, by Lords Thurlow and Weymouth, to indite, in the shape of a *Mémoire Justificatif* (1778), a reply to an official vindication by the government of Louis XVI of its conduct towards Great Britain. This paper, which denounces the intervention of the French government in Great Britain's quarrel with her American colonies, and the delusive Spanish offer of mediation, is a state manifesto rather than a diplomatic document, and resembles some of the publicistic efforts put forth a generation later by Gentz—if not the productions of Gentz's model, Burke⁶.

While the political phase of his career, as a whole, was lame and self-ended, the first instalment of his great historical work, of which vol. I was published on 17 February 1776, took the town by storm; nor has *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* ever ceased to hold the commanding position in the world of letters which it occupied at the outset.

¹ 'I never found my mind more vigorous, nor my composition more happy, than in the winter hurry of society and parliament.' *Memoirs*, p. 201.

² *Ibid.* p. 198.

³ For the doggerel, attributed to Fox, commenting on this appointment, see *Letters*, vol. I, p. 354.

⁴ See his letter to Edward (afterwards Lord) Elliot (1779) in *Memoirs*, appendix 43.

⁵ See *ibid.* appendix 47 (*Letters*, vol. II, p. 92).

⁶ It is printed in *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. V.

He had produced the first portion of his work in a more leisurely way than that in which he composed the five succeeding volumes, on each of which he spent about a couple of years ; and everything in the circumstances of its publication pointed to a fair success. But the actual reception of the volume very far surpassed the modest expectations entertained by him just before its issue, when, as he avers, he was 'neither elated by the ambition of fame, nor depressed by the apprehension of contempt¹.' He felt conscious of his essential accuracy, of the sufficiency of his reading, of his being in accord with the spirit of enlightenment characteristic of his age and of the splendour, as well as the attractiveness, of his theme. Yet the triumph was not the less sweet ; and he confesses himself 'at a loss to describe the success of the work without betraying the vanity of the writer.' Three editions were rapidly exhausted ; Madame Necker brought him her congratulations in person ; and when, in the following year, he returned her visit at Paris, the world of fashion (which, more entirely here than in London, covered the world of letters) was at his feet. At home, Hume wrote him a letter which 'overpaid the labour of ten years,' and Robertson's commendations were equally sincere. Other historians and scholars added their praise ; and, when it proved, for a time, that he had provoked the susceptibilities of religious orthodoxy, without calling forth the cavils of 'profane' critics, he was satisfied.

It will be most convenient to enumerate at once the chief attacks to which *The Decline and Fall* gave rise, without separating the earlier from the later. In a scornful review of antagonists, victory over whom he professes to regard as a sufficient humiliation, and whose 'rewards in this world' he proceeds to recite², Gibbon declares that 'the earliest of them was, in this respect, neglected.' Although this was not strictly true³, it suggests a just estimate of James Chelsum's *Remarks on the Two Last Chapters of Mr Gibbon's History* (1776), a pamphlet not discourteous in tone, but devoid of force. Gibbon was probably less touched by this tract and by the sermons of Thomas Randolph, another Oxford divine, directed against his fifteenth chapter, than by *An Apology for Christianity in a Series of Letters*

¹ Cf., as to the reception of vol. i, *Memoirs*, pp. 194—9, where Hume's letter is printed at length.

² *Memoirs*, pp. 202 ff.

³ Chelsum held three benefices and was chaplain to two bishops, besides being preacher at Whitehall. See *ibid.* appendix 39, which contains a notice of several of Gibbon's censors.

to *Edward Gibbon* (1776), by Richard Watson, regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, afterwards bishop of Llandaff, the polished character of whose style he feels himself bound to acknowledge. What is even more notable in Watson's *Apology* (which was afterwards reprinted with a companion *Apology for the Bible*, in answer to Thomas Paine), is the tolerance of tone observable in the general conduct of his argument, as well as in such a passage as that acknowledging Voltaire's services to Christianity in the repression of bigotry. The criticism of Gibbon's use of insinuation is telling, and in the last letter the appeal, not to Gibbon, but to that section of the public which, so to speak, was on the look-out for religious difficulties obstructing the acceptance of the Christian faith—is both skilful and impressive. Passing by *Letters on the Prevalence of Christianity before its Civil establishment* by East Apthorpe (on whom archbishop Cornwallis promptly bestowed a city living), and Smyth Loftus's *Reply to the Reasonings of Mr Gibbon* (whose mention of 'a Theological answer written by a mere Irish parson' seems to apply to this effort), both printed in 1778¹, we come to a publication of the same year, which at last moved Gibbon to break the silence hitherto opposed by him to the assailants of his first volume, or, rather, of the portion of it which had treated of the progress of early Christianity. Henry Edwards Davis, a young Oxonian, in his *Examination of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of Mr Gibbon's History etc.* (1778), set about his task in the ardent spirit of a reviewer fresh to the warpath, and, after attempting to convict the author of *The Decline and Fall* of misrepresentation (including misquotation) of a number of—mainly Latin—writers, launched forth into the still more nebulous sphere of charges of plagiarism from Middleton, Barbeyrac, Dodwell and others—curiously enough tracing only a single passage to Tillemont² as its source. Davis's *Examination* is of the sort which small critics have at all times applied to writers whether great or small, and, in this as in other instances, it succeeded in stinging. In *A Vindication of some Passages in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters* (1779)³, after declaring that Davis's accusations, as touching the historian's honour, had extorted from him a notice which he had

¹ *An Enquiry into the Belief of the Christians of the first three centuries respecting the Godhead* by William Burgh, author of three volumes of *Political Disquisitions* (1778—5), belongs to the same year.

² Cf. *ante*, chap. xii and *post*, p. 314, note 2.

³ Reprinted in vol. iv of *Miscellaneous Works*.

refused to more honourable foes, he defended himself, with indisputable and, in point of fact, undisputed success, against the indictment preferred against him, and took advantage of the occasion to reply, without losing his temper, to 'the theological champions who have signalized their ardour to break a lance against the shield of a *Pagan* adversary.' The defence served its purpose, and he did not find any necessity for renewing it. As his great work progressed, a second series of censors took up their parable against it.* In 1781, Henry Taylor, a divine of the 'intellectual' school, in his *Thoughts on the Nature of the Grand Apostacy and Observations* on Gibbon's still-vested fifteenth chapter, sought, while deprecating the historian's sneers, to show that he aimed not at the essence, but only at the particulars of his subject; and Joseph Milner, a mystically disposed evangelical who wrote ecclesiastical history with the intent of illustrating the display of Christian virtues, and whom Gibbon set down as a fool, published his *Gibbon's Account of Christianity considered etc.* In the following year, John Priestley, in the second volume of his *History of the Corruptions of Christianity* joined issue with Gibbon, whom he charged with representing the immediate causes of the spread of the Christian religion as having been themselves effects¹. In 1784, Joseph White, in the third of a set of Bampton lectures delivered at Oxford, returned to the subject of Gibbon's 'five causes,' which the critic conceived to be 'in reality unconnected with any divine interposition'; in the same year, a special point—intended, of course, as a test-point—concerning Gibbon's trustworthiness was raised by George Travis, archdeacon of Chester, in his *Letters to Edward Gibbon* in defence of the disputed verse (St John's *First Epistle*, chap. v, v. 7) introducing the three heavenly witnesses. The attack drew down upon its unfortunate author a series of replies by Richard Porson, which have been classed with the controversial criticism of Bentley; but, although satisfactorily vindicated as to the main issue of the dispute, Gibbon cannot have regarded his champion's intervention with feelings of unmixed gratitude. Travis's arguments were confounded; but Porson's criticism of the writer whom Travis had attacked has survived:

I confess I see nothing wrong in Mr Gibbon's attack upon Christianity. It proceeded, I doubt not, from the purest and most virtuous motives. We can only blame him for carrying on the attack in an insidious manner, and with imperfect weapons²,

¹ As to Priestley and his point of view, see vol. xi.

² *Letters to Mr Archdeacon Travis* (1790), preface, p. xxix.

and there follows a literary judgment of the great historian's style—and, incidentally, of his ethics—to which further reference must be made below, and which, while full of wit, is, in some respects, not more witty than true. A more formidable censor than archdeacon Travis appeared, in 1782, in the person of Lord Hailes (Sir David Dalrymple), of whose own contributions to historical literature some mention was made in the previous chapter of this work. Much of the logic of *An Inquiry into the Secondary Causes which Mr Gibbon has assigned for the Rapid Growth of Christianity* (1778)—which is at once straightforward in form and temperate in tone—is irrefutable; and Gibbon was sagacious enough to allow that, possibly, some flaws were discovered in his work by his legal critic, to whose accuracy as a historian he goes out of his way to pay a compliment¹. Finally, after, in a university sermon at Cambridge (1790), Thomas Edwards had referred, as to a formidable enemy, to a writer whose work 'can perish only with the language itself,' John Whitaker, of whose *History of Manchester* notice will be taken below, and who seems to have been actuated by recent private *pique*², published, in 1791, a series of criticisms begun by him in *The English Review*, in October 1788, under the title *Gibbon's History etc., in Vols. IV. V. and VI. reviewed*. In this tractate, Gibbon's supposed lack of veracity is traced back to the lack of probity stated to be shown by him already in the earlier portions of his work; and his absorption of other writers' materials is held up to blame together with the frequent inelegance of his style. The general method of Whitaker's attack can only be described by the word 'nagging'; at the close, he gathers up the innumerable charges into a grand denunciation of the historian as another Miltonic Belial, imposing but hollow, pleasing to the outward sense but incapable of high thoughts.

This summary account of the attacks upon *The Decline and Fall* published in the lifetime of its author at least illustrates the narrowness of the limits within which the sea of criticism was, after all, almost entirely confined. Gibbon's treatment of them, on the other hand, shows how little importance he attached to such censure except when it impugned his general qualifications as a historian. How little he cared for immediate applause is

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 204.

² See Lord Sheffield's note in *Misc. Works*, vol. i, p. 243, where it is stated that Whitaker had written very amiable letters to Gibbon after perusing chapters xv and xvi.

shown by the fact that, though the popular welcome extended to his second and third volumes (1781) was, at first, fainter, it was only now that he finally resolved to carry on the work from the fall of the western to that of the eastern empire—an interval of about a thousand years. Not long afterwards, he at last made up his mind to exchange conditions of existence which, as he asserts, had become wearisome to him and which he, certainly, could no longer afford to meet, for the freedom of a purely literary life; and, in the autumn of 1783, he broke up his London establishment and carried out the long-cherished plan of settling with his tried friend George Deyverdun¹ at Lausanne. Here, in a retirement which was anything but 'cloistered,' he, by the end of 1787, brought to a close the main work of his life, of which the three concluding volumes (iv—vi) were carried by him to England and published in April 1788. The passage in the *Memoirs* relating the historian's actual accomplishment of his task is one of the commonplaces of English literature, and records one of the golden moments which redeem the endless tale of disappointments and failures in the annals of authorship.

After, in 1788, Gibbon had again returned to Lausanne, where, in the following year, he lost the faithful Deyverdun, he made up his mind—once more setting an example which but few men of letters have found themselves able to follow—to undertake no other great work, but to confine himself henceforth to essays or 'Historical excursions².' It was as one of these that he designed his *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*. What he wrote of this work amounts to more than a fragment³; for, of the three divisions contemplated by him, the first (*The Italian Descent*) and part of the second (*The German Reign*), were actually carried out, though the third (*The British Succession of the House of Brunswick*), for which Gibbon could have but very imperfectly commanded the material preserved in Hanover and at home, was not even approached by him. Whatever temporary value Gibbon's treatment of the material amassed by Leibniz and Muratori might have possessed vanished with the tardy publication, in 1842, of Leibniz's own *Annales imperii occidentis Brunsvicenses*. But

¹ It was with Deyverdun that, in 1768, Gibbon had brought out in London the French literary annual called *Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne pour les Années 1767 et 1768*, to which he contributed, with other articles, a review of Lyttelton's *History of Henry II*, 'that voluminous work, in which sense and learning are not illuminated by a ray of genius.' (*Memoirs*, pp. 178—4.)

² See the letter to Langer, in *Letters*, p. 229.

³ See *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. III.

Gibbon's narrative has a few purple patches, nor would posterity willingly forego the tribute which, near its opening, he pays to 'the genius and unparalleled intellect' of Leibniz, as well as to the industry and critical ability of the indefatigable Italian scholar with whom the great German was associated in his researches.

In 1791, Gibbon bade farewell to Lausanne, and the rest of his life was spent in England, where he almost continuously enjoyed the paternal hospitality of his most intimate English friend, the earl of Sheffield (John Baker Holroyd), at Sheffield place, Sussex, and in London. Lord Sheffield's name is as enduringly associated with that of the great historian as Boswell's is with Johnson's, but in a more equal way—as is shown by Lord Sheffield's unique treatment of Gibbon's *Memoirs* and by his admirable posthumous editions of the *Miscellaneous Works*. The last addition which Gibbon lived to make to these, the *Address* recommending the publication of *Scriptores Rerum Anglicanarum*, under the editorship of the Scottish antiquarian and historian John Pinkerton—a noble design which was to remain long unaccomplished—was interrupted by death¹. Thus, his last literary effort appropriately directed itself to the promotion of historical research. He died on 16 January 1794, and was buried in the Sheffield mausoleum in Fletching church, by the side 'of his dear friend, we may almost say, of his brother by adoption².' In the *Memoirs*, which he left behind him as the best monument of his long literary life, he confesses himself 'disgusted with the affectation of men of letters, who complain that they have renounced a substance for a shadow; and that their fame (which sometimes is no insupportable weight) affords a poor compensation for envy, censure, and persecution³.' Whatever crowning grace Gibbon's life may have missed, it brought him a long intellectual triumph and a fame which the course of time has left undimmed.

Gibbon declared, as has been seen, that he 'never presumed to accept a place in the British triumvirate of historians'; but succeeding generations have concurred in assigning to *The Decline and Fall* the primacy, which it still holds, among historical works in our literature, and in esteeming its author the most brilliant example known of 'the union of the historian and the man of

¹ It is printed, with an explanatory appendix by Pinkerton, in vol. III of *Miscellaneous Works*.

² Harrison, Frederic, u.s.

³ *Memoirs*, p. 241.

letters¹. From the ancients, he had taken over the rhetorical side of the historian's task; from the French, he had derived the treatment of historical materials by a scientific method of criticism and selection; from the French, too, with the assistance of Hume and Robertson, he had learnt how to combine scientific method with artistic effect. His literary art may suffer from mannerisms, which were those of his age, as well as from foibles, which were his own, and, as a scientific history, his work has, in many respects, become superannuated; but its main and distinctive qualities continue unimpaired. Is it possible to indicate, in a few words, of which, among these qualities, the importance seems paramount?

In the first place, his choice of subject—as it gradually developed itself in the progress of the work—was supremely felicitous; for it is the greatest theme furnished by profane history. Even before Gibbon could feel assured that the complete treatment of the whole subject would be compassed by himself, he already contemplated it in its unity². What the Roman empire was, after it had attained to its full strength and maturity, and how its western division verged gradually to its decline and downfall, is only half the story; the other and much longer half shows how its fall was followed by long centuries of life in the eastern, and a revival, in new conditions, of its existence in the western, world. And more than this: Janus-like, the historian is constrained to turn, with one face, to the Roman commonwealth out of which the empire grew and of which it never lost the impress; while, with his other face, he looks forward to modern times. He bids us consider, not only what it was that declined and fell, but, also, what grew into life. The new elements of movement, the rise of new national, and that of new religious, powers must all be reviewed in their twofold relation to what they superseded and to what they prepared. The migration and settlements of the Teutonic tribes, and the spread and establishment of the Christian, and, after it, of the Mohammadan, religion, must be treated not only as helping to break up the Roman empire, but, also, as cooperating in the new order of things. The principle of the continuity of history, Freeman's favourite theme, is, as the latest editor of Gibbon reminds us,

not the least important aspect of *The Decline and Fall*. . . . On the continuity of the Roman Empire depended the unity of Gibbon's work . . . whatever names of contempt he might apply to the institution in the days of the decline³.

¹ Bury, J. B., preface to the 1909 edn., p. viii.

² See the outline of the scheme in the preface to vol. i dated 1 February 1776.

³ Bury, *u.s.*

Thus, the historian essays to narrate how the ancient world became the modern, just as the mausoleum of Hadrian became the papal fastness of St Angelo—or, in his own characteristic words¹, to 'describe the triumph of barbarism and religion.'

The capabilities of the subject, then, are of surpassing greatness; yet the mind is able to grasp it as a whole. Here, we have no mere series of annals, such as were presented even by the excellent Tillemont, to whom Gibbon was indebted for much of his material², but a complete work. Its opening chapters may fall short of the results of modern numismatical and epigraphical research; its later portions, which cover a relatively far larger ground, may show an inadequate command of the political life of the Byzantine empire and all but ignore much of the Slavonic side of its history, may inadequately appreciate the historic significance, or the individual grandeur, of the figure of Charles the great and may fail in the narration of the second and third crusades³—in a word, it may need to be supplemented, repaired or changed here and there, and again and again. But it is complete even though it is imperfect. Eminent historians—Guizot, Milman, Bury—have, therefore, been willing to become Gibbon's editors and commentators; but they have not dealt with him as he dealt with Tillemont. It is as a whole that his work has maintained the position which it conquered for itself at once in historical literature.

Inspired, as it were, by the muse of history herself in the magnificence of his choice of subject and in the grandeur of his determination to treat it with a completeness in harmony with its nature, Gibbon displayed a breadth of grasp and a lucidity of exposition such as very few historians have brought to the performance of a cognate task. Whether in tracing the origin and growth of a new religion, such as Mohammadanism, or in developing in comprehensive outline the idea of Roman jurisprudence⁴, the masterly clearness of his treatment is equal to the demands of his philosophic insight; nor does the imaginative power of the historian fall short of the consummate skill of the literary artist.

But there is another requirement which the historian, whatever may be his theme, is called upon to satisfy, and which, in plain

¹ Bury, p. vii.

² Tillemont, *Le Nain de, Histoire des Empereurs* etc., treats each successive reign in a series of short chapters or headed articles, with notes appended on a wide variety of points, in the way that Gibbon loved. It reaches to the death of the emperor Anastasius, A.D. 518. His *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques* cover the first six centuries of the Christian era. As to Gibbon's debt to him, see Bury, u.s. p. ix.

³ Cf. *ibid.* pp. xix—xxi; Morison, *Gibbon*, pp. 162—5.

⁴ Cf. Bury, pp. xiii and xiv.

truth, is antecedent to all others. Any work claiming to be a contribution to historical knowledge should, within the limits of human fallibility and the boundaries at different times confining human knowledge, be exactly truthful. It was on this head only that Gibbon avowed himself sensitive, and on this alone that he condescended to reply to antagonists of any sort. It is worse than needless to attempt to distinguish between the infinitely numerous shades of inaccuracy; and Gibbon would have scorned any such endeavour. His defence, of which, in the opinion of those capable of rising above the method adopted by more than one of his censors, the validity is indisputable, is a real vindication. He allows that a critical eye may discover in his work some loose and general references. But he fairly asks whether, inasmuch as their proportion to the whole body of his statements is quite inconsiderable, they can be held to warrant the accusation brought against him. Nor is he unsuccessful in explaining the circumstances which, in the instances impugned, rendered greater precision of statement impossible. The charge of plagiarism—the last infirmity of sagacious critics—he rebuts with conspicuous success, and courageously upholds his unhesitating plea of *not guilty* :

If my readers are satisfied with the form, the colours, the new arrangement which I have given to the labours of my predecessors, they may perhaps consider me not as a contemptible thief, but as an honest and industrious manufacturer, who has fairly procured the raw materials, and worked them up with a laudable degree of skill and success¹.

The verdict of modern historical criticism has approved his plea. 'If,' writes Bury, 'we take into account the vast range of his work, his accuracy is amazing, and, with all his disadvantages, his slips are singularly few².' It is an objection of very secondary importance, though one to which even experienced writers are wont to expose themselves, that Gibbon is apt to indulge in what might almost be called a parade of authorities.

Complete, lucid and accurate, Gibbon, finally, is one of the great masters of English prose. His power of narrative is at least equalled by his gift of argumentative statement, and, in all parts of his work, his style is one which holds the reader spell-bound by its stately dignity, relieved by a curious subtlety of nuance, and which, at the same time, is the writer's own as much as is that of Clarendon, Macaulay or Carlyle. Gibbon's long sentences, which, at times, extend over a whole paragraph or page, but are never involved, resemble neither those of Johnson nor those of Robertson; if his style is to be compared to that of any

¹ *Vindication* (*Miscellaneous Works*, vol. xv, p. 588).

² *u.s.* p. ix.

other master of English prose, it is to Burke's. Built with admirable skill and precision, his sentences are coloured by a delicate choice of words and permeated by a delightful suggestion of rhythm in each case—too pleasing to seem the effect of design. Gibbon's irony differs greatly from that of Swift, who deliberately fools his reader and, thereby, increases the enjoyment that arises from the perception of his real meaning, and still more from that of Carlyle, the savage purpose of whose sarcasm never leaves the reader in doubt. The irony of Gibbon is almost always refined, but not at any time obscure. It reveals itself in the choice of an epithet, in the substitution of a noun of more ordinary usage for another of a more select class; it also appears in the inversion of the order in which, commonly, reasons are assigned or motives suggested, and often makes use of that most dangerous of all rhetorical devices—insinuation. This, however, already carries us beyond mere questions of style. Where this insinuation is directed against assumed ethical principles, it has been admirably characterised¹ 'as sub-cynical.'

Gibbon's diction, it may be added, was not formed on native models only; yet it would be in the highest degree unjust to describe it as Gallicising. His fine taste preserved him from the affectation of special turns or tricks of style not due to the individuality of a writer, but largely consisting in idioms borrowed from a tongue whose genius is not that of ours. Much as Gibbon, who, from an early date, wrote French with perfect ease and clearness, owed to that language and literature in the formation of his style as well as in his general manner as a historian, he merely assimilated these elements to others which he could claim as native. Notwithstanding the powerful presentment of the case by Taine², the influence of French works upon the style of English historians has probably been overrated. In the first place, the 'triumvirate' Hume, Robertson and Gibbon should not be 'lumped' together from the point of view of style any more than from other more or less adjacent points of view. The style of Hume, in some measure, was influenced by his reading of French philosophers, and that of Gibbon by his reading of the works of this and of other French literary schools—the sequence of great pulpit orators among them; in the style of Robertson, it is difficult to see much influence of French prose of any sort.

¹ By Frederic Harrison, *u.s.* Horace Walpole paid to Gibbon's style the compliment: 'he never tires me.' Coleridge thought it 'detestable.' (*Memoirs*, appendix 27.)

² *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, vol. iv, p. 280 (édn. 1866).

And, if we are to trace the genesis of Gibbon's prose style, we should take care, while allowing for French, not altogether to disregard native influences. Gibbon, as is well known, was a great admirer of Fielding, to whom (as it would seem, erroneously) he ascribed kinship with the house of Habsburg; and, though there can be no question of comparing the style of the great novelist to that of the great historian, it may be pointed out how Fielding, like Gibbon, excels in passages holding the mean between narrative and oratorical prose, and how, among great writers of the period, he alone (except, perhaps, in a somewhat different fashion, Goldsmith) shares with Gibbon that art of subdued irony which it was sought alone to characterise. Gibbon, then, has much of the magnificence of Burke, of the incisiveness of Hume and of the serene humour of Fielding, in addition to the ease and lucidity of the French writers who had been the companions of his youthful studies. The faults of his style have been summarised, once for all, in the celebrated passage in Porson's exposure of Travis which has already been cited¹; they consist, in the first instance, of a want of terseness, and, at the same time, a want of proportion, to which our age is more sensitive than was Gibbon's; he sometimes, says Porson, in Shakespearean phrase, 'draws out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument'; while, on other occasions, he recalls Foote's auctioneer, 'whose manner was so inimitably fine that he had as much to say upon a ribbon as a Raphael.' The other fault reprehended by Porson we may imitate Gibbon himself in veiling under the transparent cover of a foreign tongue—it is, in the scathing words of Sainte-Beuve², *une obscénité érudite et froide*.

Concerning yet another, and more comprehensive charge against Gibbon, on which, as has been seen, critic after critic, returning again and again to the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, thought it necessary to insist, we need, in conclusion, say little or nothing. The day has passed for censuring him because, in this part of his work, he chose to dwell upon what he described as the secondary causes of the progress of the Christian religion, and the community which professed it, from the days of Nero to those of Constantine. Such a selection of causes he had a right to make; nor did he ask his readers to shut their eyes to the cardinal fact, as stated by Milman³, that, 'in the Christian

¹ It is reprinted in Watson, J. S., *Life of Porson* (1861), p. 85.

² Cited by Birkbeck Hill in preface to *Memoirs*, p. xi.

³ Preface to edition of 1872, with notes by Milman and Guizot, p. xiii.

dispensation as in the material world, it is as the First Great Cause¹ that the Deity is most undeniably present.' Even the manner in which, in his first volume, at all events, he chose to speak of men and institutions surrounded by traditional romance cannot be made the basis of any charge against him as a historical writer. But it is quite obvious to any candid student of *The Decline and Fall* that its author had no sympathy with human nature in its exceptional moral developments—in a word, that his work was written, not only without enthusiasm, but with a conscious distrust, which his age shared to the full, of enthusiasts. Unlike Hume, who was at one with Gibbon in this distrust, the latter remained, in this respect, master of himself, and did not allow antipathies against those who stood on one side to excite his sympathies with those on the other. He would have treated the puritan movement in the spirit in which Hume treated it, and have had as little wish to penetrate into its depths, as, in contemporary politics, he tried to understand the early aspirations of the French revolution. But he would not, it may be supposed, have drawn a sympathetic picture of king Charles I—for it would be unjust to him to ascribe to any such mental process the conception of Julian the apostate, whereby he scandalised the orthodox. Nothing in the historian's own idiosyncrasy responds to the passions which transform the lives of men and nations; and, to him, history, in his own words¹, is 'little more than the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind.' This limitation deprives the greatest of English historical works of a charm which is more than a charm, and the absence of which, however legitimate it seemed to the historian himself, cannot be ignored by his readers.

Though Gibbon overtops all contemporary English historical writers who concerned themselves with ancient history—in the sense in which it long remained customary to employ the term—it may be well to note in this place a few of the more important productions in this field by lesser writers. The general public was not supplied with many nutritious droppings from academical tables, still largely supplied with the same 'classical' fare; and, in the field of ancient history in particular, its illpaid labourers had, like Oliver Goldsmith, to turn out as best they might a 'popular' history of Greece or of Rome. Meanwhile, the demands of a more fastidious section of readers for more elaborate works on ancient

¹ Cited by Bury, *u.s.* p. xxi.

history were by no means clamorous. The great success of Conyers Middleton's *History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero* (1741) had proved, as an exception, how barren this branch of classical work had hitherto remained, and, albeit he was a voluminous writer¹, his other publications of this class had been, in the main, ancillary to his historical *magnum opus*. Though he describes it in his preface as a 'life and times' rather than a 'life' of his hero, it is constructed on biographical lines, and contributed in its way to nourish the single-minded devotion to Cicero, as a politician hardly less than as a writer, which, at a later date, was to suffer ruthless shocks. Nor should another production be passed by, which was directly due to its author's unwillingness to remain content with the French Jesuit history of Rome that had hitherto commanded the field, supplemented by the more discursive writings of Aubert de Vertot and Basil Kennett. Nathaniel Hooke, the friend of Pope from his youth to the hour of his death, dedicated to the poet the first volume of his *Roman History from the Building of Rome to the Ruin of the Commonwealth*, which appeared in 1738, though the fourth and concluding volume was not published till 1771, eight years after the author's death. Hooke also wrote *Observations on the Roman Senate* (1758); but he is best known as the literary editor of the famous *Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough* (1742). His *Roman History*, though, of course, obsolete, especially in its earliest sections (as to the chronology of which he falls in with the chronological conclusions of Newton), is written clearly and simply; moreover, his sympathies are broad, and, though his narrative may, at times, lack proportion, it shows that he had a heart for the *plebs* and could judge generously of Julius Cæsar.

It was in far broader fashion, as became a Scottish professor of moral philosophy, that Adam Ferguson proyed his interest in the more extended view of historical study which was engaging the attention of British, as well as French, writers. Something was said in our previous chapter of his *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767). Thus, when, in 1783, Ferguson published his chief work, *The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic*, it was with no narrow conception of his task that he undertook what, as its title indicates, was designed as a sort of introductory supplement to Gibbon's masterpiece. The preliminary survey of the course of Roman

¹ A full bibliography of Middleton will be found in vol. i of his *Miscellaneous Works* (2nd edn. 1755). Cf., as to his place among scholars, *ante*, vol. ix, chap. xiii.

history from the origins, though done with care and with due attention to historical geography, is, necessarily, inadequate, and some portions of what follows, avowedly, serve only to inform us as to what the Romans themselves believed to be a true narrative. His sketches of character are the reverse of paradoxical, though after recounting the enormities of Tiberius, he grieves 'to acknowledge that he was a man of considerable ability¹.'

In the year (1784) following that of the publication of Ferguson's *Roman History* appeared the first volume of William Mitford's *History of Greece*, a venture upon what was then, in English historical literature, almost untrodden ground. Gibbon had suggested the enterprise to Mitford, who was his brother-officer in the south-Hampshire militia and had published a treatise on the military force of England, and the militia in particular. Mitford's *History*, which was not completed till 1810, long held the field, and only succumbed to works of enduring value. It is only necessary to glance at Macaulay's early article on the work², in order to recognise that, in the midst of his partisan cavils³—in spite, too, of shortcomings of historical criticism particularly obvious in the account of the heroic age—Mitford displays an apprehension of the grandeur of the theme on which he is engaged. He is prejudiced, but not unconscientious; and, from his frequently perverse conclusions, many an English student has been able to disentangle his first conception of Greek free citizenship.

Finally, John Whitaker, who plays a rather sorry part at the fag-end of the list of Gibbon's assailants, is more worthily remembered as author of *The History of Manchester*. Of this he produced only the first two books (1771—5)—dealing respectively with the Roman and Roman-British, and with the English period to the foundation of the heptarchy, and, therefore, belonging in part to the domain of ancient history. Though it has been subjected to criticism at least as severe as that poured by Whitaker and others upon Gibbon's great work, the *History* survives as a notable product of learning, albeit containing too large an imaginative element. Whitaker carried on the same line of research and conjecture in his *Genuine History of the Britons* (1772), intended as a refutation of Macpherson's treatise on the subject. In 1794 he published *The Course of Hannibal over the Alps ascertained*, which has not proved the last word on the subject.

¹ Vol. III, p. 551.

² *Edinburgh Review*, July 1808.

³ Mitford, who has the courage of his opinions, states (vol. I, p. 278) that 'the House of Commons properly represents the Aristocratical part of the constitution.'

CHAPTER XIV

PHILOSOPHERS

HUME AND ADAM SMITH

OF the two friends whose names give a title to this chapter, it has been truthfully said that 'there was no third person writing the English language during the same period, who has had so much influence upon the opinions of mankind as either of these two men¹.' There were many other writers on the same or cognate subjects, who made important contributions to the literature of thought; but Hume and Adam Smith tower above them all both in intellectual greatness and in the permanent influence of their work.

I. DAVID HUME

In the sketch of his *Own Life*, which he wrote a few months before his death, Hume says that he was 'seized very early with a passion for literature, which has been the ruling passion of my life, and the great source of my enjoyments.' Another document of much earlier date (1734), which Hume himself revealed to no one, but which has been discovered and printed by his biographer², gives us a clear insight into the nature of this literary ambition and of the obstacles to its satisfaction.

As our college education in Scotland, extending little further than the languages, ends commonly when we are about fourteen or fifteen years of age, I was after that left to my own choice in my reading, and found it incline me almost equally to books of reasoning and philosophy, and to poetry and the polite authors. Every one who is acquainted either with the philosophers or critics, knows that there is nothing yet established in either of these two sciences, and that they contain little more than endless disputes, even in the most fundamental articles. Upon examination of these, I found a certain boldness of temper growing in me, which was not inclined to submit to any authority in these subjects, but led me to seek out some new medium by which truth might be established. After much study and reflection on this, at last, when I was about eighteen years of age, there seemed to be opened up to me a new scene of thought, which transported me beyond measure, and made me, with an ardour natural to young men, throw up every other pleasure or business to apply entirely to it. . . . Having now time and leisure to cool my inflamed imagination, I began to consider seriously

¹ Burton, J. H., *Life and Correspondence of David Hume*, vol. 1, p. 117.

² *Ibid.* vol. 1, pp. 30—33.

how I should proceed in my philosophical inquiries. I found that...every one consulted his fancy in erecting schemes of virtue and of happiness, without regarding human nature, upon which every moral conclusion must depend. This, therefore, I resolved to make my principal study, and the source from which I would derive every truth in criticism as well as morality.

These passages show, not only that Hume's ambition was entirely literary, but, also, that his literary ambition was centred in philosophy and that he was convinced he held in his grasp a key to its problems. Literary ambition never ceased to be Hume's ruling passion, and it brought him fame and even affluence. But his early enthusiasm for the discovery of truth seems to have been damped by the reception of his first and greatest work, or by the intellectual contradiction to which his arguments led, or by both causes combined. In philosophy, he never made any real advance upon his first work, *A Treatise of Human Nature*; his later efforts were devoted to presenting its arguments in a more perfect and more popular literary form, or to toning down their destructive results, and to the application of his ideas to questions of economics, politics and religion, as well as to winning a new reputation for himself in historical composition.

His career contained few incidents that need to be recorded beyond the publication of his books. He was born at Edinburgh on 26 April 1711, the younger son of a country gentleman of good family, but small property. His 'passion for literature' led to his early desertion of the study of law; when he was twenty-three, he tried commerce as a cure for the state of morbid depression in which severe study had landed him, and also, no doubt, as a means of livelihood. But, after a few months in a merchant's office at Bristol, he resolved to make frugality supply his deficiency of fortune, and settled in France, chiefly at La Flèche, where, more than a century before, Descartes had been educated at the Jesuit college. But he never mentions this connection with Descartes; he was occupied with other thoughts; and, after three years, in 1737, he came home to arrange for the publication of *A Treatise of Human Nature*, the first two volumes of which appeared in January 1739. If the book did not literally, as Hume put it, fall 'dead-born from the press,' it excited little attention; the only literary notice it received entirely failed to appreciate its significance. He was bitterly disappointed, but continued the preparation for the press of his third volume, 'Of Morals.' This appeared in 1740; and, in 1741, he published a volume of *Essays Moral and Political*, which reached a second edition and was supplemented by a second volume in 1742. The success of these essays gratified

Hume's literary ambition and, perhaps, had a good deal to do with the direction of his activity towards the application and popularisation of his reflections rather than to further criticism of their basis. About this time, Hume resided, for the most part, at the paternal estate (now belonging to his brother) of Ninewells in Berwickshire; but he was making efforts to secure an independent income: he failed twice to obtain a university professorship; he spent a troublesome year as tutor to a lunatic nobleman; he accompanied general St Clair as his secretary on his expedition to France in 1746, and on a mission to Vienna and Turin in 1748. In the latter year was published a third volume of *Essays Moral and Political*, and, also, *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding*, afterwards (1758) entitled *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, in which the reasonings of book I of *A Treatise of Human Nature* were presented in a revised but incomplete form. A second edition of this work appeared in 1751, and, in the same year, *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* (founded upon book III of the *Treatise*) which, in the opinion of the author, was of all his 'writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the best.' A few months later (February 1752), he published a volume of *Political Discourses* which, he said, was 'the only work of mine that was successful on the first publication.' According to Burton, it 'introduced Hume to the literature of the continent.' It was translated into French in 1753 and, again, in 1754. In 1752, he was appointed keeper of the advocates' library—a post which made a small addition to his modest income and enabled him to carry out his historical work. In 1753—4 appeared *Essays and Treatises on several subjects*; these included his various writings other than the *Treatise* and the *History*, and, after many changes, attained their final form in the edition of 1777. The new material added to them in later editions consisted chiefly of *Four Dissertations* published in 1757. The subjects of these dissertations were the natural history of religion, the passions (founded on book II of the *Treatise*), tragedy and taste. Essays on suicide and on immortality had been originally designed for this volume, but were hurriedly withdrawn on the eve of publication.

For more than two years, 1763 to 1765, Hume acted as secretary to the English embassy at Paris, where he was received with extraordinary enthusiasm by the court and by literary society. 'Here,' he wrote, 'I feed on ambrosia, drink nothing but nectar, breathe incense only, and walk on flowers.' He returned to London in January 1766, accompanied by Rousseau, whom he had befriended

and who, a few months later, repaid his kindness by provoking one of the most famous of quarrels between men of letters. Before the close of the year, he was again in Scotland, but, in the following year, was recalled to London as under-secretary of state, and it was not till 1769 that he finally settled in Edinburgh. There, he rejoined a society less brilliant and original than that he had left in Paris, but possessed of a distinction of its own. Prominent among his friends were Robertson, Hugh Blair and others of the clergy—men of high character and literary reputation, and representative of a religious attitude, known in Scotland as ‘moderatism’,¹ which did not disturb the serenity of Hume. He died on 25 August 1776.

After his death, his *Own Life* was published by Adam Smith (1777), and his *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* by his nephew David (1779). We hear of these *Dialogues* more than twenty years earlier; but he was dissuaded from publishing them at the time, though he was concerned that they should not be lost and subjected the manuscript to repeated and careful revision. His philosophical activity may be said to have come to an end in 1757 with the publication of *Four Dissertations*, when he was forty-six years old. In spite of many criticisms, he refused to be drawn into controversy; but, in an ‘advertisement’ to the final edition of *Essays and Treatises*, he protested, with some irritation, against criticisms of *A Treatise of Human Nature*—‘the juvenile work which the Author never acknowledged.’

This disclaimer of his earliest and greatest work is interesting as a revelation of Hume’s character, but cannot affect philosophical values. If he had written nothing else, and this book alone had been read, the influence of his ideas on general literature would have been less marked; but his claim to rank as the greatest of English philosophers would not be seriously affected: it would be recognised that he had carried out a line of thought to its final issue, and the effect upon subsequent speculation would have been, in essentials, what it has been.

Hume is quite clear as to the method of his enquiry. He recognised that ‘Locke and others had anticipated him in the ‘attempt to introduce the experimental method of reasoning into moral subjects.’ Locke had, also, opened the way for deriving a system of philosophy from the science of the human mind; but Hume far excelled him in the thoroughness and consistency with

¹ For a definition of ‘moderatism’ by an observer of its decline, see Lord Cockburn’s *Journal*, vol. II, pp. 289—291.

which he followed this way. Locke's express purpose was to examine the understanding, that he might discover 'the utmost extent of its tether.' He does not doubt that knowledge can signify a reality outside the mind; but he wishes to determine the range of this cognitive power. From the outset, Hume conceives the problem in a wider manner. All knowledge is a fact or process of human nature; if we are able, therefore, 'to explain the principles of human nature,' we shall 'in effect propose a complete system of the sciences.' Without doubt, this utterance points back to his early discovery of a 'new medium by which truth might be established'—a discovery which, at the age of eighteen, had transported him beyond measure. In saying that 'a complete system of the sciences' would result from 'the principles of human nature,' Hume did not mean that the law of gravitation or the circulation of the blood could be discovered from an examination of the understanding and the emotions. His meaning was that, when the sciences are brought into system, certain general features are found to characterise them; and the explanation of these general features is to be sought in human nature—in other words, in our way of knowing and feeling. His statement, accordingly, comes simply to this, that mental science, or what we now call psychology, takes the place of philosophy—is itself philosophy.

Hume is commonly, and correctly, regarded as having worked out to the end the line of thought started by Locke. But, in the width of his purpose, the thoroughness of its elaboration and his clear consciousness of his task, he may be compared with Hobbes—a writer who had little direct effect upon his thought. For Hume is Hobbes inverted. The latter interprets the inner world—the world of life and thought—by means of the external or material world, whose impact gives rise to the motions which we call perception and volition. Hume, on the other hand, will assume nothing about external reality, but interprets it by means of the impressions or ideas of which we are all immediately conscious. And, as Hobbes saw all things under the rule of mechanical law, so Hume, also, has a universal principle of connection.

'Here,' he says, that is to say, among ideas, 'is a kind of *Attraction*, which in the mental world will be found to have as extraordinary effects as in the natural, and to shew itself in as many and as various forms.'

The law of gravitation finds its parallel in the law of the association of ideas; as the movements of masses are explained by the former, so the latter is used to account for the grouping of mental contents.

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In enumerating these contents, he modifies the doctrine of Locke. According to Locke, the material of knowledge comes from two different sources—sensation and reflection. The view hardly admitted of statement without postulating both a mental and a material world existing over against one another. Hume tries to avoid any such postulate. His primary data are all of one kind; he calls them 'impressions,' and says that they arise 'from unknown causes.' Ideas are distinguished from impressions by their lesser degree of 'force and liveliness.' Hume makes the generalisation that 'every simple idea has a simple impression which resembles it'; an idea is thus the 'faint image' of an impression; and there are degrees of this faintness: the 'more lively and strong' are ideas of memory, the weaker are ideas of imagination. Further, certain ideas, in some unexplained way, reappear with the force and liveliness of impressions, or, as Hume puts it, 'produce the new impressions' which he calls 'impressions of reflection' and which he enumerates as passions, desires and emotions. Reflection is, thus, derived from sensation, although its impressions in their turn give rise to new ideas. All mental contents (in Hume's language, all 'perceptions') are derived from sense impressions, and these arise from unknown causes. Simple ideas are distinguished from simple impressions merely by their comparative lack of force and liveliness; but these fainter data tend to group themselves in an order quite different from that of their corresponding impressions. By this 'association of ideas' are formed the complex ideas of relations, modes and substances.

Such are the elements of Hume's account of human nature; out of these elements, he has to explain knowledge and morality; and this explanation is, at the same time, to be 'a complete system of the sciences.' He is fully alive to the problem. In knowledge, ideas are connected together by other relations than the 'association' which rules imagination; and he proceeds at once to an enquiry into 'all those qualities which make objects admit of comparison.' These, he calls 'philosophical relations,' and he arranges them under seven general heads: resemblance, identity, space and time, quantity, degree of quality, contrariety, cause and effect.

All scientific propositions are regarded as expressing one or other of these relations. Hume regards the classification as exhaustive; and, at least, it is sufficient to form a comprehensive test of his theory. Since we have nothing to go upon but ideas and the impressions from which ideas originate, how are we to

• explain knowledge of these relations? Hume's enquiry did not answer this question even to his own satisfaction; but it set a problem which has had to be faced by every subsequent thinker, and it has led many to adopt the sceptical conclusion to which the author himself was inclined.

The 'philosophical relations,' under his analysis, fall into two classes. On the one hand, some of them depend entirely on the ideas compared: these are resemblance, contrariety, degrees in quality and proportions in quantity or number. On the other hand, the relations of identity, space and time, and causation may be changed without any change in the ideas related; our knowledge of them thus presents an obvious difficulty, for it cannot be derived from the ideas themselves. Hume does not take much trouble with the former class of relations, in which this difficulty does not arise. He is content to follow on Locke's lines and to think that general propositions of demonstrative certainty are, obviously, possible here, seeing that we are merely stating a relationship clearly apparent in the ideas themselves. He does not ask whether the relation is or is not a new idea, and, if it is, how it can be explained—from what impression it took its rise. And he gives no explanation of the fixed and permanent character attributed to an idea when it is made the subject of a universal proposition. It is important to note, however, that he does not follow Locke in holding that mathematics is a science which is at once demonstrative and 'instructive.' The propositions of geometry concern spatial relations, and our idea of space is received 'from the disposition of visible and tangible objects'; we have 'no idea of space or extension but when we regard it as an object either of our sight or feeling' (*i.e.* touch); and, in these perceptions, we can never attain exactness: 'our appeal is still to the weak and fallible judgment which we make from the appearance of the objects, and correct by a compass or common measure.' Geometry, therefore, is an empirical science; it is founded on observations of approximate accuracy only, though the variations from the normal in our observations may be neutralised in the general propositions which we form. Hume does not apply the same doctrine to arithmetic, on the ground (which his principles do not justify) that the unit is something unique. He is thus able to count quantity and number in his first class of relations and to except algebra and arithmetic from the effect of his subtle analysis of the foundations of geometry. In his *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, however, he deserts, without a word of justification, the earlier

view which he had worked out with much care and ingenuity, and treats mathematics generally as the great example of demonstrative reasoning. In this later work, in which completeness is sacrificed to the presentation of salient features, he speaks, not of two kinds of relations, but of 'relations of ideas' and 'matters of fact'; and, in each, he seeks to save something from the general ruin of the sciences to which his premises lead. The last paragraph of the book sets forth his conclusion:

When we run over our libraries, persuaded of these principles, what havoc must we make? If we take in our hand any volume; of divinity or school metaphysics, for instance; let us ask, *Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number?* No. *Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact and existence?* No. Commit it then to the flames; for it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion.

This passage, startling and ruthless as it sounds, is chiefly remarkable for its reservations. It was easy to condemn 'divinity or school metaphysics' as illusory; they had for long been common game. But to challenge the validity of mathematics or of natural science was quite another matter. Hume did not temper the wind to the shorn lamb; but he took care that it should not visit too roughly the sturdy wethers of the flock. Yet we have seen that, according to his principles, mathematics rest upon observations which fall short of accuracy, while natural science, with its 'experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact,' depends upon the relation of cause and effect.

The examination of this relation occupies a central position in both his works; and its influence upon subsequent thought has been so great as, sometimes, to obscure the importance of other factors in his philosophy. He faced a problem into which Locke had hardly penetrated, and of which even Berkeley had had only a partial view. What do we mean when we say that one thing is cause and another thing its effect, and what right have we to that meaning? In sense perception, we have impressions of flame and of heat, for instance; but why do we say that the flame causes the heat, what ground is there for asserting any 'necessary connection' between them? The connection cannot be derived from any comparison of the ideas of flame and of heat; it must come from impression, therefore; but there is no separate impression of 'cause' or 'causation' which could serve as the link between two objects. What, then, is the origin of the connection? To use the terminology of the *Enquiry*, since cause is not a 'relation of ideas,' it must be a 'matter of fact'—an impression. But it is not itself a separate or simple impression; it must, therefore, be due to the

mode or manner in which impressions occur. In our experience, we are accustomed to find flame and heat combined; we pass constantly from one to the other; and the custom becomes so strong that, whenever the impression of flame occurs, the idea of heat follows. Then, we mistake this mental or subjective connection for an objective connection. Necessary connection is not in the objects, but only in the mind; yet custom is too strong for us, and we attribute it to the objects.

This is a simple statement of the central argument of Hume's most famous discussion. The 'powers' which Locke attributed to bodies must be denied—as Berkeley denied them. The consciousness of spiritual activity on which Berkeley relied is equally illusory on Hume's principles.

'If we reason *a priori*,' says Hume, 'anything may appear able to produce anything. The falling of a pebble may, for aught we know, extinguish the sun, or the wish of a man control the planets in their orbits.'

This striking utterance is, strictly, little better than a truism. No philosopher ever supposed that such knowledge about definite objects could be got in any other way than by experience. But Hume's negative criticism goes much deeper than this. We have no right to say that the extinction of the sun needs any cause at all, or that causation is a principle that holds of objects; all events are loose and separate. The only connection which we have a right to assert is that of an idea with an impression or with other ideas—the subjective routine which is called 'association of ideas.' Hume's constructive theory of causation is an explanation of how we come to suppose that there is causal connection in the world, although there is really nothing more than customary association in our minds.

If we admit Hume's fundamental assumption about impressions and ideas, it is impossible to deny the general validity of this reasoning. Any assertion of a causal connection—the whole structure of natural science, therefore—is simply a misinterpretation of certain mental processes. At the outset, Hume himself had spoken of impressions as arising from 'unknown causes'; and some expressions of the sort were necessary to give his theory a start and to carry the reader along with him; but they are really empty words. Experience is confined to impressions and ideas; causation is an attitude towards them produced by custom—by the mode of sequence of ideas; its applicability is only within the range of impressions or ideas; to talk of an impression as caused by something that is neither impression nor idea may have a very

real meaning to any philosopher except Hume; but to Hume it cannot have any meaning at all.

The discussion of causation brings out another and still more general doctrine held by Hume—his theory of belief. When I say that flame causes heat, I do not refer to a connection of ideas in my own mind; I am expressing belief in an objective connection independent of my mental processes. But Hume's theory of causation reduces the connection to a subjective routing. Now, some other impression than 'flame' might precede the idea of heat—the impression 'cold,' for instance. How is it, then, that I do not assert 'cold causes heat'? The sequence 'cold—heat' may be equally real in my mind with the sequence 'flame—heat.' How is it that the former does not give rise to belief in the way that the latter does? Hume would say that the only difference is that the association in the former case is less direct and constant than in the latter, and thus leads to an idea of less force and liveliness. Belief, accordingly, is simply a lively idea associated with a present impression. It belongs to the sensitive, not to the rational, part of our nature. And yet it marks the fundamental distinction between judgment and imagination.

In the *Treatise*, at any rate, there is no faltering of purpose or weakening of power when the author proceeds to apply his principles to the fabric of knowledge. It is impossible, in this place, to follow his subtle and comprehensive argument; but its issue is plain. With objections not unlike Berkeley's, he dismisses the independent existence of bodies, and then he turns a similar train of reasoning against the reality of the self:

When I enter most intimately into what I call *myself*, I always stumble on some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I can never catch *myself* at any time without a perception, and never can observe anything but the perception. When my perceptions are removed, for any time, as by sound sleep, so long am I insensible of *myself*, and may truly be said not to exist.

According to Hume's own illustration, the mind is but the stage on which perceptions pass and mingle and glide away. Or, rather, there is no stage at all, but only a phantasmagory of impressions and ideas.

Hume's purpose was constructive; but the issue, as he faces it, is sceptical. And he is a genuine sceptic; for, even as to his scepticism, he is not dogmatic. Why should he assent to his own reasoning? he asks; and he answers, 'I can give no reason why I should assent to it, and feel nothing but a *strong* propensity to consider objects *strongly* in that view.' The propensity, however,

is strong only when the 'bent of mind' is in a certain direction; a dinner, a game of backgammon, makes such speculations appear ridiculous; and 'nature' suffices to 'obliterate all these chimeras.' A year later, Hume referred again to this sceptical *impasse*, in an appendix to the third volume of his *Treatise*; and there, with remarkable insight, he diagnosed the causes of his own failure. The passage deserves quotation, seeing that it has been often overlooked, and is, nevertheless, one of the most significant utterances in the history of philosophy.

In short there are two principles, which I cannot render consistent; nor is it in my power to renounce either of them, viz. *that all our distinct perceptions are distinct existences, and that the mind never perceives any real connexion among distinct existences.* Did our perceptions either inhere in something simple and individual, or did the mind perceive some real connexion among them, there would be no difficulty in the case. For my part, I must plead the privilege of a sceptic, and confess that this difficulty is too hard for my understanding. I pretend not, however, to pronounce it absolutely insuperable. Others, perhaps, or myself, upon more mature reflexions, may discover some hypothesis that will reconcile those contradictions.

Hume seems himself to have made no further attempt to solve the problem. His followers have been content to build their systems on his foundation, with minor improvements of their own, but without overcoming or facing the fundamental difficulty which he saw and expressed.

The logical result of his analysis is far from leading to that 'complete system of the sciences' which he had anticipated from his 'new medium'; it leads, not to reconstruction, but to a sceptical disintegration of knowledge; and he was clearsighted enough to see this result. Thenceforward, scepticism became the characteristic attitude of his mind and of his writings. But his later works exhibit a less thorough scepticism than that to which his thinking led. Even his *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* shows a weakening of the sceptical attitude, in the direction of a 'mitigated scepticism' which resembles modern positivism and admits knowledge of phenomena and of mathematical relations.

When he came to deal with concrete problems, his principles were often applied in an emasculated form. But the 'new medium' is not altogether discarded: appeal is constantly made to the mental factor—impression and idea. This is characteristic of Hume's doctrine of morality. 'Here is a matter of fact; but 'tis the object of feeling not of reason. It lies in yourself not in the object.' And from this results his famous definition of virtue: 'every quality of the mind is denominated virtuous which gives pleasure by the mere survey; as every quality which produces

pain is called vicious.' The 'sentiments of approbation or blame' which thus arise depend, in all cases, on sympathy; sympathy with the pleasures and pains of others is, thus, postulated by Hume as an ultimate fact; the reasonings of Butler and Hutcheson prevented him from seeking to account for it as a refined form of selfishness, as Hobbes had done; and yet, upon his own premises, it remains inexplicable. In his *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, his differences from Hobbes, and even from Locke, are still more clearly shown than in the *Treatise*; he defends the reality of disinterested benevolence; and the sentiment of moral approbation is described as 'humanity,' or 'a feeling for the happiness of mankind,' which, it is said, 'nature has made universal in the species.' This sentiment, again, is always directed towards qualities which tend to the pleasure, immediate or remote, of the person observed or of others. Thus, Hume occupies a place in the utilitarian succession; but he did not formulate a quantitative utilitarianism, as Hutcheson had already done. He drew an important distinction, however, between natural virtues, such as benevolence, which are immediately approved and which have a direct tendency to produce pleasure, and artificial virtues, of which justice is the type, where both the approval and the tendency to pleasure are mediated by the social system which the virtue in question supports.

Hume exerted a profound influence upon theology, not only by the general trend of his speculation but, also, through certain specific writings. Of these writings, the most important are the essay 'Of Miracles' contained in *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, the dissertation entitled 'The Natural History of Religion,' and *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*. The first-named is the most famous; it produced a crowd of answers, and it had a good deal to do with public attention being attracted to the author's works. It consists of an expansion of a simple and ingenious argument, which had occurred to him when writing his *Treatise of Human Nature*, but which, strangely enough, is inconsistent with the principles of that work. It regards 'laws of nature' as established by a uniform experience, 'miracles' as violations of these laws and the evidence for these miracles as necessarily inferior to the 'testimony of the senses' which establishes the laws of nature. Whatever validity these positions may have on another philosophical theory, the meaning both of laws of nature and of miracles as conflicting with these laws evaporates under the analysis by which, as in Hume's *Treatise*, all events are

Dialogues concerning Natural Religion 333

seen as 'loose and separate.' 'The Natural History of Religion' contains reflections of greater significance. Here, Hume distinguishes between the theoretical argument which leads to theism and the actual mental processes from which religion has arisen. Its 'foundation in reason' is not the same thing as its 'origin in human nature'; and he made an important step in advance by isolating this latter question and treating it apart. He held that religion arose 'from a concern with regard to the events of life, and from the incessant hopes and fears which actuate the human mind,' and, in particular, from the 'melancholy' rather than from the 'agreeable' passions; and he maintained the thesis that polytheism preceded theism in the historical development of belief.

'The whole is a riddle, an enigma, an inexplicable mystery.' Such is the concluding reflection of this work. But a further and serious attempt to solve the riddle is made in *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*. This small book contains the author's mature views on ultimate questions. It is written in his most perfect style, and shows his mastery of the dialogue form. There is none of the usual scenery of the dramatic dialogue; but the persons are distinct, the reasoning is lucid, and the interest is sustained to the end. The traditional arguments are examined with an insight and directness which were only equalled afterwards by Kant; but, unlike Kant, and with insight more direct if not more profound, Hume finds the most serious difficulties of the question in the realm of morals. The form of the work makes it not altogether easy to interpret; and some commentators have held that Hume's own views should not be identified with those of the more extreme critic of theism. Hume himself says as much at the close of the work; but his habitual irony in referring to religious topics is part of the difficulty of interpretation. All the speakers in the *Dialogues* are represented as accepting some kind of theistic belief; and it is not necessary to attribute expressions of this kind simply to irony. The trend of the argument is towards a shadowy form of theism—'that the cause or causes of order in the universe probably bear some remote analogy to human intelligence'; and, in a remarkable footnote, the author seems to be justifying his own right to take up such a position:

No philosophical Dogmatist denies, that there are difficulties both with regard to the senses and to all science; and that these difficulties are in a regular, logical method, absolutely insolvable. No Sceptic denies, that we lie under an absolute necessity, notwithstanding these difficulties, of thinking, and believing, and reasoning with regard to all kind of subjects, and even of frequently assenting with confidence and security.

In other words, his logic leads to complete scepticism; but, just because the 'difficulties' are insoluble, he claims a right to disregard them, and to act and think like other men, when action and thought are called for.

For this reason, his theory of knowledge has little effect upon his political and economical essays, although they are closely connected with his ethical and psychological views. The separate essays were published, in various volumes, between 1741 and 1777; and, in the interval, political philosophy was profoundly influenced by the works of Montesquieu and Rousseau. The essays do not make a system, and economics is in them not definitely distinguished from politics; but both system and the distinction are suggested in the remarks on the value of general principles and general reasonings which he prefixed to the essays on commerce, money and other economical subjects. 'When we reason upon *general* subjects,' he says, 'our speculations can scarcely ever be too fine, provided they be just.'

In both groups of essays, Hume was not merely a keen critic of prevailing theories and conceptions; his knowledge of human nature and of history guided his analysis of a situation. A growing clearness of doctrine, also, may be detected by comparing his earlier with his later utterances. In later editions, he modified his acceptance of the traditional doctrines of the natural equality of men, and of consent as the origin of society. The essay 'Of the Origin of Government,' first published in 1777, makes no mention either of divine right or of original contract. Society is traced to its origin in the family; and political society is said to have been established 'in order to administer justice'—though its actual beginnings are sought in the concert and order forced upon men by war. Again, whereas, in an earlier essay, he had said that 'a constitution is only so far good as it provides a remedy against maladministration,' he came, later, to look upon its tendency to liberty as marking the perfection of civil society—although there must always be a struggle between liberty and the authority without which government could not be conducted. His political thinking, accordingly, tends to limit the range of legitimate governmental activity; similarly, in economics, he criticises the doctrine of the mercantilists, and on various points anticipates the views of the analytical economists of a later generation. Perhaps, however, nothing in these essays shows better his insight into the principles of economics than the letter which, shortly before his death, he wrote to Adam Smith upon receipt of a copy of *The*

• *Wealth of Nations*. In this letter, after a warm expression of praise for, and satisfaction with, his friend's achievement, he makes a single criticism—'I cannot think that the rent of farms makes any part of the price of the produce, but that the price is determined altogether by the quantity and the demand'—which suggests that he himself had arrived at the theory of rent commonly associated with the name of Ricardo.

II. ADAM SMITH

Adam Smith was born at Kirkcaldy on 5 June 1723. He was educated at the university of Glasgow, where he had Hutcheson as one of his teachers, and, in 1740, he proceeded to Oxford, where he resided continuously through term and vacation for more than six years. Like Hobbes in the previous century, and Gibbon and Bentham shortly after his own day, he has nothing that is good to say of the studies of the university. His own college of Balliol gave small promise of its future fame: it was, then, chiefly distinguished as a centre of Jacobitism, and its authorities confiscated his copy of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*; but its excellent library enabled him to devote himself to assiduous study, mainly in Greek and Latin literature. After some years spent at home, he returned to Glasgow as professor of logic (1751) and, afterwards, (1752) of moral philosophy. In 1759, he published his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, which brought him immediate fame. Early in 1764, he resigned his professorship in order to accompany the young duke of Buccleuch on a visit to France which lasted over two years. This marks the beginning of the second and more famous period of his literary career. He found Toulouse (where they first settled) much less gay than Glasgow, and, therefore, started writing a book 'in order to pass away the time¹'. This is probably the first reference to the great work of his riper years. But it does not mark the beginning of his interest in economics. By tradition and by his own preference, a comprehensive treatment of social philosophy was included in the work of the moral philosophy chair at Glasgow; and there is evidence to show that some of his most characteristic views had been written down even before he settled there². When, in 1765—6, Smith resided for many months in Paris with his pupil, he was received into the remarkable society of

¹ Cf. Rae, J., *Life of Adam Smith*, p. 179.

² Cf. Stewart, Dugald, *Life and Writings of Adam Smith in Works*, vol. x, pp. 67, 68.

'economists' (commonly known as the 'physiocrats'). Quesnay, the leader of the school, had published his *Maximes générales de gouvernement économique* and his *Tableau économique* in 1758; and Turgot, who was soon to make an effort to introduce their common principles into the national finance, was, at this time, writing his *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses*, although it was not published till some years later. Smith held the work of the physiocrats, and of Quesnay in particular, in high esteem; only death robbed Quesnay of the honour of having *The Wealth of Nations* dedicated to him. The exact extent of Smith's indebtedness to the school is matter of controversy. But, two things seem clear, though they have been sometimes overlooked. He shared their objection to mercantilism and their approval of commercial freedom on grounds at which he had arrived before their works were published; and he did not accept their special theory that agriculture is the sole source of wealth, or the practical consequence which they drew from the principle that the revenue of the state should be derived from 'a single tax' on land. After his return from France, Smith settled down quietly with his mother and cousin at Kirkcaldy and devoted himself to the composition of *The Wealth of Nations*, which was published in 1776. In 1778, he removed to Edinburgh as commissioner of customs; he died on 17 July 1790.

Apart from some minor writings, Adam Smith was the author of two works of unequal importance. These two works belong to different periods of his life—the professorial, in which he is looked upon as leading the ordinary secluded life of a scholar, and the later period, in which he had gathered wider knowledge of men and affairs. And the two works differ in the general impression which they are apt to produce. According to the earlier, sympathy, or social feeling, is the foundation of morality; the ideal of the later work is that of 'a social system in which each person is left free to pursue his own interest in his own way, and the author throws gentle ridicule upon the 'affectation' of 'trading for the public benefit.' Undue stress has, however, been laid upon the difference; it is superficial rather than fundamental, and results from the diversity of subject and method in the two works rather than from an opposition between their underlying ideas. Indeed, it may be argued that the social factor in the individual, which is brought out in the ethical treatise, is a necessary condition of

¹ This term was invented by Dupont de Nemours (1769—1817), a younger member of the school.

that view of a harmony between public and private interests which underlies the doctrine of 'natural liberty' taught in *The Wealth of Nations*.

The Theory of Moral Sentiments covers much ground already traversed by preceding British moralists. It is an elaborate analysis of the various forms and objects of the moral consciousness. It is written in a flowing and eloquent, if rather diffuse, style; it is full of apt illustration; and the whole treatise is dominated by a leading idea. Smith's central problem, like that of his predecessors, is to explain the fact of moral approval and disapproval. He discards the doctrine of a special 'moral sense,' impervious to analysis, which had been put forward by Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. Like Hume, he regards sympathy as the fundamental fact of the moral consciousness; and he seeks to show, more exactly than Hume had done, how sympathy can become a test of morality. He sees that it is not, of itself, a sufficient test. A spectator may imaginatively enter into the emotional attitude of another man, and this is sympathy; but it is not a justification of the man's attitude. The spectator may have misunderstood the circumstances, or his own interests may have been involved. Accordingly, the only sympathy that has ethical value is that of an 'impartial and well-informed spectator.' But this impartial and well-informed spectator, whose sympathy with our passions and affections would be their adequate justification, is not an actual but an ideal person; and, indeed, Smith recognises as much when he says that we have to appeal from 'the opinions of mankind' to 'the tribunal of [our] own conscience'—to 'the man within the breast.' The great merit of the theory, as worked out by Smith, is its recognition of the importance of the social factor in morality, and of sympathy as the means by which this social factor operates. The individual man, in his view, is a being of social structure and tendencies. But the social side of his nature is not exaggerated: if man 'can subsist only in society,' it is equally true that 'every man is by nature first and principally recommended to his own care.' These points modify the contrast between the teaching of his first work and the 'individualism' of his economic theory.

Adam Smith is frequently spoken of as the founder of political economy. By this is meant that he was the first to isolate economic facts, to treat them as a whole, and to treat them scientifically. But, nine years before the publication of *The Wealth of Nations*, another work appeared which may be regarded as having anticipated it in this respect—Sir James Steuart's *Inquiry into the*

Principles of Political Economy. Steuart was a Jacobite laird, who, in 1763, returned from a long exile abroad. He had travelled extensively, and his work contains the result of observation of different states of society as well as of systematic reflection; but it is without merit in respect of literary form. It is presented to the public as 'an attempt towards reducing to principles, and forming into a regular science, the complicated interests of domestic policy.' It deals with 'population, agriculture, trade, industry, money, coin, interest, circulation, banks, exchange, public credit, and taxes'; and the author has a definite view of scientific method. He speaks, indeed, of 'the art of political economy,' using the term 'political economy' in much the same sense as that in which Smith used it in dealing with 'systems of political economy' in the fourth book of his great work. But this art is the statesman's business; and behind the statesman stands 'the speculative person, who, removed from the practice, extracts the principles of this science from *observation* and *reflection*.' Steuart does not pretend to a system, but only to 'a clear deduction of principles.' These principles, however, are themselves gathered from experience. His first chapter opens with the assertion, 'Man we find acting uniformly in all ages, in all countries, and in all climates, from the principles of self-interest, expediency, duty and passion.' And, of these, 'the ruling principle' which he follows is 'the principle of self-interest.' From this point, the author's method may be described as deductive, and as resembling that of Smith's successors more than it does Smith's own. Further, he recognises that the conclusions, like the principles from which they proceed, are abstract and may not fit all kinds of social conditions, so that 'the political economy in each [country] must necessarily be different.' How far Smith took account of Steuart's reasonings we cannot say; he does not mention his name: though he is reported to have said that he understood Steuart's system better from his talk, than from his book.

Adam Smith does not begin with a discourse on method; he was an artist in exposition; and he feared, perhaps unduly, any appearance of pedantry. He plunges at once into his subject: 'The annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes.' These first words suggest the prevailing theme. Wealth consists not in the precious metals, but in the goods which men use or consume; and its source or cause is labour. On this foundation, he builds the structure of his science;

and—although he says nothing about it—we can trace the method which he regarded as appropriate to his enquiry. It may be described shortly as abstract reasoning checked and reinforced by historical investigation. The main theorems of the analytical economics of a later period are to be found expressed or suggested in his work; but almost every deduction is supported by concrete instances. Rival schools have, thus, regarded him as their founder, and are witnesses to his grasp of principles and insight into facts. He could isolate a cause and follow out its effects; and, if he was apt sometimes to exaggerate its prominence in the complex of human motives and social conditions, it was because the facts at his disposal did not suggest the necessary qualifications of his doctrine, although more recent experience has shown that the qualifications are needed.

Adam Smith isolates the fact of wealth and makes it the subject of a science. But he sees this fact in its connections with life as a whole. His reasonings are grounded in a view of human nature and its environment, both of which meet in labour, the source of wealth and also, as he thinks, the ultimate standard of the value of commodities. In the division of labour, he sees the first step taken by man in industrial progress. His treatment of this subject has become classical, and is too well known for quotation; it is more to the purpose to point out that it was an unerring instinct for essentials which led him, in his first chapter, to fix attention on a point so obvious that it might easily have been overlooked and yet of far-reaching importance in social development generally. The division of labour, according to Smith, is the result of 'the propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another.' But his analysis of motives goes deeper than this; and, so far as they are concerned with wealth, human motives seem to be reduced by him to two: 'the passion for present enjoyment' which 'prompts to expense,' and 'the desire of bettering our condition' which 'prompts to save.' Both are selfish; and it is on this motive of self-interest, or a view of one's own advantage, that Smith constantly relies. He constructs an economic commonwealth which consists of a multitude of persons, each seeking his own interest and, in so doing, unwittingly furthering the public good—thus promoting 'an end which was no part of his intention.'

'The natural effort of every individual to better his own condition,' he says, 'when suffered to exert itself with freedom and security, is so powerful a principle, that it is alone, and without any assistance, not only capable of

carrying on the society to wealth and prosperity, but of surmounting a hundred impertinent obstructions with which the folly of human laws too often encumbers its operations.'

Smith, like many other philosophers of the time, assumed that there was a natural identity of public and private interest. It is a comfortable belief that society would be served best if everybody looked after his own interests; and, in an economist, this belief was, perhaps, an inevitable reaction from a condition in which state regulation of industry had largely consisted in distributing monopolies and other privileges. In Smith's mind, the belief was also bound up with the view that this identity of interests resulted from the guidance of 'the invisible hand' that directs the fate of mankind. But the belief itself was incapable of verification, and subsequent industrial history refutes it. Indeed, in various places in his work, Smith himself declines to be bound by it. He thinks that the interests of the landowners and of the working class are in close agreement with the interest of society, but that those of 'merchants and master manufacturers' have not the same connection with the public interest. 'The interest of the dealers,' he says, 'is always in some respects different from, and even opposite to, that of the public.' The harmony of interests, therefore, is incomplete. Nor would it be fair to say that Smith had relinquished, in *The Wealth of Nations*, his earlier view of the social factor in human motive. What he did hold was, rather, that, in the pursuit of wealth, that is to say, in industry and commerce, the motive of self-interest predominates; in famous passages, he speaks as if no other motive need be taken into account; but he recognises its varying strength; and it is only in the class of 'merchants and master manufacturers' that he regards it as having free course: they are acute in the perception of their own interest and unresting in its pursuit; in the country gentleman, on the other hand, selfish interest is tempered by generosity and weakened by indolence.

From the nature of man and the environment in which he is placed, Smith derives his doctrine of 'the natural progress of opulence.' Subsistence is 'prior to conveniency and luxury'; agriculture provides the former, commerce the latter; the cultivation of the country, therefore, precedes the increase of the town; the town, indeed, has to subsist on the surplus produce of the country; foreign commerce comes later still. This is the natural order, and it is promoted by man's natural inclinations. But human institutions have thwarted these natural inclinations,

and, 'in many respects, entirely inverted' the natural order. Up to Adam Smith's time, the regulation of industry had been almost universally admitted to be part of the government's functions; criticism of the principles and methods of this regulation had not been wanting; the theory of 'the balance of trade,' for instance, important in the doctrine of the mercantilists, had been examined and rejected by Hume and by others before him. But Smith made a comprehensive survey of the means by which, in agriculture, in the home trade and in foreign commerce, the state had attempted to regulate industry; these attempts, he thought, were all diversions of the course of trade from its 'natural channels'; and he maintained that they were uniformly pernicious. Whether it acts by preference or by restraint, every such system 'retards, instead of accelerating, the progress of the society towards real wealth and greatness; and diminishes, instead of increasing, the real value of the annual produce of its land and labour.' When all such systems are swept away, 'the obvious and simple system of natural liberty establishes itself of its own accord.'

The ideas and arguments of Adam Smith were influential, at a later date, in establishing the system of free trade in Great Britain; and, perhaps, it would be not far wrong to say that a generation of economists held his views on this question to be his most solid title to fame. He regarded liberty as natural in contrast with the artificiality of government control; and the term 'natural' plays an ambiguous part in his general reasonings, changing its shade of meaning, but always implying a note of approval. In this, he only used the language of his time—though Hume had pointed out that the word was treacherous. But it has to be borne in mind that, while he extolled this 'natural liberty' as the best thing for trade, he did not say that it was in all cases the best thing for a country. He saw that there were other things than wealth which were worth having, and that of some of these the state was the guardian. Security must take precedence of opulence, and, on this ground, he would restrict natural liberty, not only to defend the national safety, but, also, for the protection of individual traders.

III. OTHER PHILOSOPHICAL WRITERS

As we look back upon the development of philosophical problems, it might seem that, for a philosophical writer after Hume, there was but one thing worth doing—to answer him, if possible; and, if that were not possible, to keep silent. But the

issue was not quite so clear to his contemporaries. Indeed, his own example did not press it home. It showed, on the contrary, that work of importance might be done in certain departments even when the contradiction was ignored to which Hume had reduced the theory of knowledge. Soon after the publication of *A Treatise of Human Nature*, valuable writings appeared on psychology, and on moral and political theory; there were also critics of Hume in considerable number; and one of that number had both the insight to trace Hume's scepticism to its logical origin and the intellectual capacity to set forth a theory of knowledge in which the same difficulty should not arise.

Among the psychologists, the most important place belongs to David Hartley, a physician, and sometime fellow of Jesus college, Cambridge, whose *Observations on Man: his frame, his duty, and his expectations* appeared in 1749. The rapid march of philosophical thought in the previous forty years was ignored by, and probably unknown to, the author. The whole second part of his book in which he works out a theological theory may be regarded as antiquated. He does not mention Berkeley; he seems never to have heard of David Hume. But the first or psychological part of the book has two striking features: it is a systematic attempt at a physiological psychology, and it developed the theory of the association of ideas in a way which influenced, far more than Hume did, the views of the later associational school of James Mill and his successors. The physiological doctrine was suggested by certain passages in Newton's *Optics*. Hartley supposes that the contact of an external object with the sensory nerves excites 'vibrations in the æther residing in the pores of these nerves'; these vibrations enter the brain, are 'propagated freely every way over the whole medullary substance,' and sensations are the result; further, they leave vestiges or traces behind them, and this is the origin of ideas which depend on minute vibrations or 'vibratiuncles.' Motor activity is explained in a similar way. This physiological view is the basis of his whole doctrine of mind, and, more particularly, of the doctrine of association. In respect of the latter doctrine, Hartley wrote under the influence of Locke; but he has left it on record that the suggestion to make use of association as a general principle of psychological explanation came from John Gay, who had written *A Dissertation* prefixed to Law's English translation of archbishop King's *Origin of Evil* (1731), in which the doctrine was used to explain the connection of morality with

* private happiness. Hartley offered a physiological explanation of association itself, gave a generalised statement of its laws and applied it to the details of mental life. He did not see, as Hume had seen, the special difficulty of applying it so as to explain judgment, assent, or belief.

Abraham Tucker was a psychologist of a different temper from Hartley. He was a constant critic of Hartley's physiological doctrines, and he excelled in that introspective analysis which has been practised by many English writers. Tucker was a country gentleman whose chief employment was a study of the things of the mind. The first fruit of his reflection was a fragment *Freewill, Foreknowledge and Fate* (1763), published under the pseudonym of Edward Search; certain criticisms of this piece produced, also in 1763, *Man in quest of Himself: or a Defence of the Individuality of the Human Mind*, 'by Cuthbert Comment.' Thereafter, he did not turn aside from his great work, *The Light of Nature pursued*, of which the first four volumes were published by himself (again under the name of Search) in 1765, and the last three appeared after his death (1774). The author was a man of leisure himself, and he wrote for men of leisure; he was not without method; but his plan grew as he proceeded; when new fields of enquiry opened, he did not refuse to wander in them; and he liked to set forth his views *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. Indeed, it is a work of inordinate length, and the whole is of unequal merit. Many of the long chapters have lost their interest through lapse of time and the changes which time has brought. Others, perhaps, may appeal to us only when we can catch the author's mood. Such are the speculations—put forward as purely hypothetical—concerning the soul's vehicle, the mundane soul and the vision of the disembodied soul. Mysticism is apt to appear fantastic when expressed in language so matter of fact; but the writer has a rare power of realising his fancies. The chapters, however, which deal more specifically with human nature are a genuine and important contribution to the literature of mind and morals. The writer was as innocent of Hume as was Hartley; he criticised Berkeley, though seldom with insight and never with sympathy; and he took Locke as his master. But he was not a slavish follower; it would be difficult to instance finer or more exhaustive criticism than his examination of the Lockean view that all action has for its motive the most pressing uneasiness. His moral doctrine is, perhaps, still more remarkable

for the candour and elaboration with which he discussed the problem which faced all followers of Locke—the consistency of an analysis of action in terms of personal pleasure and pain with a theory of morality in which benevolence is supreme. Herein, he provided most of the material afterwards made use of by Paley. Into the details of his teaching it is impossible to enter. But, perhaps, it is not too much to say that only his diffuseness has prevented him from becoming a classic. The mere mass of the book is deterrent. Yet he would be an unlucky reader who could spend half-an-hour over its pages without finding something to arrest his attention and even to enthrall his interest. The author sees mankind and the human lot with a shrewd but kindly eye; his stores of illustration are inexhaustible and illuminate subjects which in other hands would be dull; even the subtlest points are made clear by a style which is free and simple and varied; there is never any trace of sentimentality; but there are passages of humour and of pathos worthy of Goldsmith.

Richard Price, a native of Glamorgan, who became a unitarian minister in London, left his mark on more than one department of thought. His *Observations on Reversionary Payments* (1771) made a distinct advance in the theory of life assurance. His *Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt* (1771) is said to have contributed to the reestablishment of the sinking fund. He was drawn into the current of revolutionary politics and became a leading exponent of their ideas. His *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America* made him famous in two continents. The preface to the first edition was dated 8 February, that to the fifth edition 12 March, 1776. *Additional Observations* on the same subject appeared in 1777, and a *General Introduction and Supplement* to the two tracts in 1778. The revolution in France was the occasion for *A Discourse on the Love of our Country, delivered on Nov. 4, 1789*; and this he closed with a *Nunc dimittis*: 'After sharing in the benefits of one Revolution, I have been spared to be a witness to two other Revolutions, both glorious.' This *Discourse* had the further distinction of provoking Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. But, famous as his political partisanship made him at the time, Price has a better title to be remembered for his first work, *A Review of the Principal Questions in Morals* (1757; 3rd edn, revised and enlarged, 1787).

Price has the mathematician's interest in intellectual concepts and his power of dealing with abstractions. In philosophy, he is a successor of Cudworth and Clarke, and the theories of knowledge of both Locke and Hume are attacked at the roots. The understanding or reason (he argues) has its own ideas, for which it does not depend upon sense-impression. Necessity, possibility, identity, cause are instances of such abstract ideas. They are 'intelligible objects' discovered by 'the eye of the mind.' Reason is thus 'the source of new ideas'; and among them are the ideas of right and wrong; these are simple ideas and perceived by an immediate 'intuition' of the understanding: 'morality is a branch of necessary truth.' The system which Price bases on this view has become, more than any other, the type of modern intuitional ethics.

Joseph Priestley had many points of sympathy with Price. They belonged to the same profession—the unitarian ministry—and they were prominent on the same side in the revolutionary politics of the day. But, in spite of this similarity and of their personal friendship, they represent different attitudes of mind. Price was a mathematician, familiar with abstract ideas, and an intellectualist in philosophy. Priestley was a chemist, busied in experiments, a convinced disciple of the empirical philosophy and a supporter of materialism. He was the author of *The History and present State of Electricity* (1767), and, afterwards, of numerous papers and treatises on chemical subjects, which recorded the results of his original investigations and have established his fame as a man of science. He came early under the influence of Hartley and published a simplification of his book—omitting the doctrine of vibrations and laying stress solely on the principle of the association of ideas; but he rejected Hartley's view of mind as an immaterial principle and held that the powers termed mental are the result 'of such an organical structure as that of the brain.' His philosophical views were expressed and defended in *Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit* (1777), in *The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity* (1777) and in *A Free Discussion* (1778) on these topics with Price; and he also published (1774) *An Examination* of the doctrines of Reid and others of the new school of Scottish philosophers. Of greater interest than these, however, is the short *Essay on the First Principles of Government* (1768). This forms a contrast to the *a priori* arguments in which Price delighted—although its practical tendency is the same. It propounds 'one general idea,' namely, 'that all people live in

society for their mutual advantage,' and draws the conclusion that their happiness is 'the great standard by which every thing relating to that state must finally be determined.' Priestley thus set the example, which Bentham followed, of taking utilitarian considerations for the basis of a philosophical radicalism, instead of the dogmas about natural rights common with other revolutionary thinkers of the period. He did not anticipate Bentham in using the famous utilitarian formula (as he is often said to have done¹), but he did precede him in taking the happiness of the majority as the test in every political question, and he made it easier for Bentham to use the same standard in judging private conduct.

In a somewhat similar way, the exhaustive analyses of Tucker led to the theological utilitarianism of William Paley, sometime fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, and senior wrangler in 1763. Paley was not a writer of marked originality. If, in his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785), he owed much to Tucker, in his *View of the Evidences of Christianity* (1794), he depended on the *Criterion* (1752) of John Douglas, bishop of Salisbury—a reply to Hume's argument against miracles—and on Nathaniel Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History* (1723—55); and, in his *Natural Theology* (1804), he drew much material from John Ray's *The Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation* (1691), from William Derham's *Physico-Theology* (1713) and from the work of the Dutchman Nieuwentyt, which had been translated into English in 1730 as *The Religious Philosopher*. His *Horæ Paulinæ* (1790) is said to be the most original, and to have been the least successful, of his publications. These four books form a consistent system. Probably, no English writer has ever excelled Paley in power of marshalling arguments or in clearness of reasoning; and these merits have given some of his works a longer life as academic text-books than their other merits can justify. Paley was, essentially, a man of his time and his views were its views, though expressed with a skill which was all his own.

In his *Moral Philosophy*, there is no trace of the vacillation at critical points which marks most of his empirical predecessors. The only criticism to which it lies open is that morality vanishes when reduced to a calculation of selfish interests. A man's own happiness is always his motive; he can seek the general happiness only when

¹ See *ante*, vol. ix, p. 302 note.

that way of acting is made for his own happiness also; and this can be done only by the rewards and punishments of a lawgiver. Locke distinguished three different sorts of law, and Paley followed him rather closely. But the law of honour is insufficient, as having little regard to the general happiness; and the law of the land is inadequate for it omits many duties as not fit objects for compulsion, and it permits many crimes because incapable of definition; there remains, therefore, only the law of Scripture (that is, of God) which, alone, is obviously sufficient. Hence, the famous definition, 'Virtue is the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness.'

This conclusion leads up to the argument of his later works. His *Horæ Paulinæ* and *Evidences* have to demonstrate the credibility of the New Testament writings and the truth of the Christian revelation; and this position assumes the existence of God which, in his *Natural Theology*, he proves from the marks of design in the universe and, in particular, in the human body. In these works, we see how complete is the shifting of interest to which reference has been previously made¹. Attention is concentrated on the question of external evidences, and the content of religion is almost entirely overlooked. God is the superhuman watchmaker who has put the world-machine together with surprising skill, and intervenes miraculously, on rare occasions, when the works are getting out of order. Paley developed a familiar analogy with unequalled impressiveness; he should not be blamed for failing to anticipate the effect upon his argument which has been produced by the biological theory of natural selection; but he did not pause to examine the underlying assumptions of the analogy which he worked out; he had no taste for metaphysics; and his mind moved easily only within the range of the scientific ideas of his own day.

The most powerful reply to Hume—indeed, the only competent attempt to refute his philosophy as a whole—came from a group of scholars in Aberdeen who had formed themselves into a philosophical society. Of this group, Thomas Reid, a professor in King's college, was the most notable member, and he was the founder of the school of Scottish philosophy known as the commonsense school. With him were associated George Campbell and James Beattie², professors (the former afterwards principal) in Marischal college, as well as other men of mark in

¹ See *ante*, vol. ix, p. 289.

² As to Beattie's poetry cf. chap. vii, pp. 154 f., *ante*.

their day. The earliest contribution to the controversy—Campbell's *Dissertation on Miracles* (1763)—dealt with a side issue; but it is of interest for its examination of the place of testimony in knowledge; whereas experience (it is argued) leads to general truths and is the foundation of philosophy, testimony is the foundation of history, and it is capable of giving absolute certainty. Campbell's later work, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776), contains much excellent psychology. Beattie's *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth* (1770) is not a work of originality or of distinction; but it is a vigorous polemic; it brought him great temporary fame, and he has been immortalised by the art of Reynolds as serenely clasping his book whilst Hume and other apostles of error are being hurled into limbo. About the same time, James Oswald, a Perthshire clergyman, published *An Appeal to Common Sense in behalf of Religion* (1766—72). Reid, Beattie and Oswald were placed together by Priestley for the purpose of his *Examination*; and the same collocation of names was repeated by Kant; but it is entirely unjust to Reid.

Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* was published in 1764; shortly afterwards, he removed to Glasgow, to fill the chair vacated by Adam Smith. His later and more elaborate works—*Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* and *Essays on the Active Powers of Man*—appeared in 1785 and 1788 respectively. In his philosophical work, Reid has the great merit of going to the root of the matter, and he is perfectly fair-minded in his criticism. He admits the validity of Hume's reasonings; he does not appeal to the vulgar against his conclusions; but he follows the argument back to its premises and tests the truth of these premises. This is his chief claim to originality. He finds that the sceptical results of Hume are legitimate inferences from 'the ideal theory' which Locke took over from Descartes, and he puts to himself the question, 'what evidence have I for this doctrine, that all the objects of my knowledge are ideas in my own mind?' He points out (what is undoubtedly true) that neither Locke nor Berkeley nor Hume produced any evidence for the assumption. They started with the view that the immediate object of knowledge is something in the mind called ideas; and they were consequently unable to prove the existence of anything outside the mind or even of mind itself. 'Ideas,' says Reid, 'seem to have something in their nature

unfriendly to other existences.' He solves the difficulty by denying the existence of ideas. There are no such 'images of external things' in the mind, but sensation is accompanied by an act of perception, and the object of perception is the real external thing.

Hume had said that his difficulties would vanish if our perceptions inhered in something simple and individual, or if the mind perceived some real connection among them; and Reid proposes a positive theory of knowledge which will give the required assurance on this point. Every sensation is accompanied by a 'natural and original judgment' which refers the sensation to mind as its act. We do not need, first of all, to get the two things 'mind' and 'sensation' and then to connect them; 'one of the related things—to wit sensation—suggests to us both the correlate and the relation.' Reid's terminology is not happy. The word 'suggests' is badly chosen, though he distinguishes this 'natural suggestion' from the suggestion which is the result of experience and habit. And his term 'common sense' has given rise to more serious misunderstandings, for which he is by no means blameless. Even his doctrine of immediate perception is far from clear. But, if we read him sympathetically, we may see that he had hold of a truth of fundamental importance. The isolated impressions or ideas with which Locke and Hume began are fictions; they do not correspond to anything real in experience. The simplest portion of our experience is not separate from its context in this way; it implies a reference to mind and to an objective order, and thus involves the relations which Reid ascribed to 'natural suggestion' or 'common sense.'

CHAPTER XV

DIVINES

WITH the beginning of the eighteenth century, we reach a period in English theological literature of which the character is not less definite because there were individual writers who struggled against it. The matter and the style alike were placid and unemotional, rational rather than learned, tending much more to the commonplace than to the pedantic, and, above all, abhorrent of that dangerous word, and thing, enthusiasm. Johnson's definition gives a significant clue to the religious literature in which his contemporaries had been educated. Enthusiasm, in his *Dictionary*, is (from Locke) 'a vain belief of private revelation, a vain confidence of divine favour,' to which even the nonconformists, if one may judge by the subjects of their books, had, in the early eighteenth century, abandoned all special claim; and, also, it implied, in Johnson's own view, 'heat of imagination' and 'violence of passion.' From this, the main current of theological writing, for more than fifty years, ran conspicuously away. The mystics, such as William Law, as has been shown in an earlier chapter¹, were strange exceptions, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto* of this decorous self-restraint or complacency. It was not till Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians completed the impression which *A Serious Call* had made on the heart of John Wesley that the literature of religion received a new impetus and inspiration; and the old school fought long and died hard. It was not till the word enthusiasm could be used in their condign praise that English theologians began to feel again something of the fire and poetry of their subject, and, once more, to scale its heights and sound its depths. And yet, as we say this, we are confronted by evident

¹ See vol. ix, chap. xii, *ante*, and cf. Byrom's poem 'Enthusiasm,' with introduction on the use of the word, in *The Poems of John Byrom*, ed. Ward, A. W., vol. II (1895). See, also, *ibid.* vol. III (1912), p. 118 and note.

• exceptions. No one can deny the power of Butler's writing, whatever it may be the fashion to assert as to the depth of his thought; and, while there was fire enough in Atterbury, in Wilson there was certainly the delicate aroma of that intimate sincerity which has in all literature an irresistible charm. Some earlier writers may be left aside, such as Richard Cumberland, who, though a bishop, was rather a philosopher than a theologian, and Samuel Johnson, the Ben Jochanan of Dryden, whose divinity was not more than an excrescence on his fame as a whig pamphleteer who suffered excessively for his opinions. His manner of writing was unquestionably savage. *Julian the Apostate: Being a Short Account of his Life; the sense of the Primitive Christians about his Succession; and their Behaviour towards him. Together with a comparison of Popery and Paganism* (1682), is more vehement and obnoxious than most of those bitter attacks on James duke of York with which the press groaned during the last years of Charles II; yet its author hardly deserved degradation from the priesthood, the pillory and whipping from Newgate to Tyburn. As the chaplain of Lord William Russell, Johnson might be expected to speak boldly: and his writing was full of sound and fury, as a characteristic sentence—a solitary one, be it observed—from his *Reflections on the History of Passive Obedience* may show.

I have reason to enter a just Complaint against the pretended Church-of-England Men of the two last Reigns, who not only left me the grinning Honour of maintaining the establish'd Doctrine of the Church all alone, (which I kept alive, till it pleased God to make it a means of our Deliverance, with the perpetual hazard of my own life for many years, and with suffering Torments and Indignities worse than Death) but also beside this, were very zealous in running me down, and very officious in degrading me, as an Apostate from the Church of England for this very Service: While at the same time, they themselves were making their Court with their own Renegado Doctrine of Passive Obedience; and wearing out all Pulpits with it, as if it had been, not only the First and Great Commandment, but the Second too; and ~~trampling~~ trampling it down the reluctant throats of dying Patriots, as the Terms of their Salvation.

We may begin the tale with Francis Atterbury. He was born in 1663, and his upbringing, at the quiet Buckinghamshire rectory of Milton Keynes, by a father who had been suspect of disloyalty for his compliance with the commonwealth and, probably, atoned for it by an exaggerated attachment to the restored Stewarts, was in the strictest principles of the establishment in church and state. A Westminster boy and student of Christ Church, he became prominent among the scholars of his day, and his contribution to the

Phalaris controversy¹ made him famous. He took holy orders in 1687, and, before long, reached high preferment. Soon after the beginning of the century, he was archdeacon of Totnes and chaplain in ordinary to queen Anne. He became dean of Carlisle (1704), of Christ Church (1712) and of Westminster and bishop of Rochester (1713). Seven years later, he was imprisoned in the Tower, without much evidence against him, for having been concerned in a plot to restore the Stewarts. Banishment followed, and he definitely threw in his lot with the exiled family. He lived till 1732. For fifty years, he was an influential, though not a voluminous, writer. Politically, he was vehement; in religion, he was wholehearted; and the two interests seemed to him inseparable. What weighed most with him in politics, truly says his latest biographer², was 'the consequence that the Whigs' latitudinarianism would have, and as a matter of fact did have, on the Church of England.' He was, indeed, from first to last, a 'church of England man,' of the type which the sunshine of queen Anne's favour ripened. The Hanoverian type of protestantism was uncongenial to him: he distrusted and feared its rationalising influence. In his view, as he said in the dedication of his sermons to Trelawny (famous as one of the seven bishops), 'the Fears of Popery were scarce remov'd, when Heresy began to diffuse its Venom.' Thus, he came to the position which Addison expressed in an epigram, but which, perhaps, was not so inconsistent as it seemed—'that the Church of England will always be in danger till it has a Popish king for its defender.'

If his contribution to the Phalaris controversy best exhibits his wit, and his political writing his trenchant diction, his sermons may, perhaps, be regarded as his permanent contributions to English literature. There is no conspicuous merit in their style or in their argument; but they are lucid, argumentative and, on occasion, touched by real feeling. Perhaps, his sincerity never appeared to more advantage than in the quiet pathos of his *Discourse on the death of the Lady Cutts* (1698), the opening passage of which gave at least a hint to Sterne for a very famous sermon.

Much the same may be said of Atterbury's friend George Smalridge, who succeeded him as dean of Christ Church. Smalridge was a less active Jacobite and a less vehement

¹ See vol. ix, chap. xiii, p. 333, *ante*.

² Beeching, H. O., *Francis Atterbury* (1909), p. 268.

man, and died peaceably, though in disgrace, as bishop of Bristol. He

toasted the Pretender in the privacy of his rooms at Christ Church, but gave him no other support; recognising, no doubt, that anything but a Platonic affection was incompatible with the Church principles of non-resistance to established authority, of which he and Atterbury had been among the foremost champions.

Some of this quietude gives tone to his sermons, which Johnson praised for their elegant style; and Addison wrote in 1718 'he is to me the most candid and agreeable of all the bishops.' Dedicated to Caroline princess of Wales—who, as queen, had a striking talent for the discovery of clever clergymen—and produced in print for an extraordinarily large number of subscribers, the sermons are more remarkable for sound sense than for eloquence or argument. The English is pure and unaffected; Addison, perhaps, is the model; but his excellence is far from being attained. Smalridge was indignant when some one thought to flatter him by suggesting that he wrote *A Tale of a Tub*: a very moderate knowledge of his style should have convinced the most obtuse that he could not have written the *Tale* if he would. In truth, he is typical of his period. The theological writings of the day had none of the learning, or the attempt at it, which had marked the Caroline epoch; they had no charm of language, no eloquence or passion. The utmost they aimed at was lucidity, and, when this was achieved, we are left wondering whether what could be so expressed was worth expressing at all. Atterbury had stood alone against the benumbing influence of Tillotson.

It needed controversy to stir the placid contentment of the early Hanoverian dignitaries. And, of controversy, vehement enough, they had their share. If Sacheverell did not contribute anything of value to English literature, the same cannot be said of Wake or even, perhaps, of Hoadly. In 1715, William Wake succeeded Tenison as archbishop. His predecessor had possessed a certain skill in anti-Roman controversy, and he had the very rare accomplishment of being able to write a good collect; but Wake was altogether his superior. In history, his translation of the Apostolic Fathers and his very important contributions to the discussion on the powers of convocation give him a place in the short list of English archbishops who have been learned men. Nor was his learning anglican only; he was better known in Germany and France, as well as in the eastern church, than any of his successors till quite modern times.* As a controversialist, he was lucid and

graceful; but when he hit he could hit hard. The convocation controversy, though it employed the powers of Atterbury, Burnet, Hody, Kennett and Matthew Hutton of Aynho, hardly belongs to the history of literature. But it gave great opportunity for the display of that kind of antiquarian knowledge in which many of the English clergy of the time excelled. Few of those who joined in it were not; at the same time, writers of eminence in their own fields: Wake was distinguished for his studies of the Apostolic Fathers, Hody as a Hebraist, Kennett, in that admirable book *The Parochial Antiquities of Ambrosden*, a very model for local historians. And the convocation controversy was soon merged in the discussion as to the orthodoxy of certain ecclesiastics, some prominent, some undistinguished, which began with Hoadly and his views of church authority.

Benjamin Hoadly was a clergyman in whom the objectionable features of Gilbert Burnet were exaggerated to the verge of caricature. He was a whig and a follower of the government in power first of all, a controversialist in consequence, and only after that was he an ecclesiastic. As a political writer, he opposed Atterbury and Blackall in 1709—10; on the Hanoverian succession being accomplished, he was rewarded by the see of Bangor, which he hardly ever visited. In 1717, his famous sermon entitled *The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ* caused the acid controversy which was named after him; *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors*, a treatise published by him in 1716, called forth the drastic criticism of William Law; and *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament* (1735), the massive treatise of Waterland on the doctrine of the Eucharist. He seemed to live for dispute and preferment; and he accepted both with the placid dignity which is inimitably rendered in Hogarth's immortal portrait. As a writer, he carries the sobriety of Tillotson to the extreme of pompous dulness; it is safe to say that the volumes of his sermons and other argumentative works which line many old libraries have rested for a century and a half undisturbed by any reader's hand. Their manner, which is devoid of any original touch, contrasts strangely with their matter. Hoadly's theory of churchmanship reduced itself to pure individualism tempered by toleration. He was a conscientious advocate for the repeal of the whole range of test acts. He was, in fact, a much better thinker in matters of state than in those which belonged more directly to his own profession. From under

the cloud of words and the skilful tangle of qualifications in which his thought is enveloped, there emerges the certainty that he had no coherent idea of a religious society at all. If he had points of affinity with Thomas Arnold, he is, perhaps, not very far away from the reforming theologians or even the theorists of the Middle Age. Church and state are one in his mind; but it is the state which turns church communion into something quite vague, general and ultimately unmeaning; yet he has not risen to the idea of a federation; he remains in a conception of essential fluidity. On the other hand, his advocacy of toleration, on true principles, was, if not an advance in theory on the position of several earlier English writers, of different parties, at least one in actual practice, before whig statesmen as well as anglican bishops were prepared to accept it. Hoadly became bishop of Winchester in 1734 and held the see till his death in 1761. It cannot be said that he rendered any service to the church, and the controversies of which he was the centre had no small share in that eclipse of her literary glory, which was the conspicuous characteristic of the Hanoverian, as opposed to the Stewart, age.

If Hoadly typifies the comfortable Erastianism of the leaders of the establishment, William Law's enthusiasm and depth were reproduced in not a few of the later nonjurors. It was some time before the inspiring self-sacrifice of Sancroft and Hicke and their colleagues died down into the sordid insignificance which Johnson professed to have witnessed. The spirit of literary audacity which had fled the established church was still to be found among the nonjurors. The two Thomas Wagstaffes—the father (1645—1712) nonjuring bishop of Ipswich, the son (1692—1770) English chaplain to the banished Stewarts—were writers of considerable power. The *Vindication*, by the pen of the elder, of Charles I's authorship of *Eikon Basilike*, followed by *A Defence of the Vindication*, is a work of considerable, though not of convincing, force. Both were noted as antiquaries, and belong, indeed, to the school, as we may call it, of Carte, Leslie, Rawlinson and Hearne. Thomas Deacon, again, was a scholar of no mean order with a range of theological knowledge unusual in his day. By profession a physician, he was ordained by the nonjuring bishop Gandy in 1716, and consecrated, probably in 1733, by Archibald Campbell, bishop of Aberdeen, whom Dr Johnson described as 'very curious and inquisitive but credulous.' The nonjurors (as has been seen in the case of

Hickes) were close students of liturgiology, and the revised communion office of the 'Usagers,' with the *Compleat Devotions* of 1734, bear witness to the accuracy of Deacon's study and influenced the important liturgies of the Scottish and American churches of the present day.

As may seem natural for men who found themselves compelled to live more and more apart from the general religious and even the social life of their day, the nonjurors turned to antiquarianism as a solace for their seclusion as well as a support for their doctrines. The older race of those who withdrew from communion with the national church were often men of great learning as well as steadfast principle. Henry Dodwell is a typical example. He held a fellowship at Trinity college, Dublin, but resigned it, being unwilling to take holy orders. He then resided in England, in London or Oxford at first, in later years in Berkshire. From 1688 to 1691, he was Camden professor of history at Oxford. He was deprived because he would not take the oaths; but William III is said to have declared that he would not make him a martyr—'He has set his heart on being one and I have set mine on disappointing him.' Hearne considered him 'the greatest scholar in Europe when he died,' and even such an opponent as White Kennett respected his learning. His writings are partly 'occasional' and vehement, partly deliberate and scholastic. To the former class belongs what he wrote about the schism; to the latter, his work on Irenaeus and on ancient history in general. It cannot be said that he left any permanent impression on English literature or scholarship, though his writings were long remembered and utilised by lesser men. His friends Nelson, Hearne, Cherry and the rest preserved his memory in their circle of devout ecclesiasticism. But the whole mass of the nonjurors' literary output, even work so good as that of Brett and Leslie, belongs to a backwater in English letters. One fragrant survival, however, may be mentioned here for its exquisite and simple pathos, *A Pattern for Young Students in the University, set forth in the Life of Mr Ambrose Bonwicke, sometime Scholar of St John's College in Cambridge* (1729)¹. It is the record of a young nonjuror's life, told by his father, in an unaffected, but deeply touching, manner which no man of letters of the day could have surpassed. One is tempted to put beside it, for their record of devotion to duty in circumstances very different, the *Journals* of the Scottish bishop Robert Forbes (in 1762 and

¹ Edited by Mayor, J. E. B., Cambridge, 1870.

1770)¹, a divine whose 'primitive piety' and ecclesiastical principles were supported by the same doctrines of church obedience as directed the life of the young Cambridge scholar. Men such as these must in all ages live remote from public haunt. Joseph Bingham, the greatest ecclesiastical antiquary of his time and for long after it, was incessantly active as a writer, but (save that he was unjustly stigmatised as a heretic and had to resign his fellowship at Oxford in consequence) was entirely neglected by those whose business it should have been to know what scholars wrote. His *Origines Ecclesiasticae, or The Antiquities of the Christian Church* (published in successive volumes from 1708 to 1722) is a mine of learning, to which writers everywhere had recourse till the Cambridge scholars of the later nineteenth century began the critical rewriting of the history of the early church. Bingham, it may be said, did for church history what Pearson did for the creed. He showed what it meant at the time of its beginning and he illustrated its growth by a store of learning which none in his own time could rival, and few since have surpassed. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it was, certainly, in learning rather than in pure letters that the *clerus Angliæ* preserved its reputation.

Returning from this interesting by-path, we find the main field of theology in possession of writers of scarcely a single literary merit. *The Annual Register*, when it commemorated Hoadly on his death, allowed him the virtue that, in all his controversies with his brethren ('and no one surely ever held more'), he never lost his equanimity of temper or descended to any railing accusation. In the same way, Thomas Sherlock, bishop of London, was praised in that

he too had his controversies, and those carried on with warmth and spirit, but without any injury to his temper, or any interruption to his thoughts and mind.

He was, indeed, an opponent of Hoadly even more persistent than Law. He was chairman of the committee of the lower house of convocation which considered the book that was the *sons et origines*; and, though, owing to the suspension of the sessions of convocation, the report was never published, its substance, no doubt, appeared in *Remarks on the Bishop of Bangor's treatment of the Clergy and Convocations*, issued by him anonymously in 1717,

¹ Edited by Craven, J. B., 1876.

and in other pamphlets. Sherlock's politics, in early life, were, like those of his more famous father (master of the Temple and dean of St Paul's), not above suspicion with those in power: the wits compared the two thus:

As Sherlock the elder with *jure* divine
Did not comply till the battle of Boyne;
So Sherlock the younger still made it a question
Which side he should take till the battle of Preston.

But, in later life, he was a steady supporter of Walpole, and his politics even more than his preaching brought him to high place. He was appointed bishop of London in 1748, and it is said that he had declined even higher preferment. Before this, nearly all his important literary work had been done. He had engaged in the deist controversy in 1725, and his *Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus* (1729) was a very notable apologetic, on quite modern lines, in answer to Woolston. Next to Butler, he was the most powerful opponent, and the most rational, whom the deists encountered. His last work, which enjoyed the popularity of a modern novel, was *A Letter to the Clergy and People of London and Westminster on occasion of the late Earthquake* (1750). Nichols, the bookseller, tells that 100,000 copies were sold in less than a month; and the trenchant vigour of its denunciation of vice and appeal for amendment make it still worthy of perusal.

But books and pamphlets such as Sherlock's are at least on the fringe of that sad class of writings which Lamb stigmatised as *biblia abiblia*. We rise far above it when we come to the work of men so different as bishop Wilson, bishop Butler and Daniel Waterland. The three men were profoundly different. Wilson, in much of his thought and life, was a survival of the early seventeenth century and, indeed, of far earlier times. Waterland, in many respects, was typical of the early eighteenth century. Butler had affinities with the nineteenth—with Newman, for example, and Gladstone. The life of Wilson was uneventful. He took his degree from Trinity college, Dublin, and was ordained in the church of Ireland, served a Lancashire curacy, became chaplain to the earl of Derby and preceptor to his son at the salary of thirty pounds a year, to which was added the mastership of the Latham almshouse, twenty pounds more—whereupon he had 'an income far beyond his expectations, far beyond his wishes, except as it increased his ability to do good'—and, in

1697, was appointed by his patron to the bishopric of Sodor and Man, in spite of his refusal. At Bishop's court, Kirk Michael, he lived, for nearly sixty years, the life of a primitive saint, devoted entirely to works of piety, the father of his people, not neglecting to punish as well as to protect. His collected works were not published till 1781; but many of them had long achieved a remarkable popularity. Of the eight volumes, four contain sermons, of a directness of appeal and simplicity of language unusual for the time. The English is forcible and unaffected; there are no pedantic expressions, or classical phrases, or lengthy words. Everyone could understand what Wilson said, and everyone might profit by it. He wrote, not to astonish, but to convince; yet the simplicity of his manner avoids the pit of commonplace into which such writers as Tillotson not rarely fall. No one could call the good bishop a great writer; but no one could call him a poor one. In his *Maxims* and his *Parochialia*, he shows a knowledge of human nature not very common among clergymen; while his *Sacra Privata*, which explains (to an intelligent reader) how this knowledge was obtained, places him with bishop Andrewes among the masters of English devotional literature.

Very different is the ponderous solidity of Daniel Waterland. He was a controversialist, a scholar and an archdeacon—callings which tend to dryness and pomposity and seldom encourage literary excellence. Master of Magdalene college, Cambridge, and vice-chancellor, he was recommended, says his biographer, 'to the favour of the government' by his 'wise and moderate sentiments,' but he did not attain to any great position in the church. He preferred, it may well be, to remain an adept in university business and a wielder of the cudgel against the heretics of his age, among whom several, such as Biddle, Firmip and Gilbert Clerke (to repeat the phrase used by bishop van Mildert nearly a century ago) 'now scarcely retain a place in our recollection.' Samuel Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712), amid all the heavy literature which it evoked, had no more successful rival than Waterland's *Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, which is almost worthy to be placed beside the work of bishop Bull; and this was but one of the writings of the Cambridge scholar which dealt with the subject. Waterland had long given attention to the claims of semi-Arians to hold office in the church of England, and, in a famous disputation, when he 'kept a Divinity Act for his Bachelor of Divinity,' had had for his opponent (who was, of

course, merely assuming the post of *advocatus arianismi*) Thomas Sherlock,

'one of the greatest ornaments of the Church, and finest writers of the age, who gave full play to his abilities, and called forth,' says a contemporary, 'all that strength of reason of which he was the master.'

Here, in spite of a certain favour which royalty was inclined to bestow upon Arianism, Waterland was safe from censure by great personages of the day. His moderation appears less favourably in his abstention from action throughout the long period during which Bentley was unjustly suspended. His learning, on the other hand, in his treatise on the Athanasian creed, a vindication of that much-contested symbol, which is even now not out of date, appears in its most favourable aspect, and the book deserved the eulogy of archbishop Dawes of York, a prelate who did not fear, even when suspected of Jacobitism, to express his opinions :

'With great pleasure I read it,' wrote the primate of England, 'both on account of the subject matter of it, and the manner in which you have treated it; the one, of the greatest importance to the Christian faith; the other, a pattern to all writers of controversy in the great points of religion.'

In 1727, he became canon of Windsor; in 1730, vicar of Twickenham and archdeacon of Middlesex; and he enjoyed 'his retirement at Twickenham,' his visits to Cambridge and the honour of being prolocutor of the lower house of the convocation of Canterbury, till his death in 1740, when an opponent offered the curious testimony to his merits that

notwithstanding his being a contender for the Trinity yet he was a benevolent man, an upright Christian and a beautiful writer; exclusive of his zeal for the Trinity, he was in everything else an excellent clergyman and an admirable scholar.

But the most famous of his writings is, undoubtedly, his *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, which was for long regarded as the classic work of anglican theology on its subject. It is only necessary to say of the doctrine, as stated by Waterland, that it does not proceed beyond the qualified statement of the judicious Hooker and would not have satisfied Andrewes, Jeremy Taylor, or Cosin—not to mention so typical an anglican as George Herbert—among his predecessors; still less does it rise to the views which found expression in the notable work of John Johnson, *The Unbloody Sacrifice*. In his own words, Waterland advocates not a sacrificial, but a federal, view of the Eucharist. As a writer, he is lucid without being commonplace and learned without being pedantic. His prose is better than Tillotson's, easier than Butler's;

but no one would quote it for its excellence, as, in his day, men quoted the archbishop, or remember it for its massive power, as Butler must always be remembered.

Joseph Butler is, indeed, even as a master of English, conspicuously the greatest of the three writers whom we have chosen to illustrate the character of English theology during this period. The explanation is that Butler was, what the others were not, a great writer and a great man. His prose has a massive force, a sheer weight, to which no English writer of his time approaches. Under its severe restraint burns the fire of a deep and intense conviction. He has been but poorly understood by those who have regarded him as a convincing critic, a master of logical acuteness. He was far more; and what he was is revealed in every paragraph of his writing. On the one hand, his view of life and thought was synthetical, not merely inquisitive or analytic: on the other, he was inspired with a supreme belief, a mastering optimism, a triumphant faith. In the cold marble of his prose, there are veins of colour, touches of rich crimson, caerulean blue, or sunny gold, such as one sees on some beautiful ancient sarcophagus. He is a master of calm exposition, as well as of irony; but he is, even more notably, a writer of profound and unquenchable passion. His heart no less than his head is in what he has written; and it is this which gives him his place among the masters of English prose. Butler has enriched English literature with many a striking apophthegm; but his use of the language can only be adequately tested by long passages. It is difficult to select from him; he has no purple patches; page after page shines with the same massive splendour. The manner of the *Sermons* is as admirable as the matter: it is typical of the prose of his age at its very best. The style of the *Analogy* is more difficult, more compressed and concise, so that it seems at first sight to be stiff and involved; but a little study of it shows that it is intentionally, and admirably, adapted to its matter. The steps, as Gladstone said, are as carefully measured out as if we were climbing the hill of the *Purgatorio*; and each single sentence has been well compared to 'a well-considered move in chess.' From another point of view, we may again adopt the statesman's quaint retort to the criticism of Matthew Arnold:

The homely fare, upon which Butler feeds us, cannot be so gratifying to the palate as turtle, venison, and champagne. But it has been found wholesome by experience: it leads to no doctor's bills; and a perusal of this 'failure' is admitted to be 'a most valuable exercise for the mind.'

No religious book of the eighteenth century, save only Law's *Serious Call*, had so much influence as the *Analogy*, and the influence of each, different though they were, has proved abiding in English literature as well as English religion. It came without question from the same source. It has been said of Joseph Butler, that he was known to be given to religious retirement and to reading the biographies of holy persons; and, though the one was a bishop and the other a nonjuror, the words are equally applicable to William Law¹.

The work of Butler is the high watermark of English theology in the middle of the eighteenth century. The descent from it is almost abrupt. Two names only remain to be specially noticed before we pass to a new period—those of Thomas Herring and Thomas Secker, both archbishops of Canterbury, who were born in the same year 1693, and died, the former in 1757, the latter in 1768. Archbishop Herring was a complete contrast to the leading prelates of his day. His sermons at Lincoln's inn gave him fame, and he passed, in a career of unemotional benevolence, from the deanery of Rochester to the sees of Bangor, York and Canterbury. He did not contend with deists or Arians, and the Athanasian controversy had for him no charms. He was prepared to revise the *Prayer-Book* and the Articles, and to exchange pulpits with dissenters. He befriended the Jews, and Hume tells us, in his *Essays*, that the archbishop praised him for his *History*. He raised a large sum for the government during the '45. But his literary work, save his rather pleasing letters, is uninteresting and ineffective. His successor at York and Canterbury, Matthew Skelton, was little thought of and soon forgotten. But with Thomas Secker, bishop in turn of Bristol and of Oxford, and archbishop of Canterbury for ten years, from 1758, we reach a higher grade. Like Butler, with whom he had been at school, and like not a few in the list of English primates, he was not till manhood converted to the English church, and, to the delicate taste of Horace Walpole, he seemed to retain to the last something of the 'tone of fanaticism' which had belonged to his early training. Yet the beginning of methodism filled him with alarm: whatever he may have shown of 'fanaticism,' he was certainly no 'enthusiast.' On his sermons, which, with his *Lectures on the Church Catechism*, were his chief work, the opinion of his

¹ Cf., as to Butler's *Fifteen Sermons* and *Analogy*, *ante*, vol. ix, pp. 308 f.* As to Law, see *ibid.* chap. xii.

*contemporaries, for once, very fairly represents what would be thought today. Hurd, the favourite bishop of George III, said that they had 'a certain conciliatory calmness, propriety, and decency of language, with no extraordinary reach of thought, vigour of sentiment, or beauty of expression.' And Christopher Pitt, when, in *The Art of Preaching*, he advises young preachers, describes the impression made by the archbishop, in words that no doubt sum up his merits :

•Speak, look, and move with dignity and ease
Like mitred Secker, you'll be sure to please.

Secker, however, did not wear a mitre—he only wore a wig, and the literary style in which he excelled has passed away with his headgear. It was the methodist movement which swept away what seemed to it to be solemn trifling. From the middle of the eighteenth century, the new influence which passed over English religion had its effect, gradual and much contested, upon English literature also. The age of Wesley and Whitefield introduced what may be called a new romanticism in religion, just as the Lake school, half a century later, may be said to have destroyed the classic tradition of the older poetry. A word is needed as to the historical setting of this new departure in English theology.

The methodist movement was a reaction against the calmness with which English theologians had accepted, and suppressed, many of the vital elements of the Christian creed. Divinity is the most progressive of the sciences, and no literature becomes so rapidly out of date as theology—all but the highest. Admirably straightforward though much of the writing of English divines in the early eighteenth century was, it had fewer of the elements of permanence than any of the systems that had preceded it; to appropriate words of Johnson, it had not sufficient vitality to preserve it from putrefaction. A new theology, or, at least, a revival of the old, was needed, which should base its appeal on the verities of the Christian life. The young Oxford students who founded methodism were, above all things, anxious to rule their daily doings by the standard, ascetic and devotional, of the English church. It has been, in recent years, generally believed that the tendency of the movement was from the first towards separation. This is hardly true. In practice, no doubt, much that Wesley did tended to separatism; but, in theory, never. The movement which now bears his name was at first, distinctly, a church movement, owing its impetus to long neglected doctrines of the church;

and Wesley's own first direction of life came from Jeremy Taylor.^o The story of the movement, during the period now under survey, may be briefly told. John Wesley, son of the rector of Epworth, went to Charterhouse in 1713 and to Christ Church in 1720, and became a fellow of Lincoln college in 1726. The society founded, very soon after, by his brother Charles, a student of Christ Church, was composed of a few pious young men who desired to live by the church's rules of fasting, almsgiving and prayer, and received the holy communion weekly. Southey, writing nearly a century later, thought that 'such conduct would at any time have attracted observation in an English university.' Unpopular, these beginnings certainly were, but it was not long before they passed beyond the petty criticisms of Oxford. John Wesley joined this 'Holy Club' on his return to college in 1729, and he remained at Oxford for some years, actively engaged in works of piety.

Among the earlier members of the society were two destined for great public fame. The first was George Whitefield, perhaps the greatest popular orator of the eighteenth century. He had traced in himself, he tells, from cradle to manhood, nothing but 'a fitness to be damned'; but the fiery enthusiasm of his nature seems always to have been turned toward the light, and, from his entrance into the methodist company, he became a devoted worker and preacher. John Wesley went to America in 1735, Charles in 1736, Whitefield in 1738. The freedom of missionary work rendered each of them disposed to new religious influences, and John Wesley and George Whitefield gradually drifted apart from each other and from the accepted theology of the English church. Wesley was greatly influenced by the Moravians and especially by their very attractive apostle count Zinzendorf, Whitefield by the Calvinism which seemed to be dying a natural death in the church of England till his influence revived it. Wesley dated his conversion from 24 May 1738; and, soon afterwards, he began his wonderful journeys, which lasted almost to his death. During the half-century, he preached forty thousand sermons, and travelled (it is said) a quarter of a million of miles. His brother Charles equalled him in devotion, if not in tireless health, and Whitefield in enthusiasm. In 1740, Wesley severed his connection with the Moravians, and, in 1743, the followers of Whitefield became distinguished as Calvinistic methodists. In 1764, the separation between the two methodist bodies became permanent, and, from that time, perhaps, it may be correct to date the creation, from the original movement, of a newly organised

assent. Though Wesley himself passionately desired, to the end, to belong to the church of his baptism and ordination and vigorously denounced all who separated from it, in 1784 (when his brother Charles, who deeply regretted the act, thought him to be in his dotage) he ordained ministers, and, from that moment, the separation was complete. Whitefield, who was the founder of the Calvinistic methodists, Lady Huntingdon's connection, died in 1770. At that date, it may be well to conclude our brief survey. The prominent names which belong especially to this earlier period, when what came to be called evangelicalism was hardly distinguishable from methodism, are those of the two Wesleys, Whitefield, Hervey, Toplady and Fletcher of Madeley. The influence of Newton, Venn, Romaine and others, more definitely evangelical than methodist, belongs chiefly to a later period.

Whitefield was not a man of letters, but an orator. His literary work is negligible, though not uninteresting; but it marks more decisively than that of any of his contemporaries the earliest reaction against the commonsense religious writing of the age. Whitefield wrote plain English, the vernacular of his day, with a touch of the university added, just as Latimer did two hundred years before. But he was not nearly so great a writer as was the reformer, probably because of his being a far greater preacher. To quote from his sermons or his controversial writings would be useless: he began a venture rather than led a school. And not all his friends followed his style.

The first to be mentioned after Whitefield was almost a complete contrast to him. There can be no doubt that the most popular writer among those who were influenced by the earlier stages of the methodist movement was James Hervey, who was at Lincoln college, Oxford, as an undergraduate when John Wesley was a fellow and, after serving in Cornwall, became rector of two parishes, not adjoining each other, Collingtree and Weston Favell, in Northamptonshire. He was a most excellent man and an exemplary parish priest, but he escaped controversy as little as did any other of the evangelical company. His disputes with Wesley are of no importance in literary history, and his curious dialogues, on his favourite doctrine of 'imputed righteousness' and other opinions which he extracted from the Gospels, entitled *Theron and Aspasia*, have long ceased to interest even the most assiduous student. But his *Meditations Among the Tombs*, *Reflections on a Flower-garden* and *Contemplations on the Night*, which met

with extraordinary success in their day, illustrate most effectively the fantastic and affected style which the most sincere writers of the time, save the robust John Wesley himself, seemed to assume with their 'pulpit manner,' till it became a second nature to them. A passage from Hervey's *Contemplations on the Night* may be quoted here, since it would be difficult to find a more striking example of the descent of popular taste in the darkest period of English letters. The thoughts might be found in Jeremy Taylor; but how different is the pompous and posturing performance with which Hervey seeks to impress the reader from the plangent feeling which inspires Taylor even in his richest and most gorgeous prose! In Hervey, the ideas are impoverished and the expression is at once affected and commonplace.

We need not go down to the charnel house, nor carry our search into the repositories of the dead, in order to find memorials of our impending doom. A multitude of these remembrancers are placed in all our paths, and point the heedless passengers to their long home. I can hardly enter a considerable town but I meet a funeral procession, or the mourners going about the streets. The hatchment suspended on the wall, or the crape streaming in the air, are silent intimations that both rich and poor have been emptying their houses, and replenishing their sepulchres. I can scarce join in any conversation, but mention is made of some that are given over by the physician, and hovering on the confines of eternity; of others that have just dropt their clay among weeping friends, and are gone to appear before the Judge of all the earth. There's not a newspaper comes to my hand, but, amidst all its entertaining narrations, reads several serious lectures of mortality. What else are the repeated accounts—of age, worn out by slow-consuming sicknesses—of youth, dashed to pieces by some sudden stroke of casualty—of patriots, exchanging their seats in the senate for a lodging in the tomb—of misers, resigning their breath, and (O relentless destiny!) leaving their very riches for others! Even the vehicals of our amusement are registers of the deceased! and the voice of Fame seldom sounds but in concert with the knell!

From this, the transition to John William Fletcher is agreeable. He is one of the examples, more common in the seventeenth, than in the eighteenth, century, of the attractive power of the English church, its system and its theology, for he was born in Switzerland (his name was de La Flechère); but he became a priest of the English church and gave his life to the work of an English village. His anti-Calvinist views severed him from Lady Huntingdon's connection, with which, for a time, he was associated as superintendent of her training college at Trevecca, but endeared him the more to Wesley, who preached his funeral sermon from the text 'Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.' Never was there a controversialist more honest or more gentle. The title of his

* *Zelotus and Honestus Reconciled; or an Equal Check to Pharisaism and Antinomianism*, which includes parts I. and II. of *Scriptures Scales to weigh the gold of Gospel truth, and to balance a multitude of opposite Scriptures*, gives a misleading idea of the wit and charm of its contents. Fletcher writes gracefully and truthfully. He has the tendency to gloom in which Hervey revelled; but he does not parade it. He has a wholesome detestation of his opponent's Calvinism; but it leads him, not to sound and fury, but to placid and conciliatory argument. Southey well summed up the character of Fletcher's writing when he said that

his talents were of the quick mercurial kind; his fancy was always active, and he might have held no inconsiderable rank, both as a humorous and as an impassioned writer, if he had not confined himself wholly to devotional subjects.

He was the St Francis of early methodism, and it seems the most natural thing in the world to be told that, one day, he took a robin for his text. If other leaders of the movement were stern, his was always the voice of tenderness and charity. By way of contrast, we may, like Southey, take the vehement denunciations of Augustus Toplady, who deserves to be remembered for the immortal hymn 'Rock of Ages,' while his *The Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England* best remains buried in oblivion. He wrote with coarse vigour, smartness and *abandon*, in complete contrast alike to the preciousness of Hervey and to the calm of Fletcher. His quarrel with John Wesley, which from theological became personal, makes curious reading today. Wesley declared that Toplady's doctrine might be summed up thus—

One in twenty of mankind is elected; nineteen, in twenty are reprobated. The elect shall be saved, do what they will; the reprobate shall be damned, do what they can. Reader, believe this, or be damned.

Toplady replied by accusing his critic of satanic guilt and shamelessness in thus describing his opinion and answered him, after the manner of Martin Marprelate, with *An Old Fox tarred and feathered* and suchlike pamphlets. Wesley, he declared, was an Arminian, which meant that he had

an equal portion of gross Heathenism, Pelagianism, Mahometanism, Popery, Manichaism, Banterism and Antinomianism, culled, dried, and pulverised, and mingled with as much palpable Atheism as you can scrape together.

Literary squabbles do not lose their bitterness when they become theological.

Of John Wesley himself, as a writer, it need only be said that he was, with the pen as with the tongue, a master of direct English and simple strength. Southey chose a passage in which he summed up his chief answer to the Calvinists, as 'the most remarkable and powerful in all his works' to illustrate his theology. It, also, illustrates his style. A few sentences will suffice to show the kind of writer he was. His manner is eminently that of an orator. The sentences are short, the points clear, the assertion incisive, the repetition emphatic: 'Here I fix my fort'—'Let it mean what it will it cannot mean that'—'Hold! what will you prove by Scripture? That God is worse than the devil? It cannot be.' Here we have the familiar trick of the special pleader. He asks his opponent a question, supplies an answer on his behalf, and then knocks him on the head for it. This manner has the appearance of logic; but, often, a fallacy lurks behind. As a theologian, whatever else he is, he is smart, direct, deeply serious and utterly uncompromising.

But Wesley is not only remembered by his theological writings and his work as an evangelist. His *Journal* has all the charm of a pious Pepys, and, now that it is being published as it was written, the world can see through it closely into the writer's heart, as in the curious account of his love for Grace Murray¹. In pathos and descriptive power, its simple narrative shows the rugged force of Walt Whitman: the word is not sought for, it comes naturally, and, one feels, is inevitable. Whether one reads the Savannah journal, with its marvellous record of faith, inconsistency and courage, or the unvarnished record of the long years of laborious ministry, one meets the same straight-forward, clear-eyed observer, enthralled by the Divine vision which he saw and tried to make known among men, yet full of humour and observant, to the very minutest detail, of everything that concerns the daily life of mankind. When he scolded or denounced, he thought that he was showing 'that childlike openness, frankness, and plainness of speech manifest to all in the Apostles and first Christians.' He had no doubt of himself, nor any of God's constant guidance and protection. This gives to his everyday life, in all its realism, a touch of romance, which shines through the stupendous record of what he did and said. In the *Journal*, we see how English

¹ See Leger, Augustin, *John Wesley's Last Love* (1910).

divinity was breaking from the trammels of its literary convention, and the deliverer was John Wesley. If we judge the *Journal* with the life which it lays bare, it is one of the great books of the world.

No one would call John Wesley a man of letters. He had no horror, such as Hervey's, of literature which was not spiritual. He read Prior, and Home (of *Douglas* fame), Thomson, Lord Chesterfield and Sterne: he delighted to quote the classics. But he had not the taste for 'style' which was born in his brother Charles. John was no poet; but Charles, among his six thousand hymns, has left some verses that will never die. In his case, we see that, after all, methodism was not entirely apart from the literature of its day. He reminds us, again and again, of his contemporaries, especially, perhaps, of Shenstone, for whose rather thin sentiment he substitutes a genuine piety. He can be virile, felicitous, vivid; if his sweetness often cloy, he has a depth of feeling which frequently brings him within the ranks of the poets. Though he might feel strange in the company of Crashaw or George Herbert, of Newman or Keble, Christina Rossetti would take him by the hand. In English literature, so long as the hymns of Charles, and the *Journal* of John, Wesley are read, methodism will continue to hold an honoured place.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LITERATURE OF DISSENT

1660—1760

THE narrowness of intellectual life and sterility of spiritual life which fell upon the dissenting churches after the exclusion of 1662 were the outcome of a long chain of historical development. When dissent succumbed, yielding itself, body and soul, to the dehumanising genius of Calvin, it entered upon two—indeed, nearer three—centuries of wandering in a stony wilderness. During its birthtime in the middle and latter part of the sixteenth century, during the period of its trial in the early seventeenth century and during the short span of its chequered and flickering triumph under the commonwealth, the main concern and preoccupation of dissent was with the mere question of church membership. The arid discussions on church polity centred in this idea; the still more arid discussions on doctrine were aroused simply by the demand for a standard of the church member's doctrinal purity, and the chief contention with the state was waged round the demand for a church control of admission to the sacrament—the wielding of the wooden sword of excommunication. The rock upon which this inveterate purpose split was not so much Erastianism as the national consciousness of the English race itself; and when, as the logical result of a century of historical development, dissent was driven out in 1662, it was pitting itself not so much against the church of England as against this English national consciousness. Throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century, and nearly through the whole of the eighteenth century, dissent remained true to the cramped and narrow basis on which it had been reared. If the church of England was sunk in lethargy, dissent was sunk in puny congregational and individual selfishness. Of any true missionary sense, of any conception of humanity as

apart from religious system, dissent was even more devoid—because more deliberately devoid—than was the established church. With the one noble exception of Philip Doddridge (and, possibly, a generation earlier, of Richard Davis of Rothwell), it was not until the missionary fervour, the wide and intense humanity, of the methodist movement had revived the church, that it, also, and in the last instance, revived dissent. From that moment—towards quite the close of the eighteenth century, and with gathering force in the nineteenth—dissent has deserted its historical basis of dogma and polity, has ceased to war with the national consciousness, and has taken up the burden of Christ.

This main aspect of the historical evolution of dissent will be found mirrored in its literature. But there are two other aspects of that evolution which, also, demand attention, and these are aspects which found relatively much greater expression in that literature. The free churches claim the credit of the assertion of the principle of toleration. Historically, the claim is untenable, for, during its transient triumph under the commonwealth, dissent was intolerant and persecuting, or tried to be. The enunciation of the principle came from laymen, and from those sectaries whom the entrenched and enthroned presbyterian wished to persecute. Dissent was converted to the principle only by itself passing under the fiery sword; and, when, in the eighteenth century, it became the mouthpiece of the demand for toleration, it was such merely as asserting for itself a principle, and claiming for itself the protection and benefit of that principle, which was in the air, and which grew organically with the self-consciousness of the nation. But, in so far as they put forth these claims, the free churches gave birth to a considerable literature, which, though controversial in purpose, is not the less of account in any record of English eighteenth century literature at large.

Secondly—and this is most important of all—the process of disintegration, which, after 1662, overtook all three dissenting bodies—presbyterians, congregationalists and baptists—alike loosened the bands of doctrinal narrowness. One and all, they took the path which led through Arianism to unitarianism. To tell the story of that development is to recount not merely the general history of the three bodies themselves, but, also, the particular history of a very large proportion of the individual congregations nominally composing those bodies. Such a survey would, of course, be out of place here. But the literature which grew out of that

development is of the greatest importance on a higher plane, as literature pure and simple, as a contribution to human thought, as well as on the lower plane of mere theological controversy.

Professedly, the three denominations of protestant dissenters are the presbyterians, the congregationalists and the baptists. But, as a matter of fact, after the secession of 1662, these terms—or the churches they profess to designate—are in a state of incessant flux; and it is dangerous to use the names in a general sense as applicable to three bodies with defined boundaries. The presbyterian churches became, perforce, congregational; some of the congregational churches became, of choice, baptist, or *vice versa*; and all three types took on Arianism as a garb. According to the particular bias or intellectual momentum of a particular pastor, a congregation might pass from one extreme limit to the other. In dealing, therefore, with the mere personal side of dissenting literature, we shall find it unsafe and difficult to employ the ordinary terminology of dissent.

Although a theological literature of a certain sort, originating in separation and directed against secular rule in spiritual things, was in existence even before the period under present consideration, it may be safely asserted that the ultimate basis of the conception of toleration rested on the unadulterated Erastianism of the English reformation settlement. Such a literature¹, on the one side, and, equally, Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying* (1646), on the other, alike betray their genesis by their birth-time. Those who were not tolerated pleaded for toleration; and from this necessity sprang the bare assertion of the principle of liberty of conscience. Their advocacy, therefore, has not the value in the history of human thought which the pure and naked assertion of the principle possesses in the mouth of Henry Robinson, merchant and economist, of Hobbes², of Milton³ or of Locke⁴. But the final achievement of the pure principle of toleration and freedom of conscience came neither from the theologian nor from the philosopher. It came from the social secular sense of the race, and fought its way to victory through the mere mechanism and clash of church and state politics. And, so far as the result achieved is concerned, the only difference between the enforced, if restricted, tolerance established by Cromwell, and the gradually won legislative tolerance of eighteenth and nineteenth century

¹ For some of the productions belonging to it, see bibliography.

² *Leviathan*, pt III, chaps. 41 and 42.

³ *Areopagitica*.

⁴ *Letters on Toleration*.

* dissent, consists in the fact that, under Cromwell, the executive constrained and led the social sense, while, in later ages, the social sense constrained and led the legislature. With the mere political history of the principle we are, however, not concerned, but only with the expression which that history found in dissenting literature.

Broadly speaking, the literary battle about the principle of toleration passes through two quite distinct phases in the period here under review. If we pass by the earlier toleration controversy in Charles II's reign, as not possessing any permanent importance either in literature or in ecclesiastical history, its first real phase covers the episodes of the Toleration act of William III's reign, the Occasional Conformity bill and the Schism act. In this phase, dissent is on the defensive and concerned merely with vindicating its claim to civil and religious rights and freedom. In the second and later phase, it boldly challenges the very principle of an established church, or, as we should say today, raises the question of disestablishment.

Naturally enough, the earlier phase of this battle, from the point of view of literature, lacks the high ethical quality that marks the later phase. For, in the various skirmishes concerning the Toleration and Schism acts, the attitude of dissent was paltering and opportunist. In truth, the achievement of the Toleration act of 1689 was rather the work of such exponents of the secular or civil sense of the nation as Burnet, Somers, Maynard and Sir Isaac Newton; and the dissenters, who, because of their hatred of Rome, had refused the indulgences of Charles II and James II, were content to accept meekly the state-given toleration of 1689, while, as a body, supinely looking on at the legislative interment of the comprehension scheme of the same year. Only Baxter and Calamy and Howe could see far enough, and high enough, to deplore the failure of that scheme, remaining, in this respect, true to their unwavering attitude in the comprehension scheme of 1667—8, as well as in the controversy with Stillingfleet of 1680. And, during the interval between the Toleration act and the Schism act, dissent showed its mettle and its conception of the pure principle of toleration, by intolerantly attacking Socinianism, as if all the intervening years, from the Westminster assembly to the Exeter meetings, had gone for nothing.

Out of this limited conception and attitude of mere political opportunism, dissent was rudely awakened by a layman. From the point of view of consistency and principle—of logic and

morality—Defoe condemned the practice of occasional conformity¹. His completely unanswerable *Enquiry into the occasional Conformity of Dissenters in Cases of Preferment* (1697) drew from John Howe a deplorably ill-tempered and futile reply, *Some Considerations of a Preface to an Enquiry* (1701). With Defoe's rejoinder to this in the same year, *A Letter to Mr Howe by way of Reply*, the controversy temporarily closed. But, unintentionally, Defoe had delivered his friends into the hands of the enemy. The tory reactionaries of Anne's reign seized with avidity the weapon he had forged, and, coupling the subject of dissenting academies with the subject of occasional conformity, delivered a furious onslaught on the whole front of dissent. The scurrilous and rabid attack on dissent generally, and on dissenting academies in particular, which was opened by Sacheverell and Samuel Wesley, was met, on the one hand, by Defoe's *Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702)² and, on the other hand, by Samuel Palmer's *Vindication* (1705). But, neither matchless sarcasm nor sober logic could avail. The theological torrent became a popular tory avalanche. The publication of Calamy's *Abridgement of the Life of Baxter* (1702) only added fuel to the fire. It was answered by Olyffe, and, again, by Hoadly (in *The Reasonableness of Conformity*, 1703), to whom Calamy replied in his *Defence of Moderate Nonconformity* (1703). Other tracts on both sides followed; but the mere literary strife was quickly swallowed up in the popular agitation about Sacheverell's case.

The Hanoverian succession broke the storm; and, with the reversal of the Schism act and the Occasional Conformity act, the religious existence and civil freedom of dissent were safe. But the paltering and merely opportunist attitude of the leaders of the free churches was responsible for the failure to secure the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts. Accordingly, for the remainder of our period, dissent went halting, content with the *regium donum* and with a religious tolerance tempered by partial civil disability. Samuel Chandler's *History of Persecution* (1736) and *The Case of Subscription* (1748) are fairly typical of this attitude. Had it not been for the genius of Watts and Towgood, eighteenth century dissent would appear to have exhausted its zeal for freedom of conscience in the mere selfish assertion of its own right to existence; for, so far as the purely political battle for freedom is concerned, it did not achieve any further triumph until the dawn

¹ Cf. *ante*, vol. ix, chap. i, p. 7.

² Cf. *ibid.* p. 9.

of the nineteenth century. But, in 1731, a completely new turn was given to the old controversy by Isaac Watts's *Humble attempt towards the Revival of Practical Religion among Christians*. In this work, and in his later *Essay on Civil Power in Things Sacred*, Watts defended the general position of dissenters by arguing on lofty grounds against any civil establishment of a national church. While thus, in one sense, reverting to the standpoint of seventeenth century philosophy, Watts, in another sense, opens a new era in these publications. They foreshadow the claim of dissent for the achievement of equality by the way of disestablishment. The cause of a national church—of the connection between the episcopal church and the English state—was taken up by William Warburton in his *Alliance between Church and State* (1736), written from the point of view of the state rather than of the church, and presenting, surely, the most utilitarian theory of the English church ever produced by a representative churchman¹.

From the lower ground of mere hand to mouth polemics, Watts's treatises were also answered by John White in his *Three Letters to a Gentleman Dissenting from the Church of England*—letters which, in spite of the popularity which they enjoyed with the church party, would be otherwise inconsiderable, were it not that they gave birth to one of the most enduring monuments of the polemics of dissent. White's *Letters* were demolished by Micajah Towgood, presbyterian minister at Crediton. In *The Dissenting Gentleman's Answer to the Reverend Mr White's Letter* (1746—8), Towgood gave to the world one of the most powerful and widely read pleas for disestablishment that dissent ever produced. So far as the literature of dissent on the subject of toleration and freedom of conscience is concerned, this monumental work is the last word spoken in the period here treated; for the activity of the dissenters' committee of deputies (a dissenters' defence board in the matter of civil disabilities) was entirely legal and secular in its motive and expression².

The controversial literature of dissent on the subjects of church polity and dogma covers the field of a whole series of successive disputes. Although, in these disputes, there is a constant shifting of the ground, yet the driving impulse, at bottom, is only one of

¹ As to Warburton, cf. *ante*, vol. ix, pp. 296—7.

² This is shown, for instance, by such cases as the corporation of London v. Sheafe, Streatfield and Evans (1754—67). Lord Mansfield's judgment in this important case is only another proof—if further proof were needed—that freedom was achieved not so much by dissent leading the national civic sense as by the national civic sense leading church and dissent alike.

freedom. At the outset, this freedom is purely ecclesiastical, the irresponsibility of a congeries of churches now, at last, cut asunder from the establishment. But it was inevitable that, in the end, such ecclesiastical freedom should loosen the bonds of dogmatic authority also, and so pave the way for pure free thought. Although the two paths of development often ran side by side, and crossed and recrossed, yet, historically, the ecclesiastical is the precedent and necessary condition of dogmatic freedom. By ecclesiastical freedom is here meant, not merely that, after the ejection of 1662, dissent was, or was to become, free of the yoke of the episcopal church, but that, within the limits of dissent itself, all bonds of authority had been destroyed. In the seventeenth century, a presbyterian system which had not the sanction of the state behind it was left without any compulsory force at all; and, as a system, it instantly fell to pieces. In addition, dissent had inherited from the commonwealth days the heritage of the curse of Cain—the internecine warfare of independent and presbyterian. In the later days of the commonwealth, feeble attempts had been made to heal that strife, and, when thirty years of later persecution had chastened their mood, the attempts were revived with the passing of the Toleration act. In the so-called ‘happy union,’ which was established in London in 1691 by agreement between the independent and presbyterian bodies, it was fondly hoped that, at last, the foundation had been laid for a church polity of dissent. But the disintegrating force of irresponsibility soon laid low these builded hopes. In London, the association of the two bodies endured only a brief four years, and, although in the country ‘the heads of the agreement’ of this union became somewhat widely adopted, and were worked out into the scheme of county or provincial associations and unions, these lived but a palsied and flickering life, and possess little true organic connection with modern county unions.

Although the deep underlying causes of this disruption were inherent in the life history of dissent, it was natural that the actual expression which the disintegrating principle took on should be one of controversy. The first form which this took was the so-called neonomian controversy. In 1690, the sermons of Tobias Crisp, a royalist but Calvinistic divine, were republished by his son with certain additional matter, to which he had obtained the *imprimatur* of several London dissenting ministers. The popularity of the book revived the spirit of the ultra-Calvinist section of dissent, at a time when Calvinism was losing its hold. To check the rising

'spirit of antinomianism which Crisp's fantastic Calvinism encouraged, the presbyterian ministers of London deputed Daniel Williams to reply to the book. His reply, *Gospel Truth stated and vindicated* (1692), though moderate and non-partisan in tone, and aiming only at the establishment of a *via media* between legalism and antinomianism, merely increased the storm. Williams's own orthodoxy was impeached, charges of neo-nomianism, of Arminianism and Socinianism were hurled against him by Stephen Lobb and by Isaac Chawney, an independent, in his *Neo-Nomianism Unmasked* (1693), and Williams's *Defence* (1693) failed to still the commotion¹. In the following year, Williams was prohibited from preaching his 'turn' to the united ministers at the merchants' lecture in Pinners' hall. The presbyterians, accordingly, withdrew and established their own lecture at Salters' hall, leaving the independents in possession of the Pinners' hall lectures. In spite of all attempts at reconciliation, the dispute wrecked the 'happy union,' to which the independents' self-defence, in their *History of the Union* (1698), and Williams's own *Peace with Truth, or an end to Discord* (1699) only served as funeral elegies.

To this controversy succeeded that concerning occasional conformity which has been already mentioned above. But all these pale in their significance before the Subscription controversy—the doctrinal dispute aroused by the spread of Arianism. Under the commonwealth, Socinianism (represented by Paul Best and John Biddle), Sabellianism (by John Fry), Arianism (by John Knowles, Thomas Collier and Paul Hobson) and universalism (by Richard Coppin, John Reeve and Ludowicke Muggleton), had been alike banned and persecuted. The intolerant attitude of both presbyterians and independents was continued after the restoration; and to this was now added the rigour of the reestablished English church. To Richard Baxter, not less than to John Owen or to Stillingfleet, the Socinians were on a par with 'Mohammadans, Turks, atheists and papists. But, in spite of persecution, the discrete strands of varying anti-Trinitarian thought remained unbroken. Gilbert Clerke of Northamptonshire, a mathematician and, in a sense, a teacher of Whiston, Noval of Tydd St Giles near Wisbech, Thomas Firmin (Sabellian), William Penn, Stephen Nye (Sabellian), William Freke (Arian), John Smith, the philomath, of St Augustine's London (Socinian), Henry Hedworth, the

¹ See Calamy, *Account*, vol. i, p. 387, where 'the one side' may be roughly read as independents and 'the other side' as presbyterians.

disciple of Biddle, and William Manning, minister of Peasenhall (1630—1711) (independent), form a direct and unbroken, though irregular, chain of anti-Trinitarian thought, extending from the commonwealth days to those of toleration—not to mention the more covert but still demonstrable anti-Trinitarianism of Milton and Locke.

With the passing of the Toleration act of 1689, the leaven of this long train of anti-Trinitarian thought made itself strongly felt. It first appeared in the bosom of the church of England itself, in the so-called Socinian controversy. In 1690, Arthur Bury, a latitudinarian divine, was deprived of the rectorship of Lincoln college, Oxford, for publishing his *Naked Gospel*. The proceedings gave rise to a stream of pamphlet literature on both sides. In the same year, 1690, John Wallis, Savilian professor of mathematics at Oxford, was involved in a controversy with a succession of anonymous Arian and Socinian writers (among them William Jones) by the publication of his *Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity briefly Explained*. Simultaneously, Sherlock's *Vindication of the Holy and ever Blessed Trinity*, although directed against the same group of writers, called forth another outburst of pamphleteering from quite another quarter; South leading the attack with his *Animadversions upon Dr Sherlock's Vindication*. The first portion of the anti-Trinitarian literature produced in this triangular contest is collected in *The Faith of one God Who is only the Father* (1691). In the ranks of dissent, the same controversy manifested itself in the disputes which wrecked the independent and presbyterian 'happy union' and, contemporaneously, it appeared in the baptist body. In 1693, Matthew Caffyn, baptist minister at Horsham, Sussex, was for a second time accused before the 'Baptist General Assembly' of denying Christ's divinity; and, when the assembly refused to vote his expulsion, a secession took place, and the rival 'Baptist General Association' was formed. In the same year, the anti-Trinitarians published a *Second collection of tracts proving the God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only true God* (1693). The tenth, and last tract, in this volume was a reply to South's *Animadversions* on Sherlock's *Vindication*. In the following year (1694), the presbyterian John Howe entered the field with his *Calm and sober Enquiry* directed against the above tract, and, to make the fight triangular, Sherlock replied to South and Howe together in *A Defence of Dr Sherlock's notion of a Trinity in Unity*. The anti-Trinitarians' *Third collection of Tracts*, which

followed immediately, was a reply at once to Howe, on the one hand, and to Sherlock, on the other.

This first Trinitarian or so-called Socinian controversy, practically, came to an end in 1708. It received its deathblow, in 1698, by the act for the more effectual suppression of blasphemy and profaneness, which remained on the statute book till 1813. With the exception of John Smith's *Designed End to the Socinian Controversy* (1695), the whole of the anti-Trinitarian contributions to it had been anonymous (both Locke and Sir Isaac Newton are supposed to have contributed under the cover of this anonymity); and, with the exception of Howe, no representatives of the professed dissenting denominations had joined in the fray. It is therefore to be regarded, primarily, as a church of England controversy, in which the churchmen had weakened the Trinitarian cause by a triangular and virtually conflicting defence: Sherlock *versus* South *versus* Tillotson and Burnet, and all four *versus* the enemy. The agitation which the controversy produced among the dissenters was mainly reflex, and is apparent more in their domestic quarrels, noted above, than in their published literature. But, disproportionately small as was the dissenting share of the combatants in mere point of literature, the intellectual ferment which ensued in following years showed itself more in the bosom of dissent than in the life and thought of the church of England. Thomas Emlyn, a presbyterian, who was tried at Dublin, in 1693, for publishing his *Humble Enquiry into the Scripture account of Jesus Christ*, attributed his own Arianism to Sherlock's *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*.

But the Arian controversy, properly so-called, does not owe anything to Emlyn. It was, rather, opened by William Whiston's *Historical Preface* (1710), prefixed to his *Primitive Christianity* (1711), and Samuel Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712). Although, however, Whiston finally joined the general baptists and claimed to have influenced Peirce of Exeter, the importance of this second controversy is, so far as dissent is concerned, rather practical or constitutional than literary. Among the dissenters, it assumed a particularly accentuated form of the subscription controversy. In 1717, James Peirce and Joseph Hallett, presbyterian ministers of Exeter, were taken to task locally for Arianism. In the Exeter assembly of May 1719, an attempt to enforce subscription to the first of the thirty-nine articles brought about a split. In the same year, the matter came before the committee of the deputies of the three denominations of protestant dissenters at Salters' hall

meeting-house, London—the so-called Salters' hall synod. Here, the question of subscription followed a clean-cut line of cleavage. The congregationalists, in the main, under the lead of Thomas Bradbury, insisted on subscription; the presbyterians, in the main, under the lead of John Barrington Shute, afterwards viscount Barrington, resisted the proposal as an unnecessary imposition of a creed. As a result, the whole body of dissent was divided into three parties—non-subscribers, subscribers and neutrals. The minority of subscribers, being defeated, withdrew from the synod and formed a distinct meeting under Bradbury, while the majority of non-subscribers despatched a letter of advice to Exeter, which, by virtue of its statement of reasons for non-subscribing, is regarded by unitarians as their charter of dogmatic freedom. The mere momentary controversy concerning these synod proceedings gave birth to more than seventy pamphlets.

It is claimed by presbyterian writers that there was no avowed heterodoxy among the London ministers for half a generation after Salters' hall. This means little more than that the great luminaries of dissent of the era following on the Toleration act had passed away, and that, between 1720 and 1740, no successors had arisen worthy of the memory of those giants—outside, that is to say, of the world of academic teaching. But, underneath the surface deadness and mental lethargy of this later period, the leaven of anti-Trinitarian thought continued incessantly at work, and, when the interim of quiescence had ended, it was found to have been merely a phase of growth, an intermediate stage between the Arianism of 1720 and the later unitarianism. In matter of literature, the intermediate phase was distinguished by the writings of John Taylor of Norwich, a professed presbyterian (*Defence of the Common rights of Christians*, 1737; *The Scripture doctrine of Original Sin*, 1740), and of Samuel Bourn (*Address to Protestant Dissenters*, 1737).

In itself, the literary importance of this period of nonconformist history is not great, save and in so far as it marks the stepping-stone to the latest phase of the development of unitarian thought—that phase, namely, which is distinguished by the names of Nathaniel Lardner, Richard Price, Joseph Priestley and Theophilus Lindsey—a movement which lies outside the scope of the present chapter¹.

It is not to be supposed that the evolution of a distinctively

¹ As to Price and Priestley cf. chap. xiv, pp. 344—6, *ante*. 6

unitarian church was the sole outcome of the train of development which has been briefly sketched above. The sections of dissent—in all its three denominations—which stood aloof from the distinctively unitarian development, yet remained profoundly affected by the spirit of it. The presbyterian, independent and baptist churches alike showed, in their loose internal organisations, the disintegrating force of the unitarian movement. Both in individual congregations and in the loose and feeble associations, the spirituality of dissent, which had been its glory and motive force in the seventeenth century, had sunk into atrophy; and, had it not been for the reviving influence of methodism, all three denominations would probably, at the close of the eighteenth century, have offered a melancholy spectacle. The intellectual gain to English thought generally, quite apart from dissenting theology in particular, was incalculable; but the spiritual loss was none the less to be deplored.

In emphasising, however, the free thought side, or effect of the unitarian movement within dissent, it is not to be understood that this was a free thought movement in the sense of twentieth century science or philosophy. The eighteenth century unitarian movement was, in the main, theological, not rationalistic. If any comparison were called for, it should rather be with the spread of Arminianism in the English church in the seventeenth century. Both movements had for their motive springs one impulse, that is to say, a protest against Calvinism, and, when dissent, by means of unitarian thought, had thrown off the fetters of that Calvinism, it remained, on the whole, during the period here surveyed, quiescent and content. And, as a result, when the deistic controversy, a purely rationalistic movement, engaged the English church and English thought in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the leading exponents of dissent, whether orthodox or Arian, are to be found on the conservative side. James Foster, baptist minister of the Barbican chapel, and Nathaniel Lardner, then presbyterian minister in Poor Jewry lane, the accomplished presbyterians William Harris, Joseph Hallett, Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge—all these dissenting writers¹ contributed not less powerfully, if less sensationally and attractively, to the rout of the deists than did Butler and Berkeley themselves.

Finally, outside and apart from the field of pure thought, eighteenth century England owes a heavy debt to dissent for its educational system, to which reference has already been made in

¹ For a list of nonconformist contributions to the deistic controversy, and of works of other nonconformist writers, see bibliography.

an earlier volume¹, but which seems to deserve further notice here in its connection with the influence of nonconformity upon literature. Although the presbyterians had but one or two free schools (public charity schools) in London before 1714, and, although the baptists and independents joined forces in that and the succeeding year to establish a similar free school at Horsleydown (subsequently the Maze Pond school), the academy system of the dissenters, in the main, had reference only to the private and domestic problem of the supply of educated ministers for their respective denominations. Accordingly, each one of the more widely recognised academies, during some period of its generally chequered and brief career, takes on a denominational colour. As a system, these academies date entirely from the era of the Toleration act. Prior to that date, dissenting ministers engaged in education acted as private tutors in families or contented themselves with opening small private schools in their own houses. After the Toleration act, however, individual ministers started private schools of their own of which it is now impossible to ascertain the number or, in many instances, the circumstances of origin and growth. Where the minister was a man of learning and power, these schools endured for a generation and sometimes longer, and linked their names with the history of dissent through the personality alike of pupils and of tutors. And it is herein that they claim special recognition; for, in their totality, they present a brilliant galaxy of talent in fields of learning far removed from mere theological studies. Such a result could not have been achieved, had it not been for the powerful solvent of intellectual freedom which the unitarian movement brought in its train. Few of the academies, whatever their denominational colour at the outset, escaped contact with it, and those of them which assimilated the influence most freely produced great tutors and scholars. In this matter, the academies trod the same historical path as that followed by the individual dissenting churches. Their intellectual activity blazed so fiercely that it tended to burn up the spiritual life; and herein lies the secret at once of their first success, their chequered and bickering career and, in most cases, their ultimate atrophy.

The attitude of the church of England towards these academies has already been detailed². But the fear which the establishment

¹ See *ante*, vol. ix, chap. xv.

² See *ante*, vol. ix, pp. 394—5. A reference might have been added to the later important and illuminating case of the strife between phancellor Reynolds and Philip Doddridge concerning the academy of Northampton.

entertained that these academies would starve the universities proved baseless. In their early days, indeed, they attracted a lay *clientela* as well as candidates for the ministry. But, the bent towards unitarianism which provided the intellectual stimulus to tutors and ministerial candidates frightened off the layman, and effectually prevented the dissenting academies from leaving the deep mark on the English race and on the English educational system that might have been expected from the individual talent and prestige of their tutors¹.

Whatever the theological basis of the three denominations of which this chapter has mainly treated, there is one general field of literary activity which they cultivated in common—that of hymn-writing and religious poetry. A list of their chief contributors to this branch of literature will be found elsewhere². But, apart from this phase, in so far as the devotional literature of dissent is merely devotional, whether it be 'practical' or 'theological,' it does not enter into the wider subject of English literature as such. All the same, there are certain outstanding products of this portion of the writings of dissent (Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, 1650; Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, 1745) which, by their mere literary, as well as spiritual, quality, challenge a place in the annals of our literature by the side of the masterpieces of Bunyan and Milton. Broadly speaking, however, the course of the history of dissent, from 1660 to 1760, militated against the production of purely devotional literature. The race of giants who had seen the great commonwealth days, and who went out in 1662, were mainly preachers. The succeeding generation, likewise one of giants, was occupied with dogmatic wrangles, practical questions of church organisation, or actual political dealings with the state. From 1720 to 1740, there followed a period of almost unbroken spiritual deadness; and, when this partially came to an end with the advent of Doddridge, the spiritual impress is from without, from methodism, rather than from within, from the inherent spirituality of dissent itself. During this period, therefore, English nonconformity rather looks forward, as anticipating that later general revival of the national religious life which was born of methodism, than backward to that stern spirituality of Calvinistic dissent which had puritanised the great revolution.

¹ For a list of some of the chief of these academies, in the period under survey, see appendix to the present chapter.

² See bibliography.

Within the period here treated, the following are some of the chief of these academies. The publication in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1672-3, and in C. L. Turner's *Original Records*, 2 vols., 1911, of the whole series of dissenters' licences, has revealed the astonishing extent to which the ejected ministers applied themselves to the work of teaching. This material still needs to be worked up, and it is obviously impossible to quote the licences here. The following list, therefore, contains only such academies as are referred to in sources other than, or extraneous to, the Entry Book of licences—in other words, in the general sources of the history of dissent. The classification among the three denominations must be taken as very loose and uncertain, except in certain wellknown cases. It need only be added that many of the tutors briefly mentioned here were men of great intellectual power, who had held high academic positions under the commonwealth.

Independent academies

Exeter a. (Opened by Joseph Hallett, sen., who was orthodox. Under his son, who was an avowed Arian, the a. became a nursery of Arianism. It dwindled away after his death and was reopened in 1760 by Micajah Towgood.)

Moorfields (Tenter alley) a. (Started by the independent fund, about 1700, under Isaac Chauncey. After 1712, under Dr Ridgeley and John Eames, F.R.S., friend of Sir Isaac Newton, to whom succeeded Dr David Jennings and Dr Morton Savage, 1744.)

King's Head society a. (Started in 1732 by the King's Head society, as a protest against the freedom of thought prevailing in the fund a. It was at first under Samuel Parsons, and from 1735 under Abraham Taylor, and then John Hubbard and Zephaniah Marryat; after several changes of place, it settled at Homerton in 1772.)

Kibworth a. (Started by John Jennings, 1715-22, with the help of the Coward trustees. This school was continued at Northampton by Philip Doddridge with the help of William Coward, 1729-51. It removed to Daventry, and after 1751 became Arian in tone, under Dr Caleb Ashworth, tutor of Joseph Priestley. Dissolved 1798.)

Dr David Jennings' private a. in Well Close square. (After his death in 1762, it changed its theological character under Dr Samuel Morton Savage, Dr Andrew Kippis and Dr Abraham Lees and was moved to Hoxton, becoming Arian. Dissolved 1785, and succeeded by a fresh orthodox a. there.)

Ottery a. (Started under John Lavington in 1752 by the joint endeavour of the fund board and the King's Head society.)

- Heckmondwike a.** (Started in 1756, as anti-Socinian in character, by the Education society of the Northern counties—or rather of the West riding of Yorkshire. At first under James Scott, Timothy Priestley (the brother of Dr Joseph Priestley), and Timothy Waldegrave. It is today represented by the Yorkshire United college, Bradford.)
- Warrington a.** (Started in 1757 on the extinction of an a. at Kendal. It was from the outset frankly rationalistic in purpose, being promoted by 'rational' dissenters on their own principles under Dr John Taylor of Norwich. John Seddon of Warrington provided it with a 'rational' liturgy. Among its tutors were Dr J. Aikin, Gilbert Wakefield, Joseph Priestley, and Dr Enfield—all Arians. Priestley himself left in 1767.)
- Bedworth (co. Warwick) a.** (Under Julius Saunders, ?1730-40; who was succeeded by John Kirkpatrick.)
- Saffron Walden a.** (Under John (or Thomas) Payne, 1700 c.)
- Pinner (co. Middlesex) a.** (Under Thomas Goodwin, jun., from 1699. Theophilus Lobb was one of his pupils.)
- Hackney (London) a.** (Under Thomas Rowe, 1681-3, removed to London and then to Jewin street; from 1703 in Ropemakers' alley in Moorfields.)
- Newington Green a.** (Under Theophilus Gale, 1665 to his death in 1678. Succeeded by Thomas Rowe; but closed on his death, 1705, after having been removed to Clapham and again to Little Britain, London. Dr Watts and Josiah Hort were pupils.)
- Wapping a.** (Under Edward Veal, before 1678 to ?1708; closed shortly before his death, having been temporarily broken up in 1681. Nathaniel Taylor, John Shower and Samuel Wesley were among his pupils.)
- Nettlebed (co. Oxford) a.** (Under Thomas Cole, 1662-72. John Locke and Samuel Wesley were his pupils.)

Presbyterian academies

- London: Hoxton square a.** (Its first origin appears to be traceable in the city of Coventry, where Dr John Bryan and Dr Obadiah Grew founded an a. To them succeeded Dr Joshua Oldfield (the friend of Locke). Oldfield, with Mr Tong, transferred it to London. Elsewhere the Hoxton square a. is stated to have been founded by John Spademan, Joshua Oldfield and Lorimer. Spademan was succeeded by Capel: but the a. became extinct after Oldfield's death in 1729.)
- Bridgnorth a.** (Started in 1726 by Fleming, with whom it died. Possibly this was the John Fleming who conducted an a. at Stratford-on-Avon.)
- Highgate a.,** afterwards removed to Clerkenwell. (Under John Kerr or Dr Ker, ?presbyterian.)
- Colyton (co. Devon) a.** (Under John Short till 1698; then, under Matthew Towgood, till his removal in 1716.)
- Alcester (co. Warwick) a.** (Under Joseph Porter: removed to Stratford-on-Avon under John Alexander, who died 1740 c.)
- Manchester a.** (Opened in 1698, after Henry Newcome's death, under his successor, John Chorlton. Dissolved under his successor, James Coningham.)
- Islington a.** (Under Ralph Button, at Brentford after 1662: from 1672 at Islington. He died in 1680. Sir Joseph Jekyll was a pupil.)
- Coventry a.** (Started 1663 by Dr Obadiah Grew and Dr John Bryan. After Grew's death it was continued by Shewell (d. 1693) and Joshua Oldfield. In 1699, William Tong took over a few of Oldfield's pupils; but on his removal to London, 1702, the a. came to an end.)

Rathmell (Yorka.) a. (Under Richard Frankland. Opened at Rathmell, March 1669-70; removed, 1674, to Natland near Kendal; 1683, to Calton in Craven; 1684, to Dawsonfield near Crosthwaite in Westmorland; 1685, to Hartleborough in Lancs.; 1685-6, suspended; 1686-8, reopened at Attercliffe near Sheffield; 1689, at Rathmell. Frankland died in 1698, and his a. was then dissolved. Of his pupils left at his death, some went to John Chorlton at Manchester and some to Timothy Jollie at Attercliffe.)

Attercliffe a. (Under Timothy Jollie, 1691, who rented Attercliffe hall and called his a. Christ's college; among his many pupils, was Dr Thomas Secker. J. died in 1714, when he was succeeded by Wadsworth. The a. died out long before W.'s death in 1744.)

London a. (Under Dr George Benson, about 1750. Arian.)

Sheriff Hales (co. Salop) a. (Under John Woodhouse, 1676; broken up about 1696. In this a. there were many lay students, among them Robert Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, and Henry St John (afterwards viscount Bolingbroke). Matthew Clarke and Benjamin Robinson were also pupils.)

Hungerford (co. Berks.) a. (Under Benjamin Robinson, 1696, having been open, three years earlier, at Findern in Derbyshire as a grammar school only.)

Islington a. (Thomas Doolittle: started in 1662 as a boarding-school in Moorfields, Doolittle being assisted by Thomas Vincent; in 1665 removed to Woodford Bridge, Essex; in 1672 removed to Islington; closed under the persecution, 1685-8; reopened 1688, but died out before Doolittle's death in 1707. Edmund Calamy and Thos. Emlyn were his pupils.)

Oswestry and Shrewsbury a. (Connected principally with the name of James Owen, 1679 onwards, but actually started by his predecessor, Francis Tallents. After Owen's death continued by Samuel Benion and John Reynolds. Under the latter it was dissolved, before 1718.)

Taunton a. (Started by Matthew Warren and others after 1662. After Warren's death, 1706, it was carried on by joint efforts of Stephen James (d. 1725), Robert Darch and Henry Grove (d. 1738). After 1738 Thomas Amory became head of the whole a.; but, under his Arian tendencies, it collapsed before his removal to London in 1759.)

Gloucester and Tewkesbury a. (Under Samuel Jones, 1712-20. Archbishop Secker, bishop Butler and Samuel Chandler were students here together. After Jones's death the a. was removed to Carmarthen, and there remained under Thomas Perrot till 1733. Then it was under Vavasor Griffiths at Llwynllwyd (co. Brecknock) till 1741; then at Haverfordwest under Evan Davies; then again at Carmarthen under Samuel Thomas and Dr J. Jenkins. Under Samuel Thomas the independents withdrew and formed a new a. at Abergavenny under David Jardine.)

Stoke Newington or Newington Green a. (Under Charles Morton, 1667-85. Defoe, Samuel Wesley and Samuel Palmer were students here. Discouraged by persecution in 1685, Morton went to New England and became vice-president of Harvard. His a. was continued by William Wickens and Stephen Lobb, both of whom died in 1699, and by Thomas Glasscock (d. 1706); but it probably died out not long after 1696.)

Kendal a. (Under Dr Caleb Botherham, 1733-52; possibly as a continuation of the extinct Attercliffe a.)

Bryllylwareh (Llangynwyd, co. Glamorgan) a. (Commonly regarded

as the germ of the Carmarthen Presbyterian college; but this is impossible. Started by Samuel Jones 1672. After his death in 1697, Rager Griffith opened an a. at Abergavenny, which is regarded as a continuation of Brynllwarch. It lasted only three or four years. At Brynllwarch, Rees Price continued either Jones's or Griffith's school but gave up between 1702 and 1704 when the a. was united with a grammar school at Carmarthen started by William Evans, who died 1718. To this school Dr Williams left an annuity. William Evans is considered the founder of the Welsh a. system.)

Stourbridge and Bromsgrove (co. Worcester) a. (Under [? Henry] Hickman, 1665. He was disabled by age, ?1670 c.)

Tubney (Berks.) a. (Under Dr Henry Langley, 1662-72.)

Bridgwater a. (Started by John Moore 1676: became Arian under his son, who died 1747.)

Sulby (co. Northampton) a. (Under John Shuttlewood, about 1678; died 1689.)

Alkington (Whitchurch, co. Salop) a. (Under John Malden, 1688-80.)

Wickham Brook (co. Suffolk) a. (Under Samuel Cradock, from after 1672 to his removal in 1696. Edmund Calamy was one of his pupils.)

Tiverton a. (Under John Moor, 1688 c., or possibly after.)

Shaftesbury (and afterward Semly) (co. Wilts.) a. (Under Matthew Towgood, after 1662. He was the grandfather of Micaiah Towgood.)

Besides the above, there are stray references to private schools kept by John Flavel of Dartmouth, [John, son of] Edward Rayner of Lincoln, John Whitlock and Edward Reynolds of Nottingham, Ames Short of Lyme Dorset, Samuel Jones of Llangynydd, John Ball of Honiton.

Baptist academies

In 1702 the General Baptist association resolved to erect a school of universal learning in London, with a view to training for the ministry. It is not known what followed. In 1717 the Particular Baptist fund was started for the support of ministers and for supplying a succession of them.

Trowbridge a. (Opened by John Davison, who died in 1721. His successor was Thomas Lucas, who died in 1740.)

Bristol a. (In its earliest form, founded by several London baptists in 1752 as an education society for assisting students. It was, at first, under Dr Stennett, Dr Gill, Wallin and Brine. Subsequently it was under Bernard Foskett and Hugh Evans; it was taken in hand, in 1770, by the Baptist education society, and firmly established by Dr Caleb Evans. This a. became, subsequently, the Baptist Rawdon college.)

CHAPTER XVII

POLITICAL LITERATURE

(1755—75)

THE death of Henry Pelham in 1754 destroyed the equilibrium of English politics. 'Now,' said king George II, regretting, possibly, the minister more than the man, 'Now, I shall have no peace.' And he was right, for the leading whigs entered on an angry struggle for supreme power which only ended when, in 1757, the domination of the elder Pitt was, virtually, established. Round the duke of Newcastle, formidable by his phalanx of obedient votes, Pitt, the man of genius and of the public confidence, and the shrewd, but far from high-minded, Henry Fox arose a dense dust of controversy.

It was not merely the conflict of personal ambitions that was in question. Great public issues were rapidly raised and discussed, if, as rapidly, let fall again. The sober middle class were weary of the prevailing corruption which handed over the country's government to glaring incompetence. Tories, abandoning their vain hopes of a revolution, were eager to loose England from the Hanoverian tether which involved her in the intricacies of German politics, and to have done with the long feud with France. And both parties were anxious to see power held by men more representative than were the members of the existing narrow whig oligarchy, who, on their side, still believed in their hereditary mission to rule. Material for honest discussion there was in plenty.

At first, it seemed as if this kind of discussion would hold the field. In August 1755, *The Monitor* was founded by a London merchant, Richard Beckford, and was edited, and part written, by John Entick, of dictionary fame¹. Like its predecessors in political journalism, it consisted of a weekly essay on current events and topics: it was all leading article. The maintenance of

¹ His extremely popular *Spelling Dictionary* (1764) was followed by his *Latin and English Dictionary* (1771) and by other useful works. •

Whig principles and the uprooting of corruption formed its policy: good information, good sense and a kind of heavy violence of style were its characteristics. Soon, it was supplemented by a series of tory pamphlets, under the title *The Letters to the People of England*, written by John Shebbeare, a physician of some literary celebrity. They were not his first production; he had for some time been eminent in 'misanthropy and literature'; but they were distinguished beyond his other efforts by bringing him to the pillory. His politics, not the scurrility that tinged them, were in fault. He was a virulent tory, and in his *Sixth Letter* held up the reigning dynasty to public scorn. His highest praise is, that he still remains readable. Logical, rhetorical, laboriously plain and, occasionally, cogent, his short paragraphs pretty generally hit the nail—often, no doubt, a visionary nail—on the head. Later, he was to enjoy court favour and be a capable pamphleteer on the side of George III; but his time of notoriety was gone.

Soon, however, the personal conflict asserted itself. In November 1756, Arthur Murphy, the dramatist, started *The Test*, with a view to capturing public favour for Henry Fox. But his amiable prosing and feeble giggle were soon over-crowded by the Pittite *Con-Test*, a far more able, and, also, more scurrilous, print, in some of the better essays of which we detect the pith and point of Shebbeare.

Save the honest *Monitor*, these Grub-street railers vanished with the whig feud which called forth their exertions, and the splendid success of the great commoner's ministry almost succeeded in silencing criticism. It required a new ferment of public opinion, a new conflict of principles and a renewed struggle for the possession of power to reawaken the fires of controversy, which, this time, were not to be quenched. George III's accession and his personal policy gave the signal. The new king was determined to choose his own ministers and break up the band of ruling whigs. The now loyal tories were to share in the government, and the system of king William's time was to be revived. The first literary sign of the change was a rally of pamphleteers for the defence and propagation of the royal views. In 1761, Lord Bath—the William Pulteney who, in the last reign, had led the opposition to Walpole and helped to set on foot *The Craftsman*—published his *Seasonable Hints from an Honest Man*, which contained an able exposition of the whig system and its vices, and outlined the new programme. Others followed, professional writers for the most part, such as the veteran Shebbeare and the elder Philip Francis—in his

*Letter from the Cocoa-Tree*¹ to the Obuntry Gentlemen, which was not devoid of skill—and Owen Ruffhead, formerly editor of *The Con-Test*. But, in spite of the real ability displayed by these writers, their frequent ignorance of the true course of events and the lack of good faith habitual to them prevented them from attaining to any real excellence.

Meanwhile, events were moving rapidly. George III had been able to oust Pitt and Newcastle from power and to promote his Scottish favourite, Lord Bute, to the office of prime minister. Bute had seen, from the first, that something beyond sporadic pamphlets was needed for converting public opinion to the new régime, discredited as it was by the dismissal of Pitt. For this, an imitation of *The Monitor* was the only means, a steady drumming of the same views and sentiments into the popular ear. It was all the more necessary, at the moment of Bute's accession to power, to set up a rival weekly journal, since *The Monitor* (in this representing the public) was a bitter opponent of the Scottish minister. Bute, however, cannot be called happy in his choice of means. Eminent literary talent was required, but not any sort of literary talent, and Tobias Smollett, famous as a novelist, was only to earn humiliation as a political controversialist. In vain his sheet, *The Briton*, discharged a weekly broadside of ferocious epithets on the opposition and its journalistic defenders. His persuasive powers were small, and he was fairly distanced in argumentative skill, raillery and vituperation. Arthur Murphy, writer of the dead *Test*, was soon summoned to Smollett's aid with a new paper, *The Auditor*; but, although more bitter than of old, he was not less feeble. The public judgment was only too clear. Neither of the ministerial papers would sell. Of course, Bute's unpopularity was partly at fault; but the scanty merit of the two champions was unable to surmount the weakness of their case.

The publication of *The Briton* provoked the appearance of the only one of these fugitive periodicals which has any reputation, *The North Briton*, edited by John Wilkes. That demagogue, on whom the mob-ruling mantle of Sacheverell descended, was sprung from a middle class family, typical of a respectability alien to the manners of its celebrated scion. He was born in 1727, and was the son of a maltster of Clerkenwell. He received a good education from a presbyterian minister and at the university of Leyden; and, before he was twenty-one, married,

¹ The celebrated Tory club described by Gibbon in his letters.

by his father's desire, an heiress much his senior in years. His wife and her mother were dissenters, and he was gallant and gay. Wilkes grew steadily estranged from his home and soon exceedingly dissipated. A separation from his wife was arranged, and he plunged into a course of profligate living in town. He became a member of the Hellfire club, which met at Medmenham abbey and included the most noted rakes of the day. It was in the midst of these wild orgies that he took up politics. In 1755, he obtained a seat in the commons as a member for Aylesbury, where his wife's estate lay. He was a follower of Pitt and hoped for some promotion—the embassy in Constantinople would have been most congenial to him—from his patron. But George III was king, and Bute intervened. His hopes of repairing his shattered fortunes having thus vanished, Wilkes turned to journalism for his revenge upon the favourite, whose incompetence filled him with indignation. After producing a successful pamphlet concerning the breach with Spain, he proceeded to send contributions to *The Monitor*, in which he developed with much ingenuity the history of contemporary foreign favourites, and left his readers to point the obvious moral. Then, on the appearance of *The Briton*, he, in June 1762, started his rival print, *The North Briton*. Week by week, the new periodical continued its attacks on the government. It showed itself bold, to start with, in printing the ministers' names in full, without the usual subterfuges of dashes and stars; and it grew bolder as it went on, and as the odium into which Bute had fallen became more obvious. Nothing, however, gave a handle to the authorities by which, even under the existing law of libel, the writers could be brought to book, although *The Monitor* was subjected to lengthy legal proceedings. At last, Wilkes overstepped the line in No. 45, which bitterly impugned the truthfulness of the speech from the throne regarding the peace of Paris. The long government persecution of the libeller, which followed the publication of No. 45, and which finally resulted in the abolition of the tyrannic system of general warrants, also snuffed out *The North Briton*. The paper was subsequently revived; but it proved only the ghost of its former self. Wilkes, on the other hand, had yet to play the part of a full-fledged demagogue in his contest with king and parliament concerning the Middlesex election of 1768. Triumphant at last, he ended his life in 1797 as chamberlain of London and a *persona grata* with George III. In all his vicissitudes, he had kept in touch with public opinion.

It is not easy to describe the blackguard charm of Wilkes.

Notoriously self-interested and dissolute, ugly and squinting, he^o enjoyed a popularity by no means confined to the mob. Much may be ascribed to the singular grace of his manners. Even Johnson fell a victim to these. But he, also, possessed some very obvious virtues. He was brave, good-humoured and adroit. He had a sort of selfish kindliness. He was, moreover, manifestly on the right side: few people had any love for general warrants or for the infringement of the liberty of election. And he turned all these advantages to account.

His paper, *The North Briton*, may be regarded² as the best example of its kind, the brief periodical pamphlet. It represents the type at which *The Briton* and the rest aimed, but which they could not reach. Like its congeners, it consisted of a weekly political essay. It was directed entirely to the object of overthrowing Bute and of reinstating the old group of whig families in alliance with Pitt. We notice at once in its polemic the scantiness of serious argument. Satire, raillery, scandal and depreciation in every form are there; but a real tangible indictment does not readily emerge from its effusions. In part, this peculiarity was due to the difficulty under which an opposition writer then lay in securing information and in publishing what information he possessed. When the preliminaries of peace or the jobbery of Bute's loan issues gave Wilkes his opportunity, he could be cogent enough. But a more powerful reason lay in the main object of the paper. Bute was safe so long as he was not too unpopular: he had the king's favour and a purchased majority in parliament. Therefore, he had to be rendered of no value to king and parliament. He was to be written down and to become the bugbear of the ordinary voter, while his supporters in the press were to be exposed to derision and thus deprived of influence. Wilkes and his allies in *The North Briton* were well equipped for this task. They were interesting and vivacious from the first, making the most of the suspicions excited by Bute. As the heat of battle grew and their case became stronger, the violence and abusiveness of their expressions increased till it reached the scale of their rivals. Still, even so, they continued to display an apt brutality wanting in the latter. In the earlier numbers, too, *The Briton* and *The Auditor* fell easy victims to the malicious wit of Wilkes. Perhaps the best instance of his fun is the letter which he wrote under a pseudonym to the unsuspecting *Auditor*, descanting on the value of Floridan peat, a mythical product, for mitigating the severity of the climate in the West Indies. An exposure followed in *The North Briton*;

and poor Murphy could only refer to his tormentor afterwards as 'Colonel Cataline.'

But the scheme of *The North Briton* gave an easy opportunity for ironic satire. The editor was supposed to be a Scot exulting over the fortune of his countryman, and very ingenuous in repeating the complaints of the ousted English. There was nothing exquisite in this horseplay; but it was not badly done, and it had the advantage of appealing to strong national prejudice. The antipathy to the Scots, which was to disappear with startling suddenness during the American war of independence, had not yet undergone any sensible diminution. At root, perhaps, it was the dislike of an old-established firm for able interlopers. Scots were beginning to take a leading share in the common government, and their nationality was always unmistakable. Accordingly, old legends of their national character and a purseproud contempt for their national poverty lived obstinately on; and *The North Briton* worked the vein exhaustively.

In the composition of his journal and in his whole campaign against the minister, Wilkes had for his coadjutor a more eminent man, who, unlike himself, is to be conceived of, not as a pleasant adventurer, but as a principal literary figure of the time, the poet and satirist Charles Churchill. The two men were fast friends, although their lives had flowed in very different streams until they became acquainted in 1761. Churchill was the son of a clergyman, who was curate and lecturer of St John's, Westminster, and vicar of Rainham in Essex. The younger Charles was born in 1731 and early distinguished himself by his ability at Westminster school. Thence, he proceeded, in 1748, to St John's college, Cambridge¹; but his residence there was not for long. With characteristic impulsiveness, when only 18 years of age, he contracted a marriage in the Fleet with a girl named Martha Scott, and his university education had to be discontinued. His kindly father took the young couple into his house and had his son trained, as best he might, for holy orders. In 1754, Churchill was ordained deacon and licensed curate of South Cadbury in Somerset, whence, as priest, he removed, in 1756, to act as his father's curate at Rainham. Two years later, the father died, and the son was elected to succeed him as incumbent of St John's in Westminster, where he increased his income by teaching in a girls' school.

¹ See *Admissions to the College of St John the Evangelist*, pt. II, ed. Scott, R. F., p. 580.

Such is the outline of Churchill's earlier life—bald enough, if stripped of the malicious inventions which gathered round it. His later career is full of evidence both of his good and of his bad qualities. Burdened with two children and an extravagant wife, himself completely unsuited for his clerical profession and inclined to the pleasures of the town, in two years he became bankrupt, and owed the acceptance by his creditors of a composition to the generosity of his old schoolmaster, Pierson Lloyd. Afterwards, Churchill was to show his natural honesty and good feeling, not only by a constant friendship to his benefactor's son, Robert Lloyd, a poet of secondary rank, but, also, by paying his own debts in full, in disregard of his bankruptcy. That he was able to do this was due to his own new profession of poetry. He began, unluckily, with a Hudibrastic poem, *The Bard*, in 1760, which could not find a publisher. His second effort, *The Conclave*, contained matter against the dean and chapter of Westminster so libellous that the intending publisher dared not bring it out. A more interesting subject of satire presented itself in the contemporary stage, and, in March 1761, there appeared, at the author's own risk, *The Rosciad*. Its success was immediate and extraordinary; Churchill was enabled to pay his debts, to make an allowance to his wife, from whom he had now been for some time estranged, and to set up in glaringly unclerical attire as a man about town. But the penalty, too, for indulging in bitter criticism—a penalty, perhaps, welcome to the combative poet—was not long in coming; and, for the rest of his life, he was involved in an acrid literary warfare. Yet, in these tedious campaigns he was a constant victor. Few escaped unbruised from the cudgel of his verse, and, vulnerable though his private life made him to attack, the toughness of his fibre enabled him to endure.

In consequence of this literary celebrity, Churchill made the acquaintance of Wilkes, whose friendship was responsible for the turn his life took in his few remaining years. The last shred of the poet's respectability was soon lost in the Medmenham orgies; yet, his political satires, which, unlike those of his friend Wilkes, do not admit doubt of their sincerity, gave him a permanent place in English literature. Quite half of *The North Briton* was written by him; his keenest satiric poem was *The Prophecy of Famine*, which, in January 1763, raised the ridicule of Bute and his countrymen to its greatest height. Thanks to Wilkes's adroitness, Churchill escaped the meshes of the general warrant, and was afterwards let alone by government: he had not written No. 45. But he ceased to reside permanently in London. We hear of him in Wales in

1763, and, later, he lived at Richmond and on Acton common. The stream of his satires, political and social, continued unabated throughout. His days, however, were numbered. He died at Boulogne, on 4 November 1764, while on his way to visit Wilkes at Paris, and was buried at Dover.

'Life to the last enjoyed, here Churchill lies.' This line of his own was placed on his gravestone, and not inaccurately sums up the man. The burly poet's faults are too manifest to need insisting upon. It is pleasanter to remember that, as already stated, he supported his brother rake, Robert Lloyd, when the unlucky man was dying beggared in the Fleet. His devotion to Wilkes, like the rest of him, was unbounded and whole-hearted. Nor is any mean action recorded of him.

There is no denying that his verse is truculent and loud. What most distinguishes it from contemporary couplets is its spirit and strength. He may ramble, he may prose; but he never exhibits the neat, solemn tripping which tires us in his contemporaries. *The Rosciad*, with which he first won reputation, consists chiefly of a series of severe sketches of the leading actors in 1761. Few, save Garrick, escape unblamed; but the poet, although censorious, can hardly be called unfair. His verse maintains a steady level of force and skill, just within the bounds of poetry, lighted up, now and then, by such shrewd couplets as:

Appearances to save his only care;
So things seem right, no matter what they are;

and, occasionally, phrases of stinging wit intensify the ridicule.

The Rosciad called forth many enemies, and, in reply to an attack in *The Critical Review*, Churchill published *The Apology*, under the impression that the critique was Smollett's. It cannot be called an advance on its forerunner, although sufficiently tart to make Garrick, who was victimised in it, almost supplicate his critic's friendship. As a poem, it is much surpassed by Churchill's next composition, *Night*, which appeared in October 1761. The versification has become easier, the lines more pliant, without losing vigour. There is a suggestion of a poetical atmosphere not to be found in the hard, dry outlines of his earlier work. The substance is slight; it is merely a defence of late hours and genial converse over 'the grateful cup.' Churchill was, in this instance at all events, too wise to defend excess.

A year's rest given to the prose of *The North Briton* seems to have invigorated Churchill for the production of his

best satire, *The Prophecy of Famine*. Its main object was to decry and ridicule Bute and the Scots, although there is an undercurrent of deserved mockery at the reigning fashion of pastoral. Churchill, as he owns, was himself half a Scot¹; but the circumstance did not mitigate his national and perfectly sincere prejudice against his northern kinsfolk. The probable reason was that Bute was Wilkes's enemy, and the warm-hearted poet was wroth, too, in a fascinated sympathy with his friend. The wit and humour of the piece are in Churchill's most forcible and amusing vein. His hand is heavy, it is true; more dreary irony was never written; and he belabours his theme like a peasant wielding a flail; but the eighteenth century must have found him all the more refreshing. Compare him with the prose polemics of his day, and he is not specially venomous. He only repeats in sinewy verse the current topics of reproach against the Scots.

The painter Hogarth now crossed Churchill's path. A satiric print of Wilkes by Hogarth roused the poet's vicarious revenge. The savage piece of invective, *The Epistle to William Hogarth*, was the result, which, if it has not worn so well as Hogarth's pictures, yet, here and there, strikes a deeper note than is usual with its author. Take, for instance, the couplet:

With curious art the brain, too finely wrought,
Preys on herself, and is destroy'd by thought;

although his own fertility shows no sign of exhausting the soil. He was beginning, however, in his own metaphor, to vary the crop. *The Duellist*, published in January 1764, was written, not in the stock heroic couplet, but in octosyllabics suggestive of *Hudibras*. This was an attack on Samuel Martin, one of Wilkes's ministerial enemies, with a few satirical excursions like that on Warburton. The adoption of a new metre was not a success; its straggling movement doubled the risk which Churchill always ran of being tedious, and the extravagance of his vituperation is no antidote. In compensation, the poem contains some of his finest lines. The curse on Martin reveals an old and clearsighted pupil in the school of life:

Grant him what here he most requires,
And damn him with his own desires!

while the malicious criticism of Warburton's defence of Scripture suggests a literary experience which approves itself to the instincts of human nature:

So long he wrote, and long about it,
That e'en believers 'gan to doubt it.

¹ *The Prophecy of Famine*, ll. 221—2.

Contemporaneously with *The Duellist*, Churchill was writing, in the heroic couplet, *Gotham*, a curious farrago, in the three books of which a Utopian realm ruled by himself, a long denunciation of the Stewart dynasty and a description of an ideal king jostle one another. He does not appear at his best in this attempt at non-satiric poetry. The usual mannerisms of eighteenth-century poetry, the personifications, the platitudinous moralising, the hackneyed, meaningless descriptions are all to be found here. That entire absence of any taste for nature outside Fleet street which was characteristic of Churchill as fully as it was of Johnson places him at peculiar disadvantage when he imitates Spenser in a hasty catalogue of flowers, trees, months and other poetic properties. Not less did the straightforward vigour of his usual metre and style disqualify him for the prophet of the ideal. In short, in spite of Cowper's praise, he was off his track.

Only a few months before *Gotham* was printed, Churchill had published a very different poem, *The Conference*. He was accused of merely making his profit out of political satire, and he here, in words of obvious sincerity, repudiates the charge that he was looking for office or pension. At the same time, he refers to a better-grounded cause of censure—his seduction of a girl, whose father is said to have been a stone-cutter of Westminster. Instead of pleading extenuating circumstances, such as, in this case, certainly existed, he only confesses his fault and avows his remorse. On the other hand, his personal conduct throughout this miserable affair must be described as callous.

The rest of Churchill's poems are of less interest. *The Author* is a slashing attack on Smollett and other ministerial publicists and agents. *The Ghost*, in octosyllabics, derives its only interest from being, in part, his earliest work; it is tedious and rambling to a degree. We may allow *The Candidate*, directed against Lord Sandwich, to have deserved its share of praise for the defeat of 'Jemmy Twitcher' as he was nicknamed, in the election for the high stewardship of Cambridge university; but its appeal was merely temporary. There is little to remark on any of the other poems—*The Farewell*, *Independence* and *The Journey*—produced by the prolific poet in 1764. They showed an increasing metrical skill, and maintained his reputation, but they did not add to it. *The Times*, which, from its greater fire, might have taken high

¹ 'That Jemmy Twitcher should peach, I own surprises me.' Sandwich, the complete rake of the day, had brought Wilkes's obscene *Essay on Woman* before the House of Lords & a speech of extraordinary hypocrisy.

place among his works, was, unfortunately, both hideous in subject and extravagantly exaggerated in execution.

We find, in fact, that Churchill's talent remained almost stationary during the four years of his poetic industry. Crab-apples, according to Johnson, he produced from the first; and such his fruits remained to the end. He never shows the greater qualities of either of his two chief English predecessors in satire—either those of Pope whom he underrated, or those of Dryden whom he admired. His wit, though strong, is never exquisite. His characters are vividly and trenchantly described; but they do not live to our imagination. His good sense cannot be said to rise to wisdom; and he is deficient in constructive skill. *The Prophecy of Famine* is, after all, an ill-proportioned mixture of satiric epistle and satiric eclogue; while his other satires have little unity except what is provided by the main object of their attack. Although he justly ridicules some of the current phrases of contemporary lesser poetry, he cannot be said himself to rise superior to eighteenth-century conventions. His incessant personifications, 'Gay Description,' 'Dull Propriety,' are, in the end, wearisome; and many of his humorous couplets, constructed after the fashion of the time, rather seem like epigrams than are such. His real *forte* consisted in a steady pommelling of his adversary; with all his fierceness and prejudice, acidity and spite were foreign to his nature.

As a metrist, Churchill can claim some originality. He uses the heroic couplet of the day with fresh freedom and effectivity. At first, in *The Rosciad*, he can hardly be said to form his paired lines into periods. Then, in *The Epistle to William Hogarth*, the last line of his paragraph has a closing sound and really ends a period. Perhaps, it was his long involved sentences, compiled of many clauses, which led him, in later pieces, to a further change. From time to time, he uses *enjambement*, and even, by means of it, breaks up his couplets¹.

Churchill so overtops his rivals in political verse that they scarcely seem worth mentioning. Mason, his frequent butt as a writer of pastorals—'Let them with Mason bleat and bray and coo'—shrouded himself in political satire under the name Malcolm Macgregor². Falconer, a naval officer, attacked Pitt from the court point of view³. But both of these, and even

¹ Cf., for the effect gained by this occasional variation, *Independence*, ll. 199—206.

² As to Mason, cf. *ante*, chap. vi.

³ As to Falconer, cf. *ante*, chap. vii.

Chatterton in his *Consuliad*¹, merely illustrate their inferiority to Churchill.

Prose was far more effective than verse in the political controversies which followed Bute's resignation. The weekly essay, in its old form, died out gradually; but the flood of pamphlets continued. They were in a more serious vein than formerly. Measures rather than men were in dispute, not so much because the public taste had changed, as because the more prominent politicians, with the exception of Pitt, presented few points of interest. The ability of many of these numerous pamphlets is undeniable. Some leading statesmen had a share in them. We find such men as George Grenville, an ex-prime minister, and Charles Townshend, leader of the House of Commons, defending or attacking current policy in this fashion. Others were written by authors of literary eminence. Edmund Burke published a celebrated tract in defence of the first Rockingham ministry²; Horace Walpole was stirred to address the public concerning the dismissal of general Conway in 1764; latest of all, Johnson took part as a champion of the government during the agitation about the Middlesex election, and in opposition to the accusations of Junius. Perhaps, however, the more effective among these pamphlets were due to political understrappers. Charles Lloyd, Grenville's secretary, wrote a series in support of his patron's policy, including a clever reply to Burke. Thomas Whateley, secretary to the treasury, defended the same minister's finance. These and their fellows worked with more or less knowledge of the ground, and, if their special pleading be conspicuous, they also dispensed much sound information.

Two pamphlets, which appeared in 1764, and dealt with the constitutional questions raised by the prosecution of Wilkes, stand well above their fellows in ability and influence. The first appeared, originally, as *A Letter to The Public Advertiser*, and was signed 'Candor.' It was an attack on Lord Mansfield for his charge to the jury in the Wilkes case and on the practice of general warrants. With a mocking irony, now pleasant, now scathing, the author works up his case, suiting the pretended moderation of his language to the real moderation of his reasoning. The same writer, we cannot doubt, under the new pseudonym 'The Father of Candor,' put a practical conclusion to the legal controversy in his *Letter concerning Libels, Warrants, etc.*, published in the same

¹ Cf. *ante*, chap. x.

² *Short Account of a Short Administration*, 1766. (See bibliography.)

year. This masterly pamphlet attracted general admiration, and its cool and lucid reasoning, varied by an occasional ironic humour, did not meet with any reply. Walpole called it 'the only tract that ever made me understand law.' The author remains undiscovered. The publisher, Almon, who must have known the secret, declared that 'a learned and respectable Master in Chancery' had a hand in it¹. Candor's handwriting has been pronounced that of Sir Philip Francis²; but, clearly, in view of Almon's evidence, he can only have been part author; and the placid, suave humour of the pamphlets reads most unlike him, and, we may add, most unlike Junius.

Candor's first letter had originally appeared in *The Public Advertiser*, and there formed one of a whole class of political compositions, which, in the next few years, were to take the foremost place in controversy. Their existence was due to the shrewd enterprise of the printer Henry Sampson Woodfall, who had edited *The Public Advertiser* since 1758. In addition to trustworthy news of events at home and abroad, Woodfall opened his columns to correspondence, the greater part of which was political. He was scrupulously impartial in his choice from his letter-bag. Merit and immunity from the law of libel were the only conditions exacted. Soon, he had several journals, such as *The Gazetteer*, competing with his for correspondents; but *The Public Advertiser's* larger circulation, and the inclusion in it of letters from all sides in politics, enabled it easily to distance the rival prints in the quality and quantity of these volunteer contributions. George III himself was a regular subscriber; it gave him useful clues to public opinion. The political letters are of all kinds—denunciatory, humorous, defensive, solemn, matter-of-fact, rhetorical and ribald. Their authors, too, were most varied, and are now exceedingly hard to identify. Every now and then a statesman who had been attacked would vindicate himself under a pseudonym; more frequently, some hanger-on would write on his behalf, with many professions of being an impartial onlooker. There were independent contributors; and small groups of minor politicians

¹ *Anecdotes of Eminent Persons*, vol. 1, pp. 79, 80. Almon's words obviously imply that the master in chancery was still living in 1797. He wrote again, in 1770, both anonymously and under the name Phileleutherus Anglicanus (*Grenville Correspondence*, vol. III, pp. cxxxvi sqq., where the resemblance in manner to the Candor pamphlets is made obvious by extracts).

² Parkes, *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis*, vol. 1, pp. 74—81 and 99—101. A facsimile of Candor's handwriting is given in vol. II, plate 6.

would carry on a continuous correspondence for years. But neither single authors nor groups can be easily traced through their compositions. As is natural, their style seldom helps us to identify them. They wrote the current controversial prose, and, after 1770, their prose is tinged with a Junian dye. The pseudonyms throw little light on the matter. There was no monopoly in any one of them, and the same author would vary his pseudonyms as much as possible, chiefly with intent to avoid discovery and the decrease of credit which his communications might undergo if he were known, but, also, to provide sham opponents as a foil to his arguments and to create an illusion of wide public support for his views.

A good instance of the letter-writers was James Scott, a preacher of repute. In 1766, he contributed a series of letters to *The Public Advertiser*, signed 'Anti-Sejanus.' They were written in the interests of Lord Sandwich, and assailed, with much vehemence, the supposed secret intrigues of Bute. Scott used many other pseudonyms, and wrote so well that his later letters, which show Junius's influence in their style, were republished separately. From a private letter written by him to Woodfall¹, we learn that he, too, was a member of a group who worked together. Another writer we can identify was John Horne, later known as John Horne Tooke and as the author of *The Diversions of Purley*. He began to send in correspondence to the newspapers about 1764; but his celebrity only began when he became an enthusiastic partisan of Wilkes in 1768. Under the pseudonym 'Another Freeholder of Surrey,' he made a damaging attack on George Onslow², and, on being challenged, allowed the publication of his name. The legal prosecution which followed the acknowledgment of his identity, in the end, came to nothing, and Horne was able to continue his career as Wilkes's chief lieutenant. But the cool unscrupulousness with which Wilkes used the agitation as a mere instrument for paying off his own debts and gratifying his own ambitions disgusted even so warm a supporter as Horne. A quarrel broke out between them in 1771 concerning the disposal of the funds raised to pay Wilkes's debts by the society, The Supporters of the Bill of Rights, to which both belonged. Letter after letter from the two former friends

¹ Parkes, *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis*, vol. 1, pp. 180—1. Parkes, as usual with him in the case of the abler letters previous to 1769, attributes 'Anti-Sejanus' to Sir P. Francis. 'Anti-Sejanus' should probably be distinguished from 'Anti-Sejanus junior,' in 1767, who is likely to be Junius.

² Celebrated as the single member of the House of Commons who 'said that No. 45 was not a libel.'

appeared in *The Public Advertiser*. Horne, who, perhaps, had the better case, allowed himself to be drawn off into long petty recriminations on Wilkes's private life. Indiscreet expressions of his own were brought up against him, and the popularity of Wilkes, in any case, made the attempt to undermine him impossible. Yet 'parson Horne' had his triumph, too. The redoubtable Junius entered the controversy on Wilkes's side; Horne retorted vigorously, and proved the most successful critic of the greater libeller's productions. In truth, Junius's letters owed much of their success to his victims' inability to rebut his insinuations by giving the real facts in transactions which were necessarily secret. Horne's record was clear; he had no dignity to lose; he could pin Junius down by a demand for proof. Yet, even allowing for these advantages, his skill in dissecting his adversary's statements and his courage in defying the most formidable libeller of the day are much to his credit as a pamphleteer. Before long, Junius was glad to beat a retreat.

It was in the autumn of 1768 that the political letters of the unknown writer who, later, took the pseudonym of Junius, gained the public ear. But we know from his own statement¹ that, for two years before that date, he had been busy in furtive, assassinating polemic; and it is possible that a careful search of newspaper files would result in the discovery of some of his earlier performances of 1766 and 1767. The time when he appears to have begun letter-writing tallies well with the objects pursued by him during the period of his known writings. He was an old-fashioned whig, and a warm, almost an impassioned, adherent of the former prime minister, George Grenville. Thus, the accession to power, in July 1766, of the elder Pitt, now Lord Chatham, with his satellite, the duke of Grafton, after a breach with Lord Temple, Grenville's brother, and their adherents, most likely, gave the impulse to Junius's activity. It was not, however, till October 1768 that he became clearly distinguishable from other writers in *The Public Advertiser*. By that time, Chatham's nervous prostration had rendered him incapable of transacting business, and the duke of Grafton was acting as prime minister in an administration which had become mainly tory. For some reason or other, Junius nursed a vindictive and unassuageable hatred against the duke, which it seems difficult to attribute only to the rancour of a partisan. The weakness of the loosely constructed ministry, too, would tempt their adversary to complete their rout by a

¹ *Grenville Correspondence*, vol. iv, p. 380.

storm of journalistic shot and shell. So, Junius, sometimes under his most constant and, perhaps, original signature 'C.', sometimes under other disguises, continued to add to the fury and cruel dexterity of his attacks. 'The Grand Council' ridiculed the ministers' Irish policy and their methods of business. A legal job which was attempted at the duke of Portland's expense furnished another opportunity. Nor was Junius content with these public efforts to discredit his foes. In January 1768, he sent Chatham an unsigned letter, full of flatteries for the sick man and of suggestions of disloyalty on the part of his colleagues. For the time being, however, Chatham continued to lend his name to the distracted ministry, which staggered on from one mistake to another. Those on which Junius, under his various *aliases*, seized for animadversion were small matters; but they were damaging, and his full knowledge of them, secret as they sometimes were, gave weight to his arguments. His ability seemed to rise with the occasion: the 'prentice hand which may have penned 'Poplicola's' attacks on Chatham in 1767 had become a master of cutting irony and merciless insinuation, when, as 'Lucius,' he, in 1768, flayed Lord Hillsborough. The time was ripe for his appearance as something better than a skirmisher under fleeting pseudonyms, and the series of the letters of Junius proper began in January 1769. They never, however, lost the stamp of their origin. To the last, Junius is a light-armed auxiliary, first of the Grenville connection, then, on George Grenville's death in 1770, of the opponents of the king's tory-minded ministry under Lord North. He darts from one point of vantage to another. Now one, now another, minister is his victim, either when guilty or when unable to defend himself efficiently. Ringing invective, a deadly catalogue of innuendoes, barbed epigrams closing a scornful period, a mastery of verbal fencing and, here and there, a fund of political good sense, all were used by the libeller, and contributed to make him the terror of his victims. The choice and the succession of the subjects of his letters were by no means haphazard. His first letter was an indictment of the more prominent members of the administration. It created a diversion which made the letter-writer's fortune, for Sir William Draper, conqueror of Manilla, rushed into print to defend an old friend, Lord Granby. Thoroughly trounced, ridiculed, humiliated and slandered, he drew general attention to his adversary, who then proceeded to the execution of his main design. In six letters, under his customary signature or the obvious alternative

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CHAPTER V

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

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CHAPTER VI

COLERIDGE

An exhaustive bibliography of the writings in prose and verse of S. T. Coleridge, by Mr. T. J. Wise, was issued by the Bibliographical Society in 1913.

I. POETICAL AND DRAMATIC WORKS

A. *Collected Editions*

- Poetical Works. 3 vols. 1828.
 — 3 vols. 1829.
 — 3 vols. 1834.
 Poems. 1844.
 Poems. 1848.
 Poems. Ed. Coleridge, Derwent and Sara. 1852. [Frequently rptd.]
 Dramatic Works. Ed. Coleridge, Derwent. 1852. [Frequently rptd.]
 Poems. Ed. Coleridge, Derwent and Sara. 1863. [Frequently rptd.]
 Poems. Ed. Coleridge, Derwent and Sara. New and enlarged edn with life of the author. 1870.
 Poetical Works. Ed., with a critical memoir, by Rossetti, W. M. [1872.]
 Poetical and Dramatic Works. Ed. Shepherd, R. H. 4 vols. 1877. Reissued 1880.
 Poetical and Dramatic Works. Ed. Ashe, T. 2 vols. 1885. (Aldine edn.) [Frequently rptd.]
 Poetical Works. Ed. with biographical introduction by Campbell, J. D. 1893. Rptd 1899, etc.
 Poems. With introduction by Coleridge, E. H. [1907.]
 Poems, including poems and versions of poems now published for the first time. Ed. with textual and bibliographical notes by Coleridge, E. H. Oxford, 1912.
 Complete Poetical Works. Ed. Coleridge, E. H. 2 vols. Oxford, 1912.

B. *Selections*

- Christabel and the lyrical and imaginative poems of S. T. Coleridge. Arranged and introduced by Swinburne, A. C. 1869. Swinburne's introductory essay rptd in his *Essays and Studies*, 1875.
 The Golden Book of Coleridge. Ed. Brooke, S. A. 1895. • Rptd 1906 (Everyman's Library).
 The Poetry of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Ed. Garnett, R. 1898.
 Coleridge's Poems. A facsimile reproduction of the proofs and MSS of some of the poems. Ed. Campbell, J. D. With preface and notes by White, W. H. Westminster, 1899.
 Poems. Selected and arranged with an introduction and notes by Symons, A. (1905.)
 Poems. Selected with an introduction by Dowden, E. Edinburgh (1907).
 The Ancient Mariner and Christabel, mit literarhistorischer Einleitung und Kommentar. Hrag. von Richler, A. (Wiener Beiträge zur engl. Philologie.) Vienna, 1907.
 Poems of Nature and Romance, 1794-1807. Ed. Keeling, M.A. Oxford, 1910.

C. *Poems published separately*

Poems on various subjects. 1796. 2nd edn. To which are now added *Poems by Charles Lamb and Charles Lloyd.* Bristol, London, 1797. 3rd edn. 1803. [Omitting the contributions of Charles Lamb and Charles Lloyd.]

Ode on the Departing Year. Bristol, 1796.

The Vision of the Maid of Orleans. Contributed to Southey's *Joan of Arc* (1796). Republished in *Sibylline Leaves* (1817) and later collections as *The Destiny of Nations.*

[*Selected Sonnets* from Bowles, Lamb, and others with four *Sonnets* by S. T. C. and a prefatory essay on the Sonnet. Privately ptd, 1796.]

Fears in Solitude. Written in 1798 during the alarm of an invasion. To which are added *France*, an Ode; and *Frost at Midnight.* 1798. [Rptd in *The Poetical Register* in 1812, and also privately in the same year.]

Lyrical Ballads, with a few other poems. [By Wordsworth and Coleridge. *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* appeared here for the first time.] Bristol, 1798. Re-issued in London, 1798. Rptd, ed. Dowden, E., 1890; 2nd edn, 1891; ed. Hutchinson, T., 1898; 2nd edn, 1907; ed. Littledale, H., 1911.

Lyrical Ballads, with other poems, in two volumes. 1800, 1802, 1805.

Christabel; *Kubla Khan*, a vision; *The Pains of Sleep.* 1816. 2nd edn. 1816. 3rd edn. 1816.

Sibylline Leaves. A collection of poems. [*The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* was here acknowledged for the first time.] 1817.

A Hebrew Dirge chaunted in the Great Synagogue, St James's Place, Aldgate, on the day of the funeral of the Princess Charlotte. By Hurwitz, Hyman. With a translation in English verse by Coleridge, S. T. 1817.

The Tears of a Grateful People. A Hebrew Dirge and Hymn chaunted in the Great Synagogue, St James's Place, Aldgate, on the day of the funeral of King George III. By Hurwitz, Hyman. Translated into English verse by a friend [S. T. C.]. (1820.)

The Devil's Walk. A Poem by Coleridge, S. T. and Southey, R. 1830. [Originally published anonymously and attributed to Porson.]

Christabel. Illustrated by a facsimile of the MS and by textual and other notes by Coleridge, E. H. 1907.

A. T. B.

D. *Plays published separately*

The Fall of Robespierre. An historic drama. Cambridge, 1794. (Act I by Coleridge, Acts II, III by Southey.)

[Coleridge's contribution, obviously under the influence of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, presents the scheming and contriving of the anti-Robespierre faction. Acts II and III by Southey depict the fall of Robespierre at the Convention. The whole play suggests that Robespierre had become a tyrant, but, with its pretentious rhetoric and lack of characterisation, it reads more like a second *Reflections on the French Revolution* than a drama. The poets, between them, have succeeded in suggesting no unworthy idea of the spirit of freedom finding outlet in action.]

Wallenstein. A Drama in Two Parts. 1799-1800 (i.e. *The Piccolomini*, 5 acts; *The Death of Wallenstein*, 5 acts. The one-act prelude,

Wallenstein's Lager, making up Schiller's original trilogy, was not transl.). Bp'd 1866, 1889 (Bohn).

[This translation is Coleridge's most substantial contribution to the English stage. At a time when Ireland had nearly persuaded the public to accept arid rhetoric for Shakespeare, and 'Monk' Lewis had quite persuaded them to take spectacular melodrama for tragedy, Coleridge introduced them to Schiller's virile German drama (despite its rococo love scenes), with its lesson of destiny, ambition and heroism. The rapidly moving plot, with its fine speeches and characters outlined clearly by action, must have been a revelation after Kotzebue (the only German dramatist familiar at that time to the general public), and may have helped indirectly to inspire the dramatic efforts of Shelley and Byron. Coleridge's versification is uneven, but the translation is scholarly; and English idiom is not sacrificed to literal accuracy.]

Remorse. A Tragedy in five Acts. 1813. 2nd edn. 1813. 3rd edn. 1813. (The revised version of Osorio, which Coleridge had sent to Sheridan as early as 1797 and which was ptd 'from a copy recently discovered,' ed. Shepherd, B. H., 1873.)

[The theme, familiar to XVIII century readers (cf. Cumberland's *The Brothers* and Schiller's *Die Räuber*), is that of the elder brother returning to his betrothed and his home from which his scheming cadet has ousted him. The play has some fine passages, e.g. the monologue (act v, sc. 1), where Alvar, in the dungeon of the Inquisition, gives expression, like Condorcet, to his dreams of the perfectibility of mankind; but Remorse is neither true tragedy nor true drama. The age still tended towards a drawing-room ideal of self-restraint and sentimentality, and Coleridge, falling, like all his contemporaries, under this influence, has not portrayed the complex yet primitive nature of the great passions, but only their rhetoric.]

Zapolya. A Christmas Tale in two parts. 1817.

[Described by the author as a 'dramatic poem' 'in humble imitation of the *Winter's Tale*.' The play has more movement than Remorse and works up to an unmistakable climax, but the personages are still hardly more than declamatory rhetoricians. The character of Laska, Casimir's steward, shows some knowledge of stage requirements, but is not convincing. As in Remorse, there is a romantic background of gorgeous palaces and labyrinthine caverns, and some fine poetry (e.g. pt 1, act 1, sc. 1, Kiuprili's tirade on the fallacy of popular opinion.)]

H. V. ROUTH.

II. PROSE WORKS

This list does not include the various prospectuses of Courses of Lectures issued by Coleridge. For these, reference should be made to Mr Wise's Bibliography

A Moral and Political Lecture delivered at Bristol. Bristol [1795].

Conciones ad populum or Addresses to the People. [Bristol] 1795.

The Plot discovered, or an address to the People against Ministerial treason. Bristol, 1795.

An answer to 'A Letter to Edward Long Fox, M.D.' [1795.]

The Watchman. 10 numbers. Bristol, 1796.

The Friend. A literary, moral, and political weekly paper, excluding personal and party politics and events of the day. 28 numbers. Penrith, 1800-10.

- Re-issued, with supplementary matter, 1812. New edn. 3 vols. 1818.
3rd edn. 3 vols. 1837. New edn by Coleridge, H. N. 2 vols. 1863.
Rptd, in Bohn's Standard Library, 1865; and frequently since that date.
Omniana, or *Horae Otiosiores*. 2 vols. 1812. [Ed. Southey, R., with numerous
articles by Coleridge.]
- The Statesman's Manual*; or the Bible the best guide to political skill and
foresight. A lay sermon addressed to the higher classes of society.
1816.
- Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters. A lay sermon addressed to the
higher and middle classes on the existing discontents. 1817. [This and
the preceding Sermon rptd in 1839 and 1852 with *On the constitution
of the Church and State*.]
- Biographia Literaria*, or biographical sketches of my literary life and opinions.
2 vols. 1817. 2nd edn. Ed. Coleridge, H. N. and Coleridge, Sara.
1847. Rptd with *Two Lay Sermons* in Bohn's Standard Library.
1865, etc. Ed. Symons, A. (*Everyman's Library*.) (1906.) Ed. with
his aesthetical essays by Shawcross, J. 2 vols. Oxford, 1907.
- Remarks on the objections which have been urged against the principle
of Sir Robert Peel's Bill. [1818.]
- The Grounds of Sir Robert Peel's Bill vindicated*. [1818.] [This and the
preceding rptd privately 1913.]
- On Method*. A preliminary treatise forming the General Introduction to
the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*, 1818. 5th edn. 1852. Rptd with
Whately's *Logic and Rhetoric*. 1855.
- Aids to Reflection in the formation of a manly character*, on the several
grounds of prudence, morality, and religion; illustrated by select passages
from our elder divines, especially from Archbishop Leighton. 1825.
5th edn enlarged, ed. Coleridge, H. N. 2 vols. 1843. 7th edn. Ed.
Coleridge, D. 1854. New edn, with *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit
and Essays on Faith and the Common Prayer Book*, in Bohn's Standard
Library. 1884. Rptd 1904, etc.
- On the constitution of the Church and State, according to the idea of each;
with aids toward a right judgment on the late Catholic Bill*. 1830.
2nd edn. 1830. 3rd edn. 1839. 4th edn. 1852. [With the 3rd and
4th edns were rptd the two *Lay Sermons*.]
- Specimens of the Table-Talk of S. T. Coleridge*. (Ed. Coleridge, H. N.)
2 vols. 1835. Republished as *Table-Talk and Omniana of S. T. Coleridge*.
With additional *Table-Talk* from Allsop's *Recollections* and manuscript
matter not before printed. Ed. Ashe, T. (Bohn's Standard Library.)
1884, etc.
- Literary Remains*. Ed. Coleridge, H. N. 4 vols. 1836-9.
- Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*. Ed. from the author's MS by Coleridge,
H. N. 1840. 3rd edn. 1853.
- Hints towards the formation of a more comprehensive theory of life*. Ed.
Watson, Seth B. 1848.
- Notes and Lectures upon Shakespeare and some of the old Poets and
Dramatists, with other literary remains of S. T. Coleridge*. Ed.
Coleridge, Mrs H. N. 2 vols. 1849.
- Essays on his own times; forming a second series of The Friend*. Ed. by his
daughter. 3 vols. 1850.
- Notes on English Divines*. Ed. Coleridge, Derwent. 2 vols. 1853.
- Notes theological, political, and miscellaneous*. Ed. Coleridge, Derwent.
1853.
- Seven Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton, by the late S. T. Coleridge*.
Ed. Collier, J. P. 1856.

Notes on Stillingfleet. Privately ptd, 1875.

Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare and other English Poets. Ed. Ashe, T. (Bohn's Standard Library.) 1883, etc.

Miscellanies, æsthetic and literary; to which is added the Theory of Life. Collected and arranged by Ashe, T. (Bohn's Standard Library.) 1885, etc.

Critical Annotations. Being marginal notes inscribed in volumes formerly in his possession. Ed. Taylor, W. F. 1889.

Anima Poetæ. From the unpublished note-books of S. T. Coleridge. Ed. Coleridge, E. H. 1895.

Essays and Lectures on Shakspeare and other old poets and dramatists. (Everyman's Library.) (1907.)

Coleridge's Literary Criticism. With introduction by Mackail, J. W. Oxford, 1908.

III. CORRESPONDENCE

Unpublished Letters to the Rev. John Prior Estlin. Communicated to the Philobiblon Society by Bright, H. A. Vol. xv. 1877-1884.

Memorials of Coleorton: being Letters from Coleridge, Wordsworth and his sister, Southey, and Sir Walter Scott to Sir George and Lady Beaumont of Coleorton, 1803-1834. Ed. Knight, W. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1887.

Letters, 1785-1834. Ed. Coleridge, E. H. 2 vols. 1895.

Letters from the Lake Poets to Daniel Stuart. Ed. Stuart, M. 1889.

Biographia Epistolaris: being the biographical supplement of Coleridge's Biographia Literaria, with additional letters. Ed. Turnbull, A. 2 vols. 1911.

Letters hitherto uncollected. Ed. Prideaux, W. F. Privately ptd. 1913.

IV. BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM

See, also, the various introductions to editions of Coleridge's works mentioned under sections I, II, and III, and bibliography to chapter (v) on Wordsworth, *ante*, sect. IV.

Ainger, A. Nether Stowey.—Coleridge's Ode to Wordsworth. Lectures and Essays. Vol. II. 1905.

Allsop, T. Letters, Conversations, and Recollections of S. T. Coleridge. [Ed. Allsop, T.] 2 vols. 1836. 3rd edn. 1864.

Aynard, J. *La vie d'un poète. Coleridge.* Paris, 1907. [This is the most helpful account which has yet been written of Coleridge as a thinker, particularly as a political thinker.]

Brandes, G. *Die Hauptströmungen der Literatur des 19 Jahrhunderts.* Transl. by Strodtmann, A. Vol. IV, chap. VII. Berlin, 1876. English trans. 1901, etc.

Brandl, A. *Samuel Taylor Coleridge und die englische Romantik.* Berlin, 1886. English trans. by Lady Eastlake. 1887.

Brooke, Stopford A. *Theology in the English Poets. Coleridge.* 1874. 10th edn. 1907.

Caine, T. Hall. *Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* (Great Writers Series.) [With useful bibliography.] 1887.

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Calvert, G. H. *Coleridge, Shelley, Goethe. Biographic æsthetic studies.* (1880.)

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- Coste, C. *La Révolution française et les poètes anglais (1789-1809)*. Paris, 1906. [This contains a luminous account of Coleridge's relations with Southey, and of his early poems and political ideals.]
- Coleridge, E. H. *Life of Coleridge*. Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature. Vol. III. 1903.
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- Cottle, J. *Early recollections chiefly relating to the late S. T. Coleridge during his long residence in Bristol*. 1837. 2nd edn revised. 1847.
- De Quincey, T. S. T. Coleridge. *Collected writings*. Vol. II. Edinburgh, 1889.
- *Coleridge and Opium Eating*. *Collected writings*. Vol. v. Edinburgh, 1890.
- Dowden, E. *Coleridge as a Poet*. *New Studies in Literature*. 1895.
- Giffillan, G. *Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. *Galleries of literary portraits*. Vol. I. 1856.
- Gillman, A. W. *The Gillmans of Highgate, with Letters from S. T. Coleridge, etc.* [1895.]
- Gillman, J. *The Life of S. T. Coleridge*. Vol. I. 1838. (No more appeared.)
- Green, J. H. *Spiritual Philosophy founded on the teaching of the late S. T. Coleridge*. 2 vols. 1865.
- Hazlitt, W. *My first acquaintance with Poets*. *The Liberal*, 1823. *Works*. Edd. Waller, A. R. and Glover, A. Vol. xii. 1904.
- *Mr Coleridge*. *The Spirit of the Age*, 1825. *Works*. Edd. Waller, A. R. and Glover, A. Vol. iv. 1902.
- Jack, A. A. and Bradley, A. C. *Short bibliography of Coleridge*. *English Association*. Leaflet 23. 1912. [Very useful.]
- Lamb, C. *Christ's Hospital five and thirty years ago.—The Two Races of Men*. *Essays of Elia*. *Works*. Ed. Lucas, E. V. Vol. II. 1903.
- *Letters*. Ed. Lucas, E. V. 2 vols. (1912.)
- Lucas, E. V. *Charles Lamb and the Lloyds*. 1898.
- Mill, J. S. *Coleridge*. *Dissertations and Discussions*. Vol. I. 1859.
- Pater, W. *Coleridge*. *Appreciations*. 1889.
- Robinson, H. C. *Diary*. Ed. Sadler, T. 3 vols. 1869. 2 vols. 1872.
- Sandford, Mrs H. *Thomas Poole and his friends*. 2 vols. 1888.
- Shairp, J. C. *Coleridge*. *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy*. 4th edn. Edinburgh, 1886.
- Shepherd, K. H. *The Bibliography of Coleridge*. Revised, corrected, and enlarged by Prideaux, W. F. 1900.
- Stephen, Sir L. *Coleridge*. *Hours in a Library*. Vol. III. 1892.
- Traill, H. D. *Coleridge*. (*English Men of Letters Series*.) 1884.
- White, W. H. *A description of the Wordsworth and Coleridge MSS in the possession of Mr T. Norton Longman*. 1897.

A. T. B.

CHAPTER VII

GEORGE CRABBE

I. POETICAL WORKS

A. *Collected Editions*

Works. In seven volumes. 1820. Also 5 vols., 1820; 7 vols., 1822; 5 vols., 1823.

Poetical Works. Paris [1829].

Poetical Works: with his letters and journals, and his life by his Son. In eight volumes. 1834. Also (in 8 vols.) 1835, 1836, 1847; and (in 1 vol.) 1847, 1854, 1861, 1866, 1901.

Poetical Works. With a life by W. R. 1858.

Poems. Ed. Ward, A. W.... Cambridge. 3 vols. 1905, 1906, 1907.

[Contains previously unpublished poems, and a bibliography in vol. III, pp. 554-568.]

Poetical Works. Ed. Carlyle, A. J. and Carlyle, R. M. Oxford, 1908.

B. *Selections*

Beauties of the Rev. George Crabbe. With a biographical sketch. 1832.

Cullings from Crabbe, with a memoir of his life and notices of his writings. Bath, 1832.

Readings in Crabbe's Tales of the Hall. [Selected and edited by FitzGerald, E.] Guildford, 1879. Re-issued (with an Introduction) 1882, 1883.

The English Poets. By Ward, T. H. 1883-4. (Crabbe, ed. Courthope, W. J. vol. III, p. 581.)

Poems (selected). Ed. Morley, H. 1886.

The Poetical Works of George Crabbe (selected), with prefatory notice, biographical and critical, by Lamplough, E. 1888.

Tales by George Crabbe, ed. with an introduction by Morley, H. 1891.

The Poets and the Poetry of the Century. Ed. Miles, A. H. Vol. I, pp. 1-84. [1891.]

The Poems of George Crabbe. A selection arranged by Holland, B. 1899.

English Tales in Verse. With an introduction by Herford, C. H. Pp. 155-182. 1902.

Selections from the Poems of George Crabbe, with an introduction and notes by Deane, A. 1903.

C. *Separate Poems*

For *Juvenilia*, consult Crabbe's *Poems*, ed. Ward, A. W., Cambridge, 1905-7, prefatory note to vols. I, III and bibliography.

Inebriety, a Poem, in three Parts. Ipswich, 1775.

The Candidate. A Poetical Epistle to the Authors of the Monthly Review. 1780.

The Library. A Poem. 1781. 2nd edn. 1783.

The Village: a Poem. In two books. 1783.

The News-Paper: a Poem. 1785.

Poems. 1807. 2nd edn. 1808. 3rd edn. 1808. 8th edn. 1816.

The Borough: a Poem in twenty-four letters. 1810. 2nd edn. 1810. 3rd edn. 1810. 6th edn. 1816. Ed. Williams, H. (Temple Classics.) 1903.

Tales. 1812. 2nd edn. 1812. 5th edn. 1814.

Tales of the Hall. In two volumes. 1819. 2nd edn. 1819. 3 vols. 1820.

Lines ('Of old when a Monarch of England appear'd'). [1822.]

Lines addressed to the Dowager Duchess of Rutland. *The Oasket, a Miscellany*, consisting of unpublished poems. Pp. 142-3. 1829.

Poetical Epistles by the Rev. George Crabbe. *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*. Ed. Nicoll, W. Robertson, and Wise, T. J. Vol. II, p. 143. 1896.

D. Translations

For translations into foreign languages, see bibliographies in *Poems*, ed. Ward, *ante*, and in Huchon, *Un Poète Réaliste Anglais*, *post*.

II. PROSE WORKS

For Prose Works, see bibliography in Huchon, *Un Poète Réaliste Anglais*, *post*.

III. BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM

See, also, the various introductions to Crabbe's works mentioned in sect. I A, B, C, *ante*.]

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Broadley, A. M. and Jerrold, W. *The Romance of an Elderly Poet*. A hitherto unknown chapter in the life of George Crabbe revealed by his ten years' correspondence with Elizabeth Charter, 1815-1825. 1913.

Crabbe Celebration. *Souvenir and Catalogue of the exhibits at Aldeburgh*, Suffolk, 16-18 September, 1905.

Druzhinin, A. *George Crabbe and his Productions*. St Petersburg, 1857. [In Russian.]

Gilfillan, G. *A Second Gallery of Literary Portraits*. 1850.

Huchon, R. *Un Poète Réaliste Anglais*. George Crabbe, 1754-1832. Paris, 1906. English translation by Clarke, Frederick. *George Crabbe and his Times*. 1907. [Contains a bibliography.]

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Stehlich, F. *George Crabbe, ein englischer Dichter*. Halle, 1875.

Stephen, Sir Leslie. *Hours in a Library*. Vol. II. 1892.

Woodberry, G. E. *Studies in Letters and Life*. P. 29, *A neglected poet*. Boston (Mass.), 1890.

IV. ARTICLES IN MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS

A complete list of the contemporary reviews of Crabbe's poems is given in Huchon, *ante*, pp. 663-5. The following may also be consulted:

Quarterly Review. Vol. I, p. 468 (Jan. 1834), *Life and Poems*, by Lockhart; vol. LII, p. 184 (August 1834), *Posthumous Tales*, by Lockhart; vol. CXCIII, p. 21 (Jan. 1901), Crabbe, by Statham, Heathcote.

Gentleman's Magazine. New Series, vol. I, p. 253 (March 1834), *Life of Crabbe*, by Mitford; vol. II, p. 563 (Dec. 1834), *Posthumous Tales*; vol. CCLXXXVI, p. 356, Crabbe, by Prower, Maude.

Monthly Review. Vol. III, p. 101 (Sept. 1834), *On Burns's and Crabbe's Poetry*.

Edinburgh Review. Vol. LX, p. 255 (Jan. 1835), *Life and Poems*; vol. CCXCVIII, p. 30 (July 1903), Crabbe.

- National Review*. Jan. 1859, p. 1, Crabbe, by Roscoe, W. C.
Nineteenth Century. Vol. xv, p. 583 (April 1884), Wordsworth and Byron, by Swinburne, A. C. (p. 598).
Cornhill Magazine. Vol. LXXXIII, p. 750 (June 1901), Some memories of Crabbe, by Hutton, W. H.
Atlantic Monthly. Dec. 1901, p. 850, A Plea for Crabbe, by More, P. Elmer.
Monthly Review. March 1904, p. 117, Two Unpublished Poems of Crabbe, by Huchon, R.
Modern Language Review. Vol. II, p. 266 (April 1907), Review of Ward's edn of Crabbe, by Huchon, R.

CHAPTER VIII

SOUTHEY

LESSER POETS OF THE LATER EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. ROBERT SOUTHEY

See, also, chap. VI, ante, Coleridge, bibliography.

A. *Manuscripts in the British Museum*

- Cataract of Lodore. Egerton 1966, f. 17.
 The Curse of Kehama (an early copy, many alterations made before publication). Add. 36485.
 Joan of Arc. Add. 28096.
 Preface to Letters written during a short Residence in Spain and Portugal. Add. 28096, f. 1.
 Roprecht the Robber. Add. 21508, f. 64.
 Triumphal Ode. Add. 36961.
 Letters: Add. MSS 18204, f. 171; 21508, ff. 78, 79; 24023, f. 61; 28603; 30928; 33964, f. 378; 34046, ff. 132-148; 35343, f. 127^b; 35344, ff. 170, 172, 174; 35350, f. 138. Egerton 2159, f. 88.

B. *Collected Poems*

- Poems: containing the Retrospect, Odes, Elegies, Sonnets, etc. By Lovell, R. and Southey, R. 1794. 1795.
 Poems by Robert Southey. Bristol, London, 1797. 2nd edn. 2 vols. Bristol, 1797-9.
 The Minor Poems of Robert Southey. 2 vols. Bristol, 1797. Rptd 1815, 1823, 1854.
 Poems. First American edn. Boston (Mass.), 1799.
 Poetical Works of Robert Southey, complete in one volume. Paris, 1829.
 Poetical Works, collected by himself. 10 vols. 1837-8.
 Poetical Works, complete in one volume. 1850.
 Poetical Works, with a memoir of the author (by Tuckermann, H. T.). 10 vols. Boston (Mass.), 1860.
 Poems chosen and arranged by Dowden, E. 1895.
 Poems...containing the Curse of Kehama, Roderick, Madoc, A Tale of Paraguay, and selected minor poems. Ed. Fitzgerald, M. H. Oxford, 1909.

C. *Separate Poems*

- The Fall of Robespierre. An historic drama. (The first act by Coleridge, the second and third by Southey.) 1794.
- Joan of Arc, an epic poem. Bristol, 1796. 2 vols. 1798.
- Fifth edition. 2 vols. 1817. Also 1853.
- Thalaba the Destroyer (a metrical romance). 2 vols. 1801. 2nd edn. 1809. 3rd edn. 1814.
- Madoc. 1805. 2 vols. 1815. 1825.
- The Curse of Kehama. 1810. 1818. 1853.
- Roderick, the last of the Goths. 1814. 2nd edn. 2 vols. 1815. Also 1818, 1826. Translated into Dutch, with a prefatory notice by Bilderdijk, W. The Hague, 1823-4.
- Odes to ... the Prince Regent ... the Emperor of Russia, and ... the King of Prussia. 1814.
- Carmen Nuptiale, The Lay of the Laureate. (On the marriage of Princess Charlotte.) 1816.
- The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo. 1816. 2nd edn. 1816.
- Wat Tyler; a Dramatic Poem. Sherwin's Edition. Price Two Pence. [1817.] (Presumed the first edn.)
- a dramatic poem in three acts. 1817. (Pirated edn.)
- a dramatic poem, with a preface suitable to recent circumstances. 1817.
- Carmen Triumphale, for the commencement of the year 1814. 1821.
- A Vision of Judgment. 1821.
- A Tale of Paraguay. 1825.
- All for Love; and The Pilgrim to Compostella. 1829.
- The Devil's Walk; a poem by S. T. Coleridge and R. Southey. 1830.
- Oliver Newman: a New-England tale (unfinished); with other poetical remains. Ed. Hill, H. 1845.
- Robin Hood: a fragment. By the late Robert Southey and Caroline Southey. With other fragments and poems by Robert Southey and Caroline Southey. Edinburgh and London, 1847.

D. *Prose Works*

- The Flagellant. [Written by Southey and other Westminster scholars. Nine weekly parts, from March 1 to April 26, 1792. The article on corporal punishment, for which Southey was dismissed the school, is in no. v. Only the B.M. copy (C. 58. e. 21) extant. Southey's autograph is on first title-page.]
- Letters written during a short Residence in Spain and Portugal. Bristol, 1797. 3rd edn. London, 1808.
- Letters from England; by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella (i.e. Southey)... Translated from the Spanish. 3 vols. 1807. 1814.
- History of Brazil. 3 pts. 1810-19.
- Omniana, or Horae Otiosiores. 2 vols. 1812. (Nos. 87-92, 97, 98, 102, 103, 105, 106, 109-111, 113, 114, 117-129, 155, 160 vol. I, and 171, 179, 205 vol. II, by Coleridge.)
- The Life of Nelson. 2 vols. 1813. 1830. 1853.
- New edition, with additional notes and plates, and a general index. (Bohn's Illustrated Library.) 1861.
- Ed. with introduction and notes by Butler, H. B.... with maps, plans, and other illustrations. 1911.
- A Letter to W. Smith, Esq., M.P., from R. Southey [on occasion of certain strictures made by W. Smith in the House of Commons on the writings of Southey]. 1817.

- The Life of Wesley; and the rise and progress of Methodism.** 2 vols. 1820.
— with notes by ... Coleridge, S. T. ... and Remarks on the life and character of J. Wesley by ... Knox, A. Ed. Southey, C. C. 2 vols. 1846. Rptd 1858. Translated into German. Hamburg, 1828.
- The Expedition of Orsua, and the Crimes of Aguirre.** 1821.
- The Life of Oliver Cromwell.** *Quarterly Rev.* no. 1, July 1821.
- History of the Peninsular War.** 3 vols. 1823-32.
- The Book of the Church.** 2 vols. 1824. 1837. 1841. 1859. With notes from *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae*. 1869, etc.
- Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae.** Letters to C. Butler, Esq. comprising Essays on the Romish Religion and vindicating The Book of the Church. 1826.
- Sir Thomas More: or, Colloquies on the progress and prospects of Society.** 2 vols. 1829. 2nd edn. 1831.
- Essays Moral and Political ... now first collected.** 2 vols. 1832.
- Lives of the British Admirals, with an introductory view of the Naval History of England.** [Continued by Bell, R.] 5 vols. 1833-40.
- The Doctor.** 7 vols. 1834-47. (Vols. VI and VII ed. Warter, J. W.)
- The Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell, comprising the history of the rise and progress of the system of Mutual Tuition.** 3 vols. 1844. [First vol. only by R. Southey.]
- Common Place Book.** Ed. by his son-in-law Warter, J. W. (Vol. I. Choice Passages. 1849. Vol. II. Special Collections. 1849. Vol. III. Analytical Readings. 1850. Vol. IV. Original Memoranda. 1851.)
- Journal of a Tour in the Netherlands in the autumn of 1815.** 1902. With an introduction by Nicoll, W. R. 1903.

E. Correspondence

- The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey.** Edited by his son, C. C. Southey. 6 vols. 1849-50.
- Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey...** Edited ... by Warter, J. W. 4 vols. 1856.
- The Correspondence of Robert Southey with Caroline Bowles.** To which are added: Correspondence with Shelley, and Southey's Dreams. Ed., with introduction, Dowden, E. Dublin, 1881.
- Letters from the Lake Poets.** Ed. Stuart, M. 1889.
- Letters of Robert Southey.** A selection, ed. with introduction and notes by Fitzgerald, M. H. Oxford, 1912. (*The World's Classics*.)

F. Translated and Edited Works

- Amadis of Gaul.** By Vasco Lobeira. (From the Spanish version of Garcior-donez de Montalvo by R. Southey.) 1803.
- The Works of Thomas Chatterton.** [Edd. Cottle and Southey.] 1803.
- Palmerin of England.** 4 vols. (Corrected by R. Southey.) 1807.
- Specimens of the later English Poets, with preliminary notices by R. Southey.** 3 vols. 1807.
- Chronicle of the Cid, from the Spanish, by R. Southey.** 1808.
- The remains of H. K. White.** With an account of his life by R. Southey. 1808.
- The byrth, lyf, and actes of Kyng Arthur.** With an introduction and notes by R. Southey. 1817.
- The Pilgrim's Progress.** With a life of John Bunyan by R. Southey. 1830.

Select Works of the British Poets, from Chaucer to Jonson, with biographical sketches, by R. Southey. 1831.

Attempts in verse.... With some account of the writer (John Jones, Servant) written by himself, and an introductory essay on the lives and works of our uneducated poets, by R. Southey, Poet Laureate. 1831.

See, also, bibliography to chap. IV, *ante*, William Cowper, sect. II.

. G. *Biography and Criticism*

See, also, the various introductions to editions of Southey's Works mentioned in sections B-E, *ante*.

Betham, E. A House of Letters: being excerpts from the correspondence of...Southey...and others with Matilda Betham. [1905.]

Browne, C. Life of Robert Southey. 1854.

Byron, Lord. Letters and Journals. 6 vols. Ed. Prothero, R. E. 1898, 1901.

Chorley, H. F. The Authors of England. 1838.

Coleridge, S. T. Biographia Literaria. 2 vols. 1817.

Cottle, J. Reminiscences of S. T. Coleridge and Robert Southey. 1847.

Courthope, W. J. A History of English Poetry. Vol. VI, chap. VIII, *also* pp. 247-8. 1910.

Dennis, J. Robert Southey. Studies in English Literature. 1876.

— Robert Southey. The story of his life written in his letters. Boston (U.S.A.), 1887.

De Quincey, Thomas. Reminiscences of the Lake Poets. Works. Ed. Masson, D. Vol. II. Edinburgh, 1889.

Dowden, E. Southey. (English Men of Letters Series.) 1874.

Gillfillan, G. Robert Southey. Galleries of literary portraits. Vol. I. 1856.

Hazlitt, W. The Spirit of the Age: or, Contemporary Portraits. 1825. Works. Edd. Glover, A. and Waller, A. R. Vol. IV. 1902.

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Knight, W. A. Memorials of Coleorton, etc. 1887.

Lander, W. S. Imaginary Conversations. 1826.

Macaulay, T. B. Critical and Historical Essays, pp. 97-120; 180-8. 1852.

Robberds, J. W. A memoir of the life and writings of the late William Taylor, of Norwich,...Containing his Correspondence...with R. S. and...other eminent literary men. 2 vols. 1843.

Robinson, H. Crabb. Diary. Ed. Sadler, T. 3 vols. 1869. 2 vols. 1872.

Saintsbury, G. Robert Southey. Essays in English Literature, 1780-1860. 2nd ser.* 1895.

Scott, Sir Walter. Life. 10 vols. By Lockhart, John G. 1903.

— Familiar Letters. 1894.

Smiles, Samuel. A Publisher and his friends. Memoir of the late John Murray, with an account of the origin and progress of the house, 1768-1843. 2 vols. 1891.

Stephen, Sir L. Southey's Letters. Studies of a Biographer. Vol. IV. 1902.

Symons, A. Robert Southey. Saturday Review. Vol. CII, pp. 325, 356. 1906.

Thackeray, W. M. The Four Georges. (George III.) 1861.

Watson, R. Observations on Southey's Life of Wesley. 1820.

Westminster School Register from 1764, to 1883. Compiled by Barker, G. F. R. and Stenning, A. H. 1892.

II. LESSER POETS

Christopher Anstey

- Poetical Works of the late Christopher Anstey, Esq., with some Account of the Life and Writings of the Author by his Son, John Anstey, Esq. 1808.

The New Bath Guide, or Memoirs of the B-r-d (Blunderhead) Family, in a series of Poetical Epistles. 1766.

On the much lamented Death of the Marquis of Tavistock. 1767.

The Patriot, a Pindaric Address to Lord Buckhorse. Cambridge, 1767.

A Serious Alarm to the People of Bath. [1772.]

The Priest Dissected. A poem. 1774.

An Election Ball. 1776.

A Familiar Epistle (in verse) from C. Anstey, Esq. to C. W. Bampfylde, Esq.

Translated and addressed to the ladies. Dublin, 1777.

Envy. 1778.

Speculation, or a Defence of Mankind. 1780.

Liberality, or the Decayed Macaroni. 1788.

The Farmer's Daughter, a poetical tale. 1795.

Britain's Genius, a song. 1797.

Maier, Walter. Christopher Anstey und der New Bath Guide. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der englischen Satire im 18 Jahrhundert. Heidelberg, 1914.

Daniel Bellamy, the elder and the younger

The Cambro-Britannic Engineer... a mock-heroic poem. 1722.

Love Triumphant, or the Rival Goddesses. 1722.

The Young Ladies' Miscellany. 1723.

The Rival Priests... A farce. [By D. Bellamy the Elder and Younger.] 1739.

The Perjur'd Devotee... a comedy. [By D. Bellamy the Elder and Younger.] 1741.

Ethic Amusements by Mr Bellamy, revised by his son D. Bellamy. 1768.

Ethic Amusements. Ethic tales...and fables... By... Fenelon... From the French. [1770.] (An addition, separately published, to the preceding work.)

William Lisle Bowles

The Poetical Works of W. L. B. With memoir, critical dissertation, and explanatory notes... by... G. Gilfillan. Edinburgh, 1855.

Sonnets, written chiefly on picturesque spots during a tour. 1789.

Verses to John Howard. 1789.

The Grave of Howard. A poem. Salisbury, 1790.

St Michael's Mount. A poem. 1798.

The Battle of the Nile. 1799.

The Sorrows of Switzerland. 1801.

The Picture. 1803.

The Spirit of Discovery: or, the Conquest of the Ocean. 1804.

Bowden Hall. 1806.

The Missionary. 1813. 1815. 1816.

The Grave of the last Saxon. 1822.

Ellen Gray; or the dead maiden's curse. 1823.

Days Departed; or Banwell Hill, a lay of the Severn Sea. 1828.

St John in Patmos; or the last Apostle. 1833.

Scenes and Shadows of Days Departed. 1837. (With an autobiographical introduction.)

The Village Verse-Book. 1837.

Samuel Boyse

Translations and Poems written on several occasions. 1738.

Deity. A poem. 1739.

The Canterbury Tales, modernis'd [by Boyse, S. etc.]. 1741.

An Historical Review of the Transactions of Europe from the Commencement of the War with Spain in 1739, to the Insurrection in Scotland in 1745. Reading, 1747.

The Praise of Peace; a poem in three cantos. 1749.

Life by Chalmers, A. The Works of the English Poets. Vol. xiv. 1810.

Sir James Bland Burges. (Known after 1821 as Sir James Lamb.)

The Birth and Triumph of Love, a poem. 1796.

Richard the First; a poem. 2 vols. 1801.

Dramas. 1817.

The Dragon Knight; a poem in twelve cantos. 1818.

Selections from the letters and correspondence of Sir J. B. Burges...with notices of his life. Ed. Hulton, J. 1885.

Richard Owen Cambridge (1717-1802)

Works. Ed. Cambridge, G. O. 1803.

The Scribleriad. 1751.

Hannah Cowley (1743-1809)

Life and Works. 3 vols. 1813.

The Maid of Aragon. 1780.

The Scottish Village, or Pitcairn Green. 1787.

Edwina. 1794.

The Siege of Acre. 1801.

Samuel Croxall

An original Canto of Spencer, design'd as part of his Fairy Queen, but never printed, now made publick by Nestor Ironside. 1713.

An Ode humbly inscrib'd to the King (George I). 1714.

The Vision: a poem. 1715.

Ovid's Metamorphoses, in fifteen books, translated by the most eminent hands. 1717. (The 6th book, and parts of the 8th, 10th, 11th and 13th, translated by Croxall.)

The Fair Circassian, a dramatic performance done from the original by a gentleman-commoner of Oxford. 1720. 1721. 1729, etc.

Fables of Aesop, and others, newly done into English. 1722. 3rd edn. 1731. 5th edn. 1747. 24th edn. 1836.

Jacob, G. The Poetical Register. 2 vols. 1719.

Erasmus Darwin

The Botanic Garden; a Poem, in Two Parts. Part I containing The Economy of Vegetation. Part II. The Loves of the Plants. With Philosophical Notes. 1789 etc. (Part I dated 1791, Part II 1789). Also 1791. 3rd edn. 2 vols. 1794-5. 4th edn. 2 vols. 1799.

Zoonomia, or the laws of Organic Life. 2 vols. 1794-6.

A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools. Derby, 1797.

Phytologia; or the philosophy of Agriculture. 1800.

The Temple of Nature; or the origin of Society: a poem. 1803.

Remembrance. 1812.

Brandl, L. *Erasmus Darwin's Temple of Nature.* Schipper's Wiener Beiträge. Vol. xvi. Vienna, 1902.

— *Erasmus Darwin's Botanic Garden.* Schipper's Wiener Beiträge. Vol. xxx. Vienna, 1909.

Butler, S. *Evolution, old and new.* 1879.

Darwin, C. *Life of Erasmus Darwin.* 1887.

Dowson, J. *Erasmus Darwin.* 1861.

Krause, E. *Erasmus Darwin.* Transl. by Dallas, W. S. With preliminary note by Darwin, C. 1879.

Seward, A. *Memoirs of the Life of Dr Darwin, chiefly at Lichfield.* 1804.

George Ellis

See bibliography to chap. II, *ante*, and to vol. x, chap. x, *ante*.

* *Francis Fawkes*

A description of May. From G. Douglas... by F. Fawkes. 1752.

Winter. From G. Douglas... by F. Fawkes. 1754.

The Works of Anacreon, Sappho.... Translated... [by F. Fawkes]. 1760.

Original Poems and translations. 1761.

The Complete Family Bible, with Notes Theological, Moral, Critical, etc. 1761.

The Poetical Calendar. 12 vols. 1763. (Fawkes and Woty.)

Poetical Magazine, or the Muses' Monthly Companion. Vol. I. 1764.

Partridge-shooting; an eclogue. To the Hon. Charles Yorke. 1767.

The Works of Horace in English verse by Mr Duncombe and other hands. 4 vols. 1767.

The Idylliums of Theocritus translated by F. F. 1767.

The works of Anacreon. The works of Apollonius Rhodius. The works of Bion. The works of Moschus. The works of Musaeus. The works of Sappho. The works of Theocritus. Translated by F. F. 1793.

Hasted, E. *History of Kent.* 1886.

See, *also*, bibliography to vol. x, chap. VII, *ante*.

William Gifford

See bibliography to chap. II, *ante*.

Constantia Grierson

Poems on several occasions. [With laudatory verses to the author (Barber, M.) by C. G.] 1734.

Poems by eminent ladies, particularly Mrs Barber, ... Mrs Grierson, etc. 1755.

[Also edited Latin classics published by her husband. Virgil, 1724. Terence, 1727. Tacitus, 1730.]

Ballard, G. *Memoirs of British Ladies.* 1775.

William Hayley

The Poetical Works of W. Hayley. 3 vols. Dublin, 1785.

Poems and Plays. A new edn. 6 vols. 1788.

Poems on Serious and Sacred Subjects. 1818.

- An Elegy on the ancient Greek Model. 1779.
 Epistle to Admiral Keppel [on his acquittal]. 1779.
 A poetical Epistle to an eminent Painter [Romney, G.]. 1779.
 An Epistle to a friend on the death of J. Thornton. 1780.
 An Essay on history; in three epistles. 1780.
 An Essay on Painting. 1781.
 The Triumphs of Temper. 1781.
 An Essay on Epic poetry. 1782.
 The Happy Prescription, or the lady relieved from her Lovers. 1785.
 A philosophical Essay on Old Maids. 3 vols. 1785.
 The Two Connoisseurs; a comedy in rhyme. Calcutta, 1785.
 Occasional Stanzas, written at the request of the Revolution Society. 1788.
 The Young Widow, or a History of Cornelia Sudley. 1789.
 The Eulogies of Howard. 1791.
 Life of Milton in Boydell and Nicol's edn of Milton's Works. 1794. 2nd enlarged edn. 1796.
 An Elegy on the Death of... Sir William Jones. 1795.
 An Essay on Sculpture. 1800.
 The Triumph of Music. Chichester, 1804.
 Ballads.... Founded on anecdotes relating to animals. 1805.
 The life of George Romney. 1809.
 Three Plays with a Preface. Chichester, 1811.
 How Cowper got his pension. From a manuscript of William Hayley. Ed. Coldicott, H. R. S. Cornhill Magazine, April, 1913.
 Memoirs of the life and writings of W. H.... written by himself. With extracts from his private correspondence and unpublished Poetry.... 2 vols. Ed. Johnson, J. 1823.
 See, also, bibliography to chap. iv, ante, William Cowper.

James Hurdis (1763-1801)

- The Village Curate, and other Poems. 1788.
 Adriano, or the First of June. 1790.
 The Tragedy of Sir Thomas More. 1791.

Sir William Jones (1746-1794)

- Works. 13 vols. 1807.
 Poetical works. 2 vols. 1810.

George Keate (1729-1797)

- The Alps, 1763.
 Poetical Works. 1781.
 The Distressed Poet. 1787.

Mary Leapor

- Poems on Several Occasions. Ed. Browne, J. H. (the Elder), Vol. I. 1748.
 Vol. II. 1751. (A selection from M. L.'s poems contained in Mary Barber's Poems by Eminent Ladies, 1755.)

Thomas James Mathias (1754?-1835)

- Works. 4 pts. Dublin, 1799.
 The Pursuits of Literature. 1794-7. 5th edn. 1798. 11th edn. 1801. 16th edn. 1812.

Thomas Maurice (1754-1824)

Poems and Miscellaneous Pieces. 1779.

Poems epistolary, lyric, and elegiacal. 1800.

Select Poems. 1803.

Moses Mendez

A Collection of the most esteemed pieces of Poetry.... With variety of originals by the late M. M., etc. 1767. Also 1770.

The Chaplet. A musical entertainment. 1749.

Robin Hood. A musical entertainment. 1751.

The Shepherd's Lottery. A musical entertainment. 1751.

The Double Disappointment, or the fortune hunters. A comedy. 1755.

Jacobs, J. and Wolf, L. Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica. 1888.

Robert Merry, the Della Cruscan

The Arno Miscellany. [By Merry, R. etc.] 1784.

The Florence Miscellany. [Poems by Merry, R. and others.] 1785.

Paulina: or the Russian Daughter: a poem in two books. 1787.

The Album of Streatham...and the ode on the restoration of his Majesty, written by Mr Merry. 1789.

Ambitious Vengeance. 1790.

The Laurel of Liberty, a poem. 1790.

Lorenzo, a tragedy. 1791.

Ode to the Fourteenth of July...being the anniversary of the Revolution in France. 1791.

Fenelon, a drama. 1795.

The Wounded Soldier, a poem. [1795?]

Boaden, Jas. Memoirs...of Kemble. 1825.

Dunlap, W. A History of the American Theatre. 1832.

Reynolds, F. Memoirs. 1826.

Frank Sayers

Poems. Norwich, 1792.

Collective Works of the late Dr Sayers, to which have been prefixed some biographical particulars by W. Taylor. 2 pts. Norwich, 1823.

Poetical Works of the late F. S. To which have been prefixed the connected disquisitions on the rise and progress of poetry and...biographical particulars...supplied by W. Taylor of Norwich. 1830.

Dramatic Sketches of Northern Mythology. 1790. (1792 edn contains the ode to Pandora, and a monodrama.)

Disquisitions, metaphysical and literary. 1793.

Nugae Poeticae. 1803.

Miscellanies, antiquarian and historical. 1805.

John Hall Stevenson

The Works of John Hall Stevenson, Esq.... Corrected and Enlarged. With several original poems, now first printed, and explanatory notes. 3 vols. 1795.

A Nose-gay and a Simile for the Reviewers. 1760.

Two lyrical Epistles, or Margery the Cook Maid, to the Critical Reviewers. 1260. t

To my Cousin Shandy on his coming to Town. 1760.

Tales for grown gentlemen. 1761.

Crazy Tales. 1762. Rptd 1894.

A Pastoral Cordial; or an Anodyne Sermon, etc. 1763.

A Pastoral Puke; a second sermon, etc. 1764.

Makarony Fables, with the new Fable of the Bees. 1767.

Lyric Consolations, etc. 1768.

A Sentimental Dialogue... between an English Lady of Quality and an Irish Gentleman. 1768.

Fables for grown Gentlemen for the year 1770. 1770.

An Essay upon the King's Friends. 1776.

Cooper, W. D. Seven Letters by Sterne and his Friends. 1844.

Fitzgerald, P. Life of Sterne. 2 vols. 1864. 2nd edn. 1896.

Sterne's Works. Ed. Saintsbury, G. 6 vols. 1894.

Young, G. A history of Whitby. 2 vols. 1817.

William Tasker (1740-1800)

Ode to the Warlike Genius of Great Britain. 1778. 3rd edn, with other poems. 1779.

Ode to Curiosity. 2nd edn. 1779.

William Thompson

Poetical Works. To which is prefixed the life of the author. A complete edn of the Poets of Great Britain. Vol. x. 1793, etc.

Poems on several occasions, to which is added Gondibert and Birtha, a tragedy. Oxford, 1757.

A Hymn to May. [1740?]

Sickness, a poem. Two Books. 1745.

Gondibert and Birtha, a tragedy. [1751.]

The Happy Life. The Magi, a sacred eclogue. The Cabinet of Poetry. Vol. v. Ed. Pratt, S. J. 1808.

John Tweddell (1769-1799)

Prolusiones Juveniles. 1792.

Paston (G.). The Romance of John Tweddell. Little Memoirs of the 18th century. 1901.

Thomas Sedgwick Whalley (1746-1828)

Edwy and Edilda. 1779.

The Castle of Montval. A tragedy in five acts. 1781.

The Fatal Kiss. 1781.

Mont Blanc. 1788.

Journals and Correspondence. 1863.

Sir Charles Hanbury Williams

The works... of Sir C. H. W.... from the originals in the possession of his Grandson, the... Earl of Essex. With notes by H. Walpole, Earl of Orford. 3 vols. 1822.

An Ode to the Honourable H...y F...x, on the marriage of the Du...s of M...r [Duchess of Manchester] to H...s...y [Hussey] Esq. 1746.

An Ode to... S. Poyntz, Esq. 1746.

H...s...y [i.e. Hussey, afterwards Montagu, earl of Beaulieu] to Sir C....H....W...s: or the Rural Reflections of a Welch poet. 1746.

A collection of poems principally consisting of the most celebrated pieces of Sir C. H. W. 1763.

The Odes of Sir C. H. Williams. 1775.

Correspondance de Cathérine II et de Sir C. Hanbury Williams, 1756-7. (Russian and French.) Moscow, 1909.

Coxe, W. Historical Tour in Monmouthshire. 1801.

Hutchinson, John. Herefordshire Biographies. 1890.

Helen Maria Williams

Poems. 2 vols. 1786. 2nd edn. 1791.

Poems...and original sonnets by H. M. Williams. 1803.

Recueil de Poésies, extraites des ouvrages d' H. M. W.; traduit de l'Anglais par M. S. de Boufflers, et par M. Esménard. Paris, 1808.

Poems on various subjects. With introductory remarks on the present state of science and literature in France. 1823.

Edwin and Eltruda, a legendary tale. 1782.

An Ode on the Peace. 1783.

Peru, a poem. 1784.

Ode to Peace. [1786.]

Julia, a novel; interspersed with...poetical pieces. 2 vols. 1790.

Letters written in France in the summer of 1790, to a Friend in England. 1790. French edn. Paris, 1791.

A Farewell for two years to England. A poem. 1791.

Letters on the French Revolution, written in France, in the summer of 1790, to a friend in England; containing various anecdotes...and Memoirs of Mons. and Madame Du F.... Boston, 1791.

Letters containing a sketch of the Politics of France from the thirty-first of May 1793 till the twenty-eighth of July, 1794. 2 vols. 1795. French edn. Paris [1795?].

Paul and Virginia. [Translated by H. M. W.] 1795.

A tour in Switzerland; or a view of the present state of...those Cantons, with comparative sketches of the present state of Paris. 2 vols. 1798.

The History of Perourou; or the Bellows-Mender. [Translated from the French by H. M. W.] Dublin, 1801.

The political and confidential correspondence of Lewis the Sixteenth. Fr. and Eng. With observations on each letter. 1803.

A refutation of the libel on the memory of the late King of France. 1804.

Verses addressed by H. M. W. to her two nephews, on Saint Helen's day. Paris, 1809.

Personal narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent...translated into English by H. M. W. 1814.

Researches concerning the Institutions and Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America...translated into English by H. M. W. 1814.

On the late persecution of the Protestants in the South of France. 1816.

The Leper of the City of Aoste. Translated from the French by H. M. W. 1817.

The Charter. Lines addressed by H. M. W. to her Nephew, A. C. L. Coquerel, on his wedding-day. Paris, 1819.

Letters on the events which have passed in France, since the Restoration in 1815. 1819.

Alger, J. E. Englishmen in the French Revolution. 1889.

Coquerel, J. G. Introduction to Souvenirs de la Révolution. 1827.

William Woty

Campanologia: a Poem in praise of ringing. 1761.

Muses' Advice addressed to the Poets of the Age. 1761.

The Blossoms of Helicon. 1763.

The Poetical Calendar.... Written and selected by F. Fawkes and W. Woty. 1763.

Church Langton: a poem. Leicester [1767?].

Poetical Works. 2 vols. 1770.

The Female Advocate, a poem. 1770. 1771.

The Stage; a poetical epistle to a friend. Derby [1770?].

The Estate Orator: a Town Eclogue. 1774.

Particular Providence; a poetical essay. 1774.

Poems on Several Occasions. Derby, 1780.

Fugitive and Original Poems. Derby, 1786.

Poetical Amusements. Nottingham, 1789.

G. A. B. AND A. T. B.

CHAPTER IX

BLAKE

A full bibliography of Blake's works is in preparation by Mr Geoffrey Keynes.

I. MANUSCRIPTS AND ORIGINAL ISSUES

A. MSS.

Seven-page MS, without title or date, containing two prose fragments, the first and longer ptd by W. M. Rossetti as irregular verse in *The Monthly Review* (August 1903), under the title of *The Passions*. The remaining fragment has never been ptd as a whole.

[*An Island in the Moon*]. MS without title or date: *circa* 1784. Ptd by Ellis, E. J., *The Real Blake*, pp. 67-82.

Tiriel, MS by Mr Blake. n.d.; *circa* 1788.

The Four Zoas. *The Torments of Love and Jealousy in the Death and Judgment of Albion, the Ancient Man*, by William Blake, 1797. This is the revised form, made *circa* 1800. In the earlier version (1797), the title-page read: *Vala or The Death and Judgment of the Ancient Man. A Dream of Nine Nights by William Blake* 1797.

Rossetti MS, also known as the MS Book, or, less correctly, as *Ideas of Good and Evil*. Originally a sketch-book, it was used, from time to time during a period of some eighteen years, for the transcription or drafting of verse and prose. The principal literary contents, in chronological order, are (1) certain of the *Songs of Experience* and lyrics of the same period (1793-4); (2) longer and more definitely symbolic poems, and epigrams on art and artists (1800-3); (3) prose entries: *Advertisement to Blake's Canterbury Pilgrims from Chaucer*, containing anecdotes of Artists, printed as *Public Address by D. G. Rossetti*. For the year 1810: *Additions to Blake's Catalogue of Pictures* etc., which Rossetti has renamed *A Vision of the Last Judgment*; (4) *The Everlasting Gospel* (*circa* 1810).

A full bibliographical description of the Rossetti MS is given in *Blake's Poetical Works*, ed. John Sampson, Oxford, 1905.

Pickering MS, containing fair transcripts of ten poems, written *circa* 1800-4.
See Sampson, *op. cit.*

Important matter is found in Blake's *marginalia* to the following works:
Swedenborg. The Wisdom of Angels concerning Divine Love and Wisdom.

Edn of 1788. Ptd Ellis, E. J., *The Real Blake*, pp. 109-115.

Lavater's Aphorisms. Edn of 1788. Ellis, pp. 123-151.

Reynold's Discourses. 3 vols. 1798. Ellis, pp. 371-396.

Bacon's Essays. 1798. Gilchrist, vol. 1, pp. 267-9.

Wordsworth's Poems. Edn of 1815. Ellis, pp. 415-419.

Dr Thornton's pamphlet on the Lord's Prayer. 1827. Ellis, pp. 365-7.

*B. Works printed by Blake's method of relief-etching,
unless otherwise stated*

There is No Natural Religion.

No perfect copy of this work is known. W. Muir in his facsimile has rearranged the plates of the copy in the Print Room of the British Museum, and an imperfect set formerly in his own possession, combining them into a tractate in two parts. Sampson (*Blake's Poetical Works*, Oxford edition, 1913) follows the same arrangement in the main.

All Religions are One.

A series of plates in the possession of the Linnell family, with the title-plate supplied from the set formerly owned by W. M. Muir: see Sampson, *op. cit.* pp. xxvi-xxviii.

Songs of Innocence. 1789. The Author and Printer W. Blake.

The Book of Thel. The Author and Printer Willm Blake 1789.

The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. No date, but apparently written in 1790.

A Song of Liberty. No date, *circa* 1792.

Visions of the Daughters of Albion. The Eye sees more than the Heart knows. Printed by Willm Blake, 1793.

America, a Prophecy. Lambeth. Printed by William Blake in the year 1793.

Songs of Experience. 1794. The Author and Printer, W. Blake.

Songs of Innocence and of Experience Shewing the Two Contrary States of the Human Soul. No date, but *circa* 1794.

Europe, a Prophecy. Lambeth. Printed by Will. Blake, 1794.

The First Book of Urizen. Lambeth. Printed by Will. Blake, 1794.

The Book of Los. Lambeth. Printed by W. Blake, 1795. Etched text.

The Book of Ahania. Lambeth. Printed by W. Blake, 1795. Etched text.

The Song of Los. Lambeth. Printed by W. Blake, 1795.

Milton, a Poem in 2 Books. The Author and Printer W. Blake. 1804. To Justify the Ways of God to Men.

Jerusalem, the Emanation of the Giant Albion, 1804. Printed by W. Blake, 8th Molten St. In both Milton and Jerusalem, the date on the title-page, 1804, relates to the commencement, not to the completion of the labour of engraving.

For the Sexes. The Gates of Paradise. No date. [1805-10.] A number of verses accompanying a revised issue of the earlier plates For Children. The Gates of Paradise, 1793. The symbolism of the verses is similar in character to that of Jerusalem.

[Lapocoon Aphorisms], detached sentences written about a line-engraving of the Lapocoon. No date, *circa* 1818.

On Homer's Poetry. On Virgil. No date, but clearly the product of Blake's latest period.

The Ghost of Abel, A Revelation In the Visions of Jehovah Seen by William Blake. Colophon: 1822. W. Blake's Original Stereotype was 1788.

C. *Works printed in ordinary type*

Poetical Sketches. By W. B. London, Printed in the Year M DCC LXXX III.

The French Revolution. A Poem, in Seven Books. Book the First. London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St Paul's Church-yard. M DCC XCI.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures, Poetical and Historical Inventions. Painted by William Blake, in Water Colours, Being the Ancient Method of Fresco Painting Restored: and Drawings, For Public Inspection, and for Sale by Private Contract. London: Printed by D. N. Shury, 7, Berwick-Street, Soho, for J. Blake, 28, Broad-Street, Golden Square, 1809.

Works lost or not identified:

Outthoun. See Gilchrist's Life, vol. II, p. 262.

Barry: a Poem. Cf. Rossetti MS, p. 60.

Book of Moonlight. *Ibid.* p. 46.

II. MODERN EDITIONS

Songs of Innocence and Experience, with a preface containing a memoir of Blake by Wilkinson, J. J. Garth. 1839.

The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. Facsimile by Hotten. 1868.

The Poems of William Blake, comprising Songs of Innocence and of Experience, together with Poetical Sketches and some copyright poems not in any other edition. [Ed., with an introduction, by Shepherd, R. H.] 1874.

The Poetical Works of William Blake, Lyrical and Miscellaneous. Ed. with a Prefatory Memoir by Rossetti, William Michael. 1874.

Jerusalem, the Emanation of the Giant Albion. Pearson's facsimile. 1877.

There is No Natural Religion. Songs of Innocence. Songs of Experience. The Book of Thel. The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. Visions of the Daughters of Albion. America. Europe. The First Book of Urizen. The Song of Los. Milton. The Gates of Paradise. On Homer. On Virgil: reproduced in facsimile by Muir, W. 1884-90.

The Book of Ahania. Facsimile by Griggs, W. 1892.

The Works of William Blake: Poetic, Symbolic, and Critical. Ed. with Lithographs of the Illustrated Prophetic Books and a Memoir and Interpretation by Ellis, E. J. and Yeats, W. B. 3 vols. 1893.

Selections from the writings of William Blake with an introductory essay by Housman, Lawrence. 1893.

The Poems of William Blake. Ed. by Yeats, W. B. [The Muses' Library.] 1893.

The Prophetic Books of William Blake. Jerusalem. Ed. by MacLagan, E. B. D. and Russell, A. G. B. 1904.

The Poetical Works of William Blake. A new and verbatim text from the manuscript, engraved, and letterpress originals, with variorum readings and bibliographical notes and prefaces by Sampson, John. Oxford, 1905.

The Lyrical Poems of Blake: text by Sampson, J., introduction by Raleigh, Walter. Oxford, 1906.

The Poetical Works of William Blake, ed. and annotated by Ellis, Edwin J. 2 vols. 1906.

- The Prophetic Books of William Blake. Milton. Ed. by MacLagan, E. R. D. and Russell, A. G. B. 1907.
- Die Ethik der Fruchtbarkeit. Selections from Blake's works translated into German by Taube, Otto von. Jena, 1907.
- The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. Ed. Stokes, F. G. 1911.
- The Poetical Works of William Blake, including the unpublished French Revolution, together with the Minor Prophetic Books, and Selections from the Four Zoas, Milton, and Jerusalem. Ed. with an Introduction and Textual Notes by Sampson, John. Oxford, 1913.

III. BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM

- Beeching, H. C. Blake's Religious Lyrics. Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association. Vol. III. 1912.
- Benoit, F. Un Maître de l'Art. Blake le Visionnaire. Lille, 1906.
- Berger, P. William Blake; Mysticism et Poésie. Paris, 1907.
- Blake, W. Letters, together with a life by Tatham, Frederick, ed. by Russell, A. G. B. 1906.
- Brooke, Stopford A. Studies in Poetry. 1907.
- Ellis, E. J. The Real Blake, a Portrait Biography. 1907.
- Elton, Oliver. A Survey of English Literature, 1780-1830. 2 vols. 1912.
- Garnett, Richard. William Blake, Painter and Poet. Portfolio, No. 22, 1895.
- Gilchrist, Alexander. Life of Blake. 2 vols. 1863. 2nd edn. 1880. New edn. 1906.
- Hewlett, Henry E. Imperfect Genius: William Blake. Contemporary Review. Vol. XXVIII, pp. 756-784. 1876.
- Kassner, R. Die Mystik, die Künstler, und das Leben. Leipzig, 1900.
- Moore, T. Sturge. William Blake and his Aesthetic. Art and Life. 1910.
- Russell, A. G. B. The Engravings of William Blake. 1912.
- Saintsbury, George. A History of English Prosody. Vol. III. 1910.
- Selincourt, Basil de. William Blake. 1909.
- Story, A. T. William Blake. His Life, Character, and Genius. 1893.
- Swinburne, Algernon Charles. William Blake: a Critical Essay. 1868. New edn. 1906.
- Symons, Arthur. William Blake. 1907. The authoritative life of Blake, with criticism, and reprints, from the following contemporary sources, of entries concerning Blake: H. C. Robinson's Diary and Reminiscences; B. H. Malkin's A Father's Memoirs of his Child, 1806; Lady Charlotte Bury's Diary, 1820; as well as J. T. Smith's Biographical Sketch in the second volume of Nollekens and his Times, 1828; and Allan Cunningham's Life in his Lives of the most eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, 1830.
- Thomson, James [B. V.]. Essay on the Poems of William Blake, appended to his Shelley, a poem. 1885. Rptd in Biographical and Critical Studies. 1896.
- Wicksteed, J. H. Blake's Vision of the Book of Job. 1910.
- Yeats, W. B. Ideas of Good and Evil. 1903.

CHAPTER X

BURNS
LESSER SCOTTISH VERSE

I. ROBERT BURNS

A considerable number of the original MS copies of Burns's poems and letters are still preserved in public libraries and other institutions. The more important public collections are those in the British Museum (including many of the songs contributed to Johnson's Scots Musical Museum), the collection formerly in the Liverpool Athenaeum, which has been gifted by its purchaser to Scotland, the Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh Corporation Buildings, and Edinburgh Portrait Gallery, the Monument Museum at Kilmarnock, and the Burns Cottage at Alloway.

Bibliographies of the writings of Burns have been published as follows:

Angus, W. C. The printed works of Robert Burns. A bibliography in outline. Glasgow, 1899.

Ewing, J. C. Selected list of the works of Robert Burns, and of books upon his life and writings. 1899.

— Bibliography of Robert Burns [to 1796]. [Privately ptd.] 1909.

M'Kie, J. The bibliography of Robert Burns. Kilmarnock, 1881.

A. Works

Poems chiefly in the Scottish Dialect. Kilmarnock, 1786. Facsimile reprint. Kilmarnock, 1867 and 1909.

Poems chiefly in the Scottish Dialect. Edinburgh, 1787 (two impressions, in one of which the word 'skinking' occurs as 'stinking').

— The Third edition. London, 1787. Pirated edns, Belfast, 1787, and Dublin, 1789 and 1790; another edn with Scots poems selected from the works of Ferguson, R., New York, 1788; other edns, Edinburgh, 1790 [rare], and Belfast, 1790.

The Scots Musical Museum. By Johnson, James. 5 vols. Edinburgh, 1787-1803. Ed. Stenhouse, Laing and Sharpe in 6 vols. 1833 and 4 vols. 1853. [Contains nearly two hundred songs and adaptations, contributed by Burns.]

The Prayer of Holy Willie, a canting, hypocritical Kirk elder. With quotations from the Presbyterian Eloquence. Printed in the year MDCCCLXXXIX.

The Ayrshire Garland, an Excellent New Song: Tune the Vicar and Moses, 1789. [Broad Sheet. The Kirk's Alarm.]

A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice by Thomson, George. 6 vols. 1793-1811. [Contains over one hundred songs and adaptations contributed by Burns.]

Poems chiefly in the Scottish Dialect. The Second Edition considerably enlarged. 2 vols. Edinburgh, London, 1793. [Also an edn, 2 vols, Belfast, 1793 (the 2nd vol. consists of the additional poems published in the Edinburgh 1793 edn).]

Poems chiefly in the Scottish Dialect. 2 vols. A New Edition, considerably enlarged. Edinburgh, 1794. [A revised reprint of the 1793 edn.] Also Edinburgh, 1798, 1800.

Poetry Original and Select. Glasgow. [A series of chapbooks by Braugh and Reid, begun c. 1794, in which some of Burns's songs are included. The set republished in three vols. 1796, 1797, and 1798.]

The Election. Printed for private distribution by James Hill, Esqr W.S. 1795.

Buy hraw troggin. An Excellent New Song. Tune: Buy Broom Besoms. [1796.]

Tracts published by Stewart and Meikle. No. 2. Glasgow, 1796. [An Unco Mournfu' Tale]. Also four tracts published by them in 1799, containing *The Jollie Beggars*, *The Kirk's Alarm*, *Letter to a Taylor*, *An Unco Mournful Tale*, *Holy Willie's Prayer*, *The Epistle to John Goudie*, and *On Dining with Lord Daer*. The whole republished in 1800 as the *Poetical Miscellany*: in seven numbers. [Complete sets are rare.]

The Merry Muses. [Surreptitiously printed. Original and unaltered edn.]

Tracts printed by David William, Craig's Close, for George Gray, Bookseller, North Bridge St, Edinburgh, 1799. [Several contain pieces by Burns which had appeared in Edinburgh newspapers.]

The Works of Robert Burns with an Account of his Life, and a Criticism of his Writings. To which are prefixed some observations on the character and conditions of the Scottish Peasantry. [Currie's edn, but anonymous.] 4 vols. Liverpool, London and Edinburgh, 1800. 2nd corrected edn. 1801. Frequently rptd. With the addition of Cromeek's Reliques and contributions by Burns, Gilbert. 5 vols. 1814. With additional pieces. 4 vols. Montrose, 1816. With further particulars of the author's life, new notes, and many other additions by Burns, Gilbert. London, 1820.

Poems ascribed to Robert Burns, the Ayrshire Bard, not contained in any edn of his works hitherto published. Glasgow, 1801.

Stewart's edn of Burns's Poems, including a number of original pieces never before published. With his life and character. To which is added an appendix, consisting of his correspondence with Clarinda. Glasgow, 1802.

Letters addressed to Clarinda by Robert Burns. Glasgow, 1802.

Reliques of Robert Burns, consisting chiefly of original letters, poems, and critical observations on Scottish songs. Collected and published by Cromeek, R. H. 1808. 2nd edn. 1813. 3rd edn. 1817.

The Poetical Works of Robert Burns, with his life. Engravings on wood by Bewick from original designs by Thurston. 2 vols. Alnwick, 1808.

The Caledonian Musical Museum, a complete vocal library of the best Scotch songs ancient and modern. [Ed. by the eldest son of Burns, and including over two hundred of his father's songs.] 1809.

Poems, Letters, etc. ascribed to Robert Burns, the Ayrshire Bard, not contained in any edn of his works hitherto published. 1809.

Select Scottish Songs; Ancient and Modern, with critical observations and biographical notices by Robert Burns. Ed. Cromeek, R. H. 1810.

Poems by Robert Burns with an Account of his Life and Remarks on his Writings [by Walker, Josiah]. Containing also many poems and letters not in Currie's edn. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1811. Another edn, London, 1811.

The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns with a Life of the Author etc., by Paul, Hamilton. Air [*sic*], 1819.

The Poetical Works of Robert Burns. Including several pieces not inserted in Dr Currie's edn; exhibited under a new plan of arrangement. 2 vols. 1819.

- The Works of Robert Burns. Including his Letters to Clarinda, and the whole of his suppressed poems. 4 vols. 1821.
- The Poetical Works of Robert Burns with his Songs and Fragments. To which are prefixed a History of the Poems by Burns, G., and a Sketch of his life. 2 vols. 1822.
- The Songs and Ballads of Robert Burns. Including ten never before published [though privately printed in the *Merry Muses*]. 1823.
- The Poetical Works of Robert Burns. Including all the pieces originally published by Dr Currie, with various additions. New edn with enlarged glossary, etc. 1824.
- The Poetical Works of Robert Burns. 2 vols. 1830. 2nd edn by Nicholas, Sir Harris. 3 vols. 1839. [Contains several pieces not previously ptd, and, also, other versions from new manuscripts giving various readings.] 3rd edn in 3 vols. 1866.
- The Works of Robert Burns, with his Life by Cunningham, Allan. 8 vols. 1834. And later edns.
- The Works of Robert Burns. Ed. by the Ettrick Shepherd and Motherwell, W. 5 vols. Glasgow, 1834-6. [Originally issued in parts.]
- The Works of Robert Burns. Containing his Life by Lockhart, John [sic]. New York, 1835.
- The Works of Robert Burns with selected notes by Cunningham, A.; a biographical and critical introduction and a glossary by Wagner, Dr A. Leipzig, 1835.
- The Poetical Works of Robert Burns, to which are now added notes illustrating historical, personal and local allusions. [By Chambers, Robert.] Edinburgh, 1838.
- The Prose Works of Robert Burns with the notes of Currie and Cromek and many by the present editor [Chambers, Robert]. Edinburgh, 1839.
- The Correspondence between Burns and Clarinda. With a memoir of M^lLehose, Mrs. Arranged and ed. by her grandson M^lLehose, W. C. Edinburgh, 1843.
- The Complete Works of Robert Burns, containing his poems, letters, songs, his letters to Clarinda and the whole of his suppressed poems, etc. 1843.
- The Works of Robert Burns with Dr Currie's memoir of the poet and an essay on his genius and character by Professor Wilson. 2 vols. Glasgow, Edinburgh and London, 1843-4.
- The Poetical Works of Robert Burns. With the life and portrait of the author. Leipzig, 1845. [Tauchnitz Collection.]
- The Life and Works of Robert Burns. Ed. Chambers, Robert. 4 vols. Edinburgh, 1851-2. Library edn. 4 vols. 1856-7. Another edn. 4 vols. 1859-60. Revised by Wallace, William [with new information and many new letters]. 4 vols. 1896.
- Tam o' Shanter. A Characteristic Cantata by Howard Glover, poetry by Robert Burns. 1856.
- The Poetical Works of Robert Burns. With memoir, critical dissertation and explanatory notes by Gilfillan, George. The text ed. by Cowden Clarke, Charles. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1864.
- The Poetical Works of Robert Burns. Ed. from the best printed and manuscript authorities, with glossarial index and a biographical memoir by Smith, Alexander. 2 vols. 1865. Frequently rptd.
- Life and Works of Robert Burns, by Waddell, P. H. Glasgow, 1867.
- Poems and Songs of Robert Burns, with illustrations by Herdman, R., Paton, W. H., Bough, S., Steel, G., Hill, D. O., M^lWhirter, J. and other Scottish Artists. Edinburgh, 1868.

- Kilmarnock Popular Edition of the Poetical Works of Robert Burns.** With a memoir of the poet and new annotations by Douglas, W. S. 2 vols. Kilmarnock, 1871. Revised and extended. 2 vols. Kilmarnock, 1876. Re-edited and condensed. 1896.
- Robert Burns's Common Place Book.** Printed from the Original Manuscript in the possession of Adam, John. Greenock, Edinburgh [privately printed], 1872.
- Some account of the Glenriddell MSS of Burns's Poems.** With several poems never before published. Ed. Bright, Henry. Liverpool [privately printed], 1874.
- The Works of Robert Burns.** Ed. Douglas, W. Scott. 6 vols. [Vols. I-III Poetry, vols. IV-VI Prose]. Edinburgh, 1877-9. [Contains various letters and poems not previously printed.]
- The National Burns.** Ed. Gilfillan, George. Including the airs of all the Songs and an original life of Burns by the editor. Glasgow, 1879-80.
- The Poetical Works of Robert Burns.** Ed. with a memoir by Aitken, George A. 3 vols. 1893.
- The Poems of Robert Burns.** Ed. Lang, Andrew and Craigie, W. A. 1896, and later edns.
- The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns.** Ed. Robertson, James Logie. 3 vols. 1896. [The Oxford Burns.]
- The Poetry of Robert Burns.** Ed. Henley, W. E. and Henderson, T. F. 4 vols. Edinburgh, 1896-7. [Eclectic text, with some new poems, various readings, and notes on origins, metres, etc.] Cheaper edn. 4 vols. 1901.
- Correspondence of Robert Burns and Mrs Dunlop.** With elucidations by Wallace, William, 1898.
- The Court of Equity on the Libel Summons by Robert Burns.** [Privately printed.] 1899.
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II. CONTEMPORARY TREATISES AND COMMENTS ON THE THEATRE

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 Chetwood, W. R. *The British Theatre*. Containing the lives of the English dramatic poets; with an account of all their plays. Together with the lives of most of the principal actors. ... To which is prefixed a short view of the rise and progress of the English Stage. 1750.
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Transl. Sticotti, A. F. *David Garrick, ou les Acteurs anglais.* 1769.
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- Shirley, W. *Brief Remarks on the Original and present State of the Drama.* 1758.
- Simpson, D. *A Dissertation on Stage Entertainments.* Birmingham, 1788.
- Smollett, T. *Roderick Random.* Chap. LXII. *Peregrine Pickle.* Chaps. LXI, xciv. [After Garrick had accepted *Reprisal* (1757), the novelist relented, see his *History of England*, Book III, chap. xiv, § xxviii.]
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- Wilkinson, Tate. *The Wandering patentee; or, a history of the Yorkshire Theatres, from 1770 to the present time....* 1795.
- Anon. *A Letter to my Lord... on the present diversions of the Town.* With the true reason of the decay of our dramatic entertainments. 1725.
- Anon. *A Companion to the Theatre; or a review of our most celebrated dramatic pieces....* 1747.
- Anon. *The present State of the Stage in Great-Britain and Ireland. And the theatrical characters of the principal performers... impartially considered.* 1753.
- Anon. *The battle of the players.* In imitation of Dean Swift's *Battle of the books....* 1763.
- Anon. *The new Thespian Oracle; containing original Strictures on oratory and acting. And a select collection of all the modern prologues and epilogues....* 1791.
- Anon. *Observations on the effect of Theatrical Representations.* 1804.

III. THEATRICAL PAMPHLETS

Abridged list, showing how paper warfare, reminiscent of 16th century flytings, still raged round the public characters of the theatre, and supplying evidence of the grievances of authors against actors and managers. See Lowe, R. W., *A Bibliographical Account of English Theatrical Literature*, 1888.

The Case of Charles Macklin. 1743.

[Garrick and his fellow actors having seceded from Drury Lane owing to Fleetwood's extravagance, but failing to obtain a licence for

another theatre, returned to their manager, though he specifically excluded Macklin, and though the actors had promised to hold together. The above pamphlet came out on the day on which Garrick appeared in the theatre (6 Dec. 1743) and a riot ensued. Garrick replied with]

Answer to Mr Macklin's Case. 1743.

An Essay on Acting, in which will be considered the Mimical behaviour of a certain fashionable, faulty actor.... 1744.

[Criticism by Garrick on his own *Macbeth* to disarm censure.]

Prologue and Epilogue at the opening of Drury Lane Theatre. 1747.

[The beginning of Garrick's management. Prologue by Dr Johnson.]

A Letter to Mr G—k, relative to his treble capacity of manager, actor and author; with some remarks on Lethe. 1749.

[Unfavourable: answered by] *Lethe* rehearsed; or a critical discussion of the beauties and blemishes of that performance ... 1749.

An Examen of the historical Play of Edward the Black Prince.... With a critical Review of Mr Barry, in the character of Ribemont. 1750.

The Visitation; or, an interview between the Ghost of Shakespeare and D—v—d G—rr—k, Esq.... 1755. [Condemns dances and pantomimes.]

The Morality of Stage-plays seriously considered. 1757.

[Defence of Home's *Douglas*. Attributed to Ferguson, A.]

The Theatrical Examiner: An enquiry into the merits and demerits of the present English performers in general.... 1757

[Garrick, Barry, Mossop and others criticised.]

Case of Authors by Profession. 1758. [By Ralph, J.]

A Letter to Mr Garrick on the opening of the theatre, with observations on the conduct of managers to actors, authors and audiences.... 1758.

Observations on Mr Garrick's Acting. 1758.

[By Pittard, J. Praises Garrick's *King Lear*.]

An Estimate of the theatrical merits of the two Tragedians of Crow Street.... 1760.

[Comparison of Barry with Mossop to the former's advantage.]

An enquiry into the real merit of a certain popular performer. 1760.

[By Fitzpatrick, T., one of the bitterest enemies of Garrick, who retorted with]

The Fribbleriad. 1761.

The Rosciad. 1761.

[By Churchill, C. 9th edn, 1765, with names in full. Followed by]

The Apology. Addressed to the critical Reviewers. 1761.

[These two poems by Churchill occasioned about a dozen replies, *Anti-Rosciads*, *Churchiliads*, etc. As to Churchill, see, also, *ante*, vol. x, chap. xvii, bibliography.]

The Rosciad of Covent-Garden. 1762.

The Sick Monkey. n.d.

[By Garrick on himself to announce his return to England and to disarm criticism by anticipating it.]

An historical and succinct account of the late riot at the Theatres of Drury Lane and Covent Garden. 1763.

Theatrical disquisitions ... with a short appendix, relative to the more flagrant disturbance committed at Covent Garden Theatre. 1763.

[Both pamphlets refer to demonstrations led by Fitzpatrick against Garrick, who again attacked his enemy in] *Fitzgig, or the Modern Quixote*, ... 1763.

Miss O—y's Cabinet of Curiosities; or the Green-Room broke open. By Tristram Shandy. 1765.

[Concerns Ann Catley, actress and singer.]

Thespis: or, a critical examination into the merits of all the principal performers belonging to Covent Garden. 1766.

[By Kelly, H., who followed up the pamphlet with]

Thespis: or ... examination ... of ... Drury Lane. 1767.

[Both pamphlets provoked replies, especially]

The Kellyad. By Louis Stamma. 1767.

The Stage the high road to Hell: being an essay on the pernicious nature of theatrical entertainments... With strictures on the vicious and dissolute characters of the most eminent performers of both sexes. 1767.

Momus, a poem; or, a critical examination into the merits of the performers and comic pieces at the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket. n.d.

[Attributed to Carey, G. S. Attack on Foote and his company.]

The Theatrical Campaign for MDCCLXVI and MDCCLXVII.

A Narration of the rise and progress of the disputes subsisting between the patentees of Covent Garden Theatre. 1768.

A true state of the differences subsisting between the proprietors of Covent Garden Theatre... 1768.

[Harris attempted to compel Mrs Lessingham to act unsuitable parts.

Legal proceedings were taken and many other pamphlets produced on this dispute and H.'s management in general, especially]

The Managers managed; or, the characters of the four Kings of Brentford.

An ode upon dedicating a building and erecting a statue to Shakespeare, at Stratford upon Avon. 1769.

[By Garrick. Among the pamphlets occasioned by the same event are]

Anti-midas: a Jubilee preservative for unclassical, ignorant, false, and invidious criticism. 1769.

Garrick's Vagary: or, England run mad. With particulars of the Stratford Jubilee. 1769.

Trinculo's grip to the Jubilee. 1769.

The Theatre licentious and perverted... Inscribed to Samuel Foote. 1770.

[Foote's *Minor*, an attack on methodists, was produced in Dublin, 1760, without success; but, on being expanded from two to three acts and produced at the Haymarket (summer of same year), it met with a good reception. The farce occasioned about two dozen pamphlets of which the above is one.]

Love in the Suds; being the Lamentation of Roscius for the loss of his Nyky. A Town Eclogue. 1772.

[Insinuations by Kenrick on Garrick's moral character, when Bickerstaffe had to flee from London.]

A mob in the pit: or, lines addressed to the D—ch—ss of A—ll. 1773.

[Attack on the duchess of Argyll, born Gunning, for insisting on the expulsion of a man who occupied the theatre box which she relinquished to visit the pit.]

Resignation; or majesty in the dumps; an ode. Addressed to George Colman. 1774.

The Drama, a poem. 1775.

[Attributed to Pilon, F. and to Downman, H.]

The Contrast: or, New Mode of Management. Being a peep behind the curtain of the Salisbury Theatre in 1776.

[By Brownsmith, J. An attack on managers.]

A serious dissuasive from frequenting the play-house. 1776. [By Orton, J.]

Coalition: a farce... performed... under the joint inspection of the managers of both theatres. The Second edition. *Dramatis personae:* Brainsley senior, Brainsley junior, Harrass, Tickler, Lyric, a pragmatic poet, Servants, Bailiffs... 1779.

[In 1778, the patentees of Drury lane and Covent garden coalesced and members of the two companies were exchanged. In the above pamphlet, Brainsley is Sheridan and Harrass is Harris.]

An Essay on the preeminence of comic genius: with observations on the several characters Mrs Jordan has appeared in. 1786.

[Mrs Jordan (born Bland) a famous comedienne in romp and 'breeches' parts.]

A Review of the present Contest between the Managers of the Winter Theatres, the Little Theatre in the Hay-market and the Royalty Theatre in Well-Close Square. 1787.

[John Palmer, actor, opened the Royalty theatre in Well-Close square with licence from local magistrates but without authority of lord chamberlain. Theatre opened 20 June 1787, but performances were suspended; reopened 3 July, with irregular pieces. The episode occasioned many pamphlets, especially the above, which was favourable to Palmer and was answered (probably by Colman) with]

A very plain State of the Case, or the Royalty Theatre versus the Theatres Royal. 1787.

The Cap. A Satiric poem. Including most of the dramatic writers of the present day. By Peter Pindar, Esq.... Dedicated to Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq. n.d.

[Attack on contemporary dramatists. Cap of folly won by Boaden.]

A Vindication of a right in the public to a one shilling gallery either at the new Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, or somewhere else. 1792.

[Harris made 2s. the lowest admission but was forced to build a 1s. gallery.]

The Druriad: or, Strictures on the principal performers of Drury Lane Theatre. 1798.

The Histrionade: or, theatric tribunal; a poem descriptive of the principal performers at both houses. By Marmaduke Myrtle. 1802.

Observations on the effect of Theatrical Representations. 1804.

An Answer to some strictures on the profession of an Actor, published in the Morning Post, on the 19th August, by a gentleman under the signature of Crito. 1805.

[Crito, whose letter is quoted, complains amongst other things of actors intruding their private disputes on the public. See Lowe, R. W., ante.]

Bisset, J. Critical essays on the dramatic excellencies of the young Roscius, by gentlemen of distinguished literary talents and theatrical amateurs, opposed to the hypercriticisms of anonymous writers. n.d.

[A laudation of Betty, W. H. W. (1791-1874) the boy actor who took London by storm 1804-5 at both Drury lane and Covent garden. A virulent controversy arose for and against his merits of which the following are specimens.]

Harley, G. D. An authentic biographical sketch of the life, education and personal character of William Henry West Betty.... 1804.

Harral, T.... The Infant Roscius; or, an inquiry into the requisites of an actor. n.d.

Jackson, J. Strictures upon the merits of young Roscius. 1804.

[Eulogistic. Answered by]

Animadversions on Mr J. Jackson's Dramatic Strictures upon the merits of young Roscius. By the editor of The Glasgow Theatrical Register. 1804.

R., W. P. An easy cure for popular phrensy in theatrical concerns. Having reference to the indecent plaudits and exorbitant recompense bestowed ... on that puerile performer, called the young Roscius. . . . 1804.

Woodward, G. M. The Bettyana, a poem, descriptive of the progress of the young Roscius. 1805.

[About ten other pamphlets on the subject extant.]

IV. MEMOIRS, ANECDOTES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Records which contain valuable side lights on the development of the stage and illustrate public interest in actors and the popular belief in their immorality.

Bellamy, George Anne, Apology for the Life of, late of Covent Garden Theatre. Written by herself. 1785. [Materials arranged by Bicknell at commission of Bell the bookseller.]

Biographia dramatica, or, a Companion to the playhouse: Containing historical and critical memoirs and original anecdotes... 1782. [By Reed, I. Really 2nd edn of The Companion to the play-houses... 1764. By Baker, D. E. New edn brought down to 1811. By Jones, S. 1812.]

C—y's, Miss, Cabinet of Curiosities; or the Green-Room broke open. By Tristram Shandy. 1765. [Concerns Ann Catley.]

Catley, Miss Ann, The Life and memoirs of the late. n.d.

Cibber, T. The Lives and Characters of the most eminent actors and actresses of Great Britain and Ireland. 1753.

Colman the Younger. Random Records. 1830.

Cooke, G. F. Memoirs of the life of. By Dunlap, W. 2nd edn. 2 vols. 1815.

Dibdin, Mr., The professional Life of, written by himself. Together with the words of six hundred songs selected from his works... 1803.

Edwin's pills to purge melancholy: containing all the songs sung by Mr Edwin of Covent Garden Theatre since his first appearance in London... 1788.

Edwin's last legacy. Containing a Collection of his Oddities, Songs and various efforts of humour. n.d.

Foote, Samuel, Memoirs of the life and writings of. To which are added the bon-mots, repartees and good things said by that great wit and ex-centrical genius. n.d.

Garrick, David. See, also, sects. I, II and III, ante.

Lichtenberg, G. C. Ausgewählte Schriften. His account of Garrick written in 1775.

Memoirs of the Life of Garrick. 1780.

Davies, T. Life of Garrick. New edn. 1780.

Murphy, A. Life of Garrick. 2 vols. 1801. French trans. 1822.

Private Correspondence of David Garrick. Ed. Boaden, J. 1831-2.

Fitzgerald, P. The Life of David Garrick. 1868. Revised edn. 1899.

Hitchman, F. David Garrick. Eighteenth Century Studies. 1881.

Lamb, C. The Tragedies of Shakespeare, considered with reference to their fitness for stage representation. In The Art of the Stage as set forth in the dramatic essays of Charles Lamb. Ed. Fitzgerald, P. 1885.

Knight, J. David Garrick. 1894.

Gaehde, C. David Garrick als Shakespeare-Darsteller. Berlin, 1904.

Martin, Sir T. Monographs. 1906. [Collection of articles from Quarterly Review.]

Parsons, Mrs C. Garrick and his Circle. 1906.

Baker, G. P. Unpublished Correspondence of David Garrick. 1907.

Hedgcock, F. A. David Garrick et ses Amis Français. Paris, 1911.

- Green Rooms, The Secret history of the:** containing authentic and entertaining memoirs of the actors and actresses in the Three Theatres Royal. Vol. I. Drury Lane. 1790. Vol. II. Covent Garden and Haymarket. 3rd edn. 1793.
- Henderson, John,** Letters and poems by the late. With anecdotes of his life. By Ireland, J. 1786.
- Holcroft, Thomas,** Memoirs of the late; written by himself and continued to the time of his death, from his diary, notes and other papers, by Hazlitt, W. 3 vols. 1816. Hazlitt's Works. Edd. Waller, A. R. and Glover, A. Vol. II. 1902.
- Inchbald, Mrs,** Memoirs of, by Boaden, J. 1833.
- Jordan, Mrs,** Life of, by Boaden, J. 2 vols. 1831.
- Kelly, Michael,** Reminiscences. 2 vols. 1826.
- Kemble, J. P.,** Memoirs of the life of. 2 vols. 1825.
- Macklin, Charles,** Memoirs of the life of, principally compiled from his own papers and memorandums; which contain his criticisms on and characters and anecdotes of Betterton, Booth, Wilks, Cibber, Garrick, Barry, Mossop, Sheridan, Foote, Quin... together with his valuable observations on the drama, on the science of acting and on various other subjects... By Kirkman, J. 1799.
- Munden, Joseph Shepherd,** Memoirs of. By his son. 1844.
- O'Keeffe, J.** Recollections. 2 vols. 1826.
- Palmer, Mr John,** A Sketch of the theatrical life of the late; containing an accurate and impartial summary of the incidents of his public life... 1798.
[Palmer (1742-98) the creator of Joseph Surface.]
- Siddons, Mrs,** Memoirs of. Interspersed with anecdotes of authors and actors. By Boaden, J. 1827.
- Tobin, Mr John,** Memoirs of, author of *The Honeymoon*. With a selection from his unpublished writings. 1820.
- Wilkinson, Tate.** Memoirs of his own life. 1790.
Anon. Original anecdotes respecting the stage and the actors of the Old School... 1805.

V. WRITERS FOR THE STAGE

A. Sheridan

1. Collected editions

Moore, T., Leipzig, 1833; Hunt, Leigh, 1840; S., G. G. (i.e. Sigmond), 1848 (rptd 1902); Browne, J. P., 1873; Stainforth, F., 1874; Dircks, R., *Camelot Classics*, 1891; Matthews, B., *The Rivals and The School for Scandal*, 1885; Pollard, A. W., 1900; Rae, W. Fraser, 1902 (includes important textual corrections and his mother's unpublished *A Journey to Bath*); Gosse, E., *Favourite Classics*, 1905; Knight, J., *World's Classics*, 1906; Nettleton, G. H., *Athenaeum Press Series*, 1906.
Transl. Dujal, G. Paris, 1891.

2. Separate Plays

The Rivals, a Comedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden. 1775.

Innumerable rpts and annotated edns e.g. Short, J., Truchy's edn... with a key to the proper names of the *dramatis personae*... French notes, Paris, 1861; Low, W. H., *Tutorial Series*, 1891; Aitken, G. A., *Temple Dramatists*, 1897; Adams, J. Q., *The Riverside Literature Series*, 1910; Balston, T., *Clarendon Press*, 1913.

See, also, Adams, J. Q., *The Nation*, vol. xc, no. 2337 on the Original Performances of *The Rivals*, and *Modern Language Notes*, vol. xxv, pp. 171-3 on the text of *The Rivals*; Brereton, A., *Haymarket Theatre, A short history of... The Rivals*, 1900.

Transls. Engelbrecht, J. A., *Die Nebenbuhler in Schroeder*, F. L.: *Hamburgisches Theater*, Bd. 1, 1776; Béverlei, *tragédie bourgeoise*, 1818; Bertin, T. P., *Délie ou les deux cousines*, par Brinsley Sheridan ... *Traduction libre de l'anglais (in form of novel)*, 1817.

St Patrick's Day, or the Scheming Lieutenant; a comic piece in one act. Cumberland's *British Theatre*. Vol. xxviii. 1829. [Produced 1775.] Annotated edn by G(eorge) D(aniel). *Lacy's Acting Edn of Plays*. Vol. cxiv. 1879.

The Duenna; or the *Double Elopement*. A Comic Opera; as it is acted at the Theatre, Smoke-alley, Dublin. 1785, 1794. [Produced 1775.]

Transl. Châteauneuf, A. H. *La Duègne et le Juif Portugais*. 1827. *A Trip to Scarborough*. A Comedy altered from Vanbrugh's *Relapse*. 1781, 1786. [Produced 1777.]

The School for Scandal, a Comedy. n.d. [1778?]. [Produced 1777.]

Rpts. 1781, 1782, 1783. A Volume of Plays... Containing *The School for Scandal*. Theatre Royal, Smoke-Alley, Dublin. 1785, etc.

Annotated edns. Lake, J. W., *The School for Scandal... with a biographical sketch, critical notice, vocabulary of difficult words, a key to the proper names of the dramatic personæ and of those mentioned in the course of the play*, 1853; Westley, R. H., *The School for Scandal*, No. 5, *Masterpieces of English Literature*, 1861; Aitken, G. A., *The School for Scandal*, *Temple Dramatists*, 1897.

French Translations and Adaptations. 1788; Delille, Brunel, 1789; Famin, P. N., 1807; Villemain, A. F., *Chefs-d'œuvre des Théâtres étrangers*, tom. 1, 1822; *L'École du Scandale... imitée... par Crosnier*, Jouslin de Lasalle et Saint M[aurice], 1824; Châteauneuf, A. H., 1824; Pichot, M. A., 1852; Fougas, Tapon, 1863.

German Translations. Leonhardi, 1782; Meissner, C., 1863; No. 30, *Classische Theater-Bibliothek aller Nationen*, 1868; Klapperich, J., *Zur Sprache des Lustspieldichters*, R. B. Sheridan, 1892.

Italian Translations. *Anno Teatrale*. *Anno Secondo*, tom. iii, 1796; Leoni, M., 1818.

The Critic, or, *A Tragedy Rehearsed*. A dramatic piece in three Acts, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. 1781. [Produced 1779.]

Rpts. Aitken, G. A. *Temple Dramatists*. 1897. Carr, P. *Mermiad Repertory Theatre Acting Edn*. 1905.

The Critick Anticipated; or, the *Humours of the Green Room*. A farce. 1779. [An imitation which anticipated Sheridan's burlesque.]

The Critic: or, *A Tragedy Rehearsed*: a new dramatic piece in three acts; as it is performed by His Majesty's Servants, with the greatest applause. By the author of the *Duenna*. 1780. [Really a political squib on the Government.]

Pizarro; a tragedy in five acts... taken from the German drama of Kotzebue and adapted to the English Stage. 1799.

Rpts. Kean, C. *Sheridan's Play of Pizarro... arranged for representation... with notes*. 1856. Dicks, J. *Dicks' Standard Plays*. No. xv. 1883.

Sheridan's Address to the People, i.e. *The Speech of Rolla in Pizarro*, rptd on the occasion of the threatened invasion. 1803.

Bahlsen, L. *Kotzebue und Sheridan*. 1889.

The Forty Thieves; a romantic drama in two acts by Sheridan, R. B. and Colman the younger. *Duncombe's edn of the British Theatre*. Vol. 12. 1825.

3. Poems

Olio's Protest, or the Picture Varnished. 1771, 1819.
The General Fast; a lyric ode. 1775.
Ode to Scandal. 1819.

4. Biography and Criticism

All the best edns and commentaries quoted above have also appreciations.
 Besser, R. R. B. Sheridan. *Die Neueren Sprachen.* Vol. xix. Marburg, 1911-12.
 Earle, W. *Sheridan's Life and Times, by an Octogenarian.* 1859.
 Fitzgerald, P. *Lives of the Sheridans.* 1887.
 Moore, T. *Life of Sheridan.* 1825.
 Oliphant, Mrs. Sheridan. (*English Men of Letters Series.*) 1883.
 Pearson, C. H. Sheridan. *Reviews and Critical Essays.* 1896.
 Rae, W. Fraser. *Sheridan: a Biography.* 1896.
 Sanders, L. C. *A life of Richard Brinsley Sheridan.* (*Great Writers Series.*) 1890. [Contains a bibliography of Sheridan's writings by Anderson, J. P.]
 Sichel, W. *Sheridan from new and original material: including a manuscript diary by Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire.* 2 vols. 1909. [Contains a full bibliography of Sheridan's works.]
 Smyth, W. *A Memoir of Mr Sheridan.* 1840.
 Watkins, J. *Life of Sheridan.* 1816.

B. *Minor Writers for the Stage*

Abridged list. For comprehensive and fairly accurate record of theatrical activity from 1660 to 1830 see Genest, J., *History of the English Stage*, 1832. Most of the later eighteenth century plays have never been rptd. The best are preserved by Inchbald, Mrs E., in *The British Theatre*, 1806-9 (25 vols.); *The Modern Theatre*, 1809 (10 vols.); *A Collection of Farces*, 1809 (7 vols.). For early and mid eighteenth century plays see Bell's *British Theatre*, 1797 (began to appear 4 May 1796).

Baillie, Joanna. *A Series of Plays; in which it is attempted to delineate the strange passions of the mind, each passion being the subject of a tragedy and a comedy*, 1798 (includes *De Montfort*, which Kemble produced in 1800). *Plays on the Passions*, vol. II, 1802 (sequel to the above). *Miscellaneous Plays*, 1804. (On more conventional lines.) *Family Legend*, 1810. *Plays on the Passions*, vol. III, 1812. *Miscellaneous Plays*. 3 vols. 1836. See *Dramatic and Poetical Works of Joanna Baillie*; *Annual Register*, 1851. See, also, bibliography to chap. x, *ante*.

Bentley, E. (youngest son of the scholar). *The Wishes*, acted Drury Lane, 1761. *Philodamus* (tragedy), 1767. *The Prophet* (comedy), acted posthumously, 1788.

Bickerstaff, Isaac. See bibliography to vol. x, chap. iv, *ante*.

Brand, Miss Hannah (d. 1821). *Huniades* (tragedy). Acted, 1792. *Dramatic and Poetical Works*, 1798. *Dramatic and Poetical Works*. 2 vols. 1808.

Burgoyne, General J. *The Maid of the Oaks*, 1774. Acted, Drury Lane, 1775. *Lord of the Manor* (comic opera), 1780. *The Heiress*, 1786.

Fonblanque, E. B. de. *Political and military episodes from the life and correspondence of General Burgoyne.* 1876.

Celesia, Dorothea (born Mallet). See bibliography to vol. x, chap. iv, sect. II, *ante*.

Cobb, J. *The Contract, or Female Captain*, 1779. *The Humourist*, 1785. *Strangers at Home* (opera), 1785. *The Haunted Tower*, 1789. Many other productions, mostly operatic.

- Colman, G., the elder.** See bibliography to vol. x, chap. iv, *ante*.
- Colman, G., the younger.** Two to One, 1784. Turk and no Turk, 1785. Inkle and Yarico (1787). The Battle of Hexham, acted 1789, ptd 1808. The Surrender of Calais, acted 1791, ptd 1808. The Mountaineers, 1793. The Iron Chest, 1796. The Heir at Law, acted 1797, ptd 1808. John Bull, acted 1803, ptd 1805.
- Cowley, Hannah.** See bibliography to chap. viii, *ante*.
- Craddock, J.** See bibliography to vol. x, chap. iv, sect. II, *ante*.
- Cumberland, R.** The Brothers (comedy), 1769. The West Indian (comedy), 1771. Timon of Athens (tragedy, adapted from Shakespeare), 1771. The Fashionable Lover (comedy), 1772. The Cholerick Man (comedy), 1774. Arundel (novel), 1789. The Jew (comedy), 1794. Henry (novel), 1795. See Mudford, W., Critical Examination of the writings of R. Cumberland, 1812. Also, Paston, G., Richard Cumberland, Little Memoirs of the Eighteenth Century, 1901.
- Delap, J.** Hecuba, acted 1761, ptd 1762. The Royal Suppliants, acted and ptd 1781. The Captains, 1786. Dramatic Poems: Gunilda, Usurper, Matilda, and Abdalla, 1803.
- Dibdin, C.** Actor and dramatist. Best known for his sea songs. His innumerable farces and operettas almost worthless.
- Foote, S.** See bibliography to vol. x, chap. iv, *ante*.
- Garriek, David.** See bibliography to vol. x, chap. iv, *ante*.
- Goldsmith, Oliver.** See bibliography to vol. x, chap. ix, *ante*.
- Griffith, Elizabeth.** A Double Mistake, 1765. The School for Rakes, 1769. A Wife in the Right, 1772.
- Hawkesworth, John (1715?-1773).** Edgar and Emmeline, 1761.
- Hayley, W. (1745-1820).** Plays of three Acts and in Verse, written for a Private Theatre. 1784. See, also, bibliography to chap. viii, *ante*.
- Hoare, P.,** Such Things Were (Trag.), 1788. No Song, No Supper (Farce), 1790. Many musical farces and operas.
- Holcroft, T.** The Crisis, acted 1778. Duplicity, 1781. The Road to Ruin, 1792. The Deserted Daughter, 1795. See, also, bibliography to chap. xiii, *post*.
- Home, J.** Agis (Trag.) completed 1747 but not acted. Douglas acted in Edinburgh 1756, London 1757. (Many pamphlets on subject of a minister writing plays). Agis, acted 1758. Siege of Aquileia, acted 1760. The Tragedies, published 1760. Alfred, acted 1778. Collected Works, by Mackenzie, H., 1822.
- Hooile, John.** See bibliography to vol. x, chap. iv, *ante*.
- Hull, Thomas (1728-1808).** Henry the Second, or the Fall of Rosamond (tragedy), 1774. The History of Sir William Harrington (novel), 4 vols., 1771.
- Inchbald, Mrs E.** The Mogul Tale, acted 1784, ptd 1824. I'll tell you What, acted 1785, ptd 1786. Such Things Are, acted 1787, ptd 1788. Everyone has his Fault, 1793. Wives as they Were, 1797. To Marry or not to Marry, 1805. See, also, bibliography to chap. xiii, *post*.
- Ireland, W. H. (1777-1835).** Literary forger. Composed Vortigern and Rowena, also Henry II, alleging both to be by Shakespeare. Sheridan produced Vortigern and Rowena at Drury lane, 1795. Many pamphlets occasioned by the forgeries.
- Jephson, Robert.** Braganza, 1775. The Count of Narbonne, 1781. Julia, or the Italian Lover, 1787. Roman Portraits, 1794. The Conspiracy, 1796.
- Kelly, Hugh.** See bibliography to vol. x, chap. iv, *ante*.
- Kemble, J. P.** Belisarius, acted 1778. The Farm House, 1789. Love in Many Masks, 1790. For a full list of Kemble's adaptations, chiefly from Shakespeare, see Biographia Dramatica, ed. Jones, Stephen, vol. I, pt II, 1812.

- Kenrick, W. (1725?-1779). *The Duellist*, 1773. *See, also*, bibliography to chap. xiv, sect. v, *post*.
- Lewis, M. G. *The Castle Spectre*, 1797. *The East Indian*, 1799. *Adelmorn, or, The Outlaw*, 1801. *Alfonso, King of Castile*, 1802. *Adelgitha*, 1807. *Venoni, or The Novice of St Mark's*, 1808. (Partly transl. from *Les Victimes Ocloistrées* and anticipates a situation in *Monte Cristo*.) *Timour the Tartar*, 1811. *See, also*, bibliography to chap. xiii, *post*.
- Macnally, L. *Retaliation*, 1782. *Coalition*, 1783. *Fashionable Levities*, 1785.
- Mason, W. *Elfrida*, 1752 (dramatic poem). *Caractacus*, 1759. *Sappho*, 1797 (lyrical drama). *See, also*, bibliography to vol. x, chap. xvii.
- More, Hannah. *The Search after Happiness*, 1762 (pastoral drama for children). *The Inflexible Captive*, 1774. Percy, produced by Garrick, 1777, published 1785. *The Fatal Falsehood* produced 1779. *Sacred Dramas* published 1782. *Collected Works*, 1834. *See* Meakin, A. M. B., *Hannah More*, a biographical study, 1911. *See, also*, bibliography to chap. xv, *post*.
- Morton, T. *Columbus*, 1792. *The Way to get Married*, 1796. *A Cure for the Heartache*, 1797. *Speed the Plough*, 1798. *The School for Reform*, 1805.
- O'Brien, W. Actor and dramatist. *Cross Purposes*, 1772. *The Duel*, 1773. Both adaptations from French.
- O'Keeffe, J. Actor and dramatist. Composed about fifty musical pieces, of which the songs are the best part. *Wild Oats*, 1791.
- Reynolds, F. *Werter*, 1785 (tragedy). *Eloisa*, 1786 (tragedy). *The Dramatist*, 1789 (comedy). Produced about a hundred other comedies and tragedies.
- Tobin, John (1770-1804). *The Honey Moon*, 1805. *The Curfew*, 1807. *The School for Authors*, 1808.
- Vaughan, T. *Love's Metamorphoses*, acted 1776, ptd as *Love's Vagaries*, 1791. *The Hotel*, 1776.

CHAPTER XIII

THE GROWTH OF THE LATER NOVEL

I. GENERAL WORKS

- Beers, H. A. *History of English Romanticism in the 18th century*. 1899.
— *History of English Romanticism in the 19th century*. 1902.
- Conant, Martha P. *The Oriental tale in England in the 18th century*. New York, 1908. [With good bibliography of the subject.]
- D'Arblay, Frances Burney, Madame. *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay (1778-1840)*. 6 vols. Ed. Dobson, A. 1905.
- Dibelius, W. *Englische Romankunst. Die Technik des englischen Romans im XVIIIten und zu Anfang des XIXten Jahrh.* Vol. I. (Palaestra. Vol. xcii.) Berlin, 1910.
- Ker, W. P. *Romance*. English Assoc. pamphlet. 1909. Rptd 1913.
- L'Estrange, A. G. K. *The Life of M. R. Mitford*. 1870.
— *The Friendships of M. R. Mitford as recorded in letters from her literary correspondents*. 2 vols. 1882.
- Lohée, F. *Short history of comparative literature*. Trans. Power, M. D. 1906.

- Mitford, Mary R. *Recollections of a Literary Life*. 3 vols. 1882.
 Nichols, John. *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century and Illustrations of the literary history of the Eighteenth Century*. 17 vols. 1812-58.
 * Raleigh, Sir W. *The English novel*. 5th edn. 1904.
 Saintsbury, G. *The English Novel*. 1913.
 Scott, Sir Walter. *Familiar Letters of Sir W. S.* 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1894.
 — *Life*. By Lockhart, J. G. 10 vols. Edinburgh, 1903.
 Seward, Anna. *Letters of A. S. written between the years 1784 and 1807*. Ed. Constable, A. 6 vols. Edinburgh, 1811.
 — *A Swan and her friends*. Ed. Lucas, E. V. 1907.

The indexes of the following periodical publications should also be consulted for the periods coinciding with the dates of publication of the various authors' works: *Blackwood's Magazine*; *Edinburgh Review*; *English Review*; *Gentleman's Magazine*; and *Quarterly Review*.

II. PARTICULAR AUTHORS

Thomas Amory

See bibliography to vol. x, chap. III, ante.

Robert Bage

See, also, bibliography to vol. x, chap. III, ante.

Novels. [With a prefatory notice of the author by Scott, Sir Walter.] 1824. (*Ballantyne's Novelists' Library*.)

Eaton Stannard Barrett

The Heroine, or Adventures of Cherubina. 3 vols. 1813. Rptd, with an introduction by Raleigh, Sir W. 1909.

Gentleman's Magazine. Vol. xc, pt 1, p. 377. April 1820.

William Beckford

See, also, bibliography to vol. x, chap. III, ante.

Le Vathek de Beckford. Réimprimé sur l'édition française originale avec préface par Mallarmé, Stéphane. Paris, 1876. [With a bibliography.]

The Episodes of Vathek. Translated by Marzials, Sir F. T. Introd. by Melville, L. 1912. [Includes the French text of the Episodes.]

Poole, S. Lane. *The Author of Vathek*. *Quarterly Review*, October 1910.

Redding, Cyrus. *Memoirs of William Beckford of Fonthill*. 2 vols. 1859.

Mary Brunton (1778-1818)

Self Control. 1810.

Discipline. 1814.

Francis Coventry (d. 1759?)

The History of Pompey the Little, or the Life and Adventures of a Lap-Dog. 1751.

Richard Cumberland (1732-1811)

See bibliography to chap. XII, ante.

Maria Edgeworth

A. Manuscripts

B. M. Add. MSS 18204, 33964, 37185, 37186 contain letters, and 28524-5 the MS of *Helen*.

B. Collected Works

Tales and Miscellaneous Pieces. 14 vols. 1825.

Tales and Novels. 18 vols. 1832-3.

Novels. 12 vols. 1893.

C. Separate Works

Letters for Literary Ladies. 1795.

Parents' Assistant, or Stories for Children (first part). 1796. 6 vols. 1800.

[Little Plays afterwards added as a seventh vol.]

Practical Education. 1798.

Castle Rackrent: an Hibernian Tale. 1800.

Early Lessons. 1801.

Belinda. 1801.

Moral Tales. 1801.

Irish Bulls. 1802.

Popular Tales. 1804.

Modern Griselda. 1804.

Leonora. 2 vols. 1806.

Tales of Fashionable Life. (First series: Eunice, The Dun, Manoeuvring, Almeria.) 1809. (Second series: Vivian, The Absentee, Madame de Fleury, Emilie de Coulanges.) 1812.

Patronage. 4 vols. 1814.

Continuation of Early Lessons. 2 vols. 1815.

Harrington, a tale; and Ormond, a tale. 1817.

Comic Dramas. 1817.

Memoirs of R. L. Edgeworth (vol. II by Maria). 1820.

Frank. A sequel to Frank, in Early Lessons. 1822.

Harry and Lucy, concluded; being the last part of Early Lessons. 4 vols. 1825.

Garry Owen, or the Snow-Woman: and Poor Bob, the Chimney-Sweeper. 1832.

Helen. A tale. 3 vols. 1834.

Orlandino. 1834.

The Good Aunt. A tale. Paris, 1834.

D. Biography and Criticism

Edgeworth, F. A. A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth, with a selection from her letters. 3 vols. 1867. [Unpublished, possibly only B. M. copy extant.]

Hare, A. J. C. The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth. 1894.

Hill, Constance. Maria Edgeworth and her circle in the days of Buonaparte and Bourbon. 1909.

Zimmern, Helen. Maria Edgeworth. (Eminent Women Series.) * 1883.

William Godwin

See bibliography to chap. II, ante.

• • *Elizabeth Hamilton* (1758-1816)

The Hindoo Rajah. 1796.

Memoirs of Modern Philosophers. 1800.

The Cottagers of Glenburnie. 1808.

Benger, Miss. Memoirs of Eliz. Hamilton. 1815.

Samuel Henley

See bibliography to vol. x, chap. III, ante, s.v. William Beckford.

Thomas Holcroft

- Alwyn; or, the Gentleman Comedian. 1780.
 • Human Happiness; or the Sceptic. A poem in six cantos. '1783.
 The Family Picture; or domestic dialogues on amiable... subjects. 1783.
 Tales of the Castle.... Translated... by T. Holcroft. 1785.
 The Life of Baron Frederic Trenck;... Translated from the German, by
 T. Holcroft. 1792.
 Anna St. Ives; a novel. 7 vols. 1792.
 The Adventures of Hugh Trevor, etc. 6 vols. 1794-7.
 Travels from Hamburg, through Westphalia, Holland and the Netherlands
 to Paris. 2 vols. 1804.
 Memoirs of Bryan Perdue: a novel. 3 vols. 1805.
 Tales in verse; critical, satirical and humorous. 2 vols. 1806.
 Memoirs of the late T. Holcroft. Ed. Hazlitt, W. 3 vols. 1816. Hazlitt's
 Works. Edd. Waller, A. R. and Glover, A. Vol. II. 1902.
 Mitford, Mary R. Recollections of a Literary Life. 3 vols. 1852.
 For Holcroft's dramatic productions, see bibliography to chap. XII, ante.

Thomas Hope

- Anastasius, or Memoirs of a Greek written at the close of the Eighteenth
 Century. 1819. 2 vols. 1836.
 . See D. of N. B. for Hope's works on Costume and Art.
 Blackwood's Magazine. Vol. x, p. 200; vol. XI, p. 312. 1821-2.
 Quarterly Review. Vol. xxiv, pp. 511 ff. January 1821.
 Smith, Sydney. Edinburgh Review. Vol. xxxv, pp. 92 ff. 1821.

Elizabeth Inchbald

- A Simple Story. 4 vols. 1791.
 Nature and Art. 2 vols. 1796.
 For dramatic works, see bibliography to chap. XII, ante.
 Boaden, J. Memoirs of Mrs. Inchbald, including her familiar correspondence
 with the most distinguished persons of her time. 2 vols. 1833.

Charles Johnstone (1719?-1800?)

- Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea. 4 vols. 1760-5. Rptd with introd.
 by Baker, E. A. 1908.
 The History of Arbases, Prince of Betlis. 4 vols. 1774.

Harriet Lee

- Clara Lennox. 2 vols. 1797.
 The Canterbury Tales. 1797-8.
 Bristol Journal, 9 August 1851.

Sophia Lee

- The Recess, or a Tale of other Times. 1785. [Also wrote the introduction
 to vol. I of Harriet Lee's Canterbury Tales, and in later vols. the two
 tales: The Young Lady's Tale, or, the Two Emilys; and The Clergyman's
 Tale.]
 Boaden, J. • Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons. 2 vols. 1827.

Charlotte Lennox (1720-1804)

- The Life of Harriot Stuart. 1751.
 The Female Quixote. 2 vols. 1752.
 The Sister. A Comedy. 1769.
 Euphemia. 4 vols. 1790.

Matthew Gregory Lewis

- Ambrosio, or, the Monk. 1795. Entitled in 2nd edn *The Monk*; a romance.
 [With several passages expunged.] 1796. Ed. Baker, E. A. 1907.
 Alonzo the Brave and Fair Imogene. A ballad. [From *The Monk*.] [1800?]
 Tales of Terror, with an introductory dialogue. [In verse.] 1801.
 Tales of Wonder. [In verse.] Written and collected by M. G. Lewis. 2 vols.
 1801.
 The Bravo of Venice, translated from the German. 1805.
 Feudal Tyrants; or, the Counts of Carlsheim and Sargans. A romance.
 Taken from the German. 4 vols. 1806.
 Romantic Tales. 4 vols. 1808.
 Journal of a West Indian Proprietor, kept during a residence in...
 Jamaica. 1834.

- Baron-Wilson, Margaret. The Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis.
 With many pieces in prose and verse never before published. 2 vols.
 1839.

Charles Robert Maturin

- Fatal Revenge, or, The Family of Montorio. 1807.
 The Wild Irish Boy. 1808.
 The Milesian Chief. 1812.
 Bertram; or the Castle of St. Aldobrand. A tragedy in five acts. 1816.
 Manuel, a tragedy. 1817.
 Women, or Pour et Contre. A tale. 1818.
 Fredolfo; a tragedy, in five acts. 1819.
 Melmoth the Wanderer; a tale. 1820. New edn from the original text,
 with a memoir and bibliography of Maturin's works. 3 vols. 1892.
 The Albigeneses, a romance. 1824.

John Moore (1729-1802)

- Zeluco. 1786.
 Edward. 1796.
 Mordaunt. 1800.

Amelia Opie (1769-1853)

- Father and Daughter. 1801.
 Poems. 1802.
 Adeline Mowbray, or the Mother and Daughter. 1804.
 Simple Tales. 1806.
 Lays for the Dead. 1833.

Thomas Love Peacock

A. Collected Editions

- Works, including his novels, poems, fugitive pieces, criticisms, etc., with a
 preface by the Rt. Hon. Lord Houghton, a biographical notice by his
 granddaughter Edith Nicolls... Ed. Cole, H. 3 vols. 1873.
 Collected Prose Works. Ed. Garnett, R. 10 vols. 1891.
 Poems. Ed. Johnson, R. B. (The New Universal Library.) 1906.
 Plays published for the first time. Ed. Young, A. B. 1910.

B. Separate Works

1. Novels

Headlong Hall. 1816.
 Melincourt. 1817.
 Nightmare Abbey. 1818.
 Maid Marion. 1822.
 The Misfortunes of Elphin. 1829.
 Crotchet Castle. 1831.
 Gryll Grange. 1861.

2. Poems

The Monks of St. Mark. 1804.
 Palmyra. 1806.
 The Genius of the Thames. 1810.
 Rhododaphne, or the Thessalian Spell. 1818.
 Paper Money Lyrics and other Poems. 1837.

C. Biography and Criticism

See, also, the biographical notices prefixed to edns mentioned in sect. A, ante.
 Buchanan, B. W. New Quarterly Magazine. Vol. iv. 1874.
 Freeman, A. M. Thomas Love Peacock. A critical survey. 1911.
 Hannay, J. North British Review. Vol. XLV. 1866.
 Paul, H. The Novels of Peacock. Stray Leaves. 1906.
 Peacock, T. L. Memoirs of Shelley, with Shelley's letters to Peacock. Ed.
 Brett-Smith, H. F. B. 1909.
 — Letters to Edward Hookham and Percy B. Shelley, with fragments
 of unpublished MS. Ed. Garnett, R. 1910.
 Saintsbury, G. Peacock. Essays in English Literature, 1780-1860. 1890.
 — Macmillan's Magazine. Vol. LIII. 1886.
 Spedding, J. Edinburgh Review. Vol. LXVIII. 1839.
 Van Doren, C. Life of T. L. Peacock. 1911.

Anna Maria Porter

Artless Tales. 2 vols. Vol. I. 1793. Vol. II. 1795.
 Tales of Pity. n.d.
 Walsh Colville. 1797.
 Octavia. 3 vols. 1798.
 Lake of Killarney. 3 vols. 1804. Last edn entitled *Rose de Blaquiére*. 1856.
 A Sailor's Friendship and A Soldier's Love. 2 vols. 1805.
 The Hungarian Brothers. 3 vols. 1807.
 Don Sebastian; or, the House of Braganza. An historical romance. 4 vols. 1809.
 Ballad Romances, and other Poems. 1811.
 The Recluse of Norway. 1814.
 The Knight of St. John. 3 vols. 1817.
 The Fast of St. Magdalen. 3 vols. 1818.
 The Village of Mariendorpt. 4 vols. 1821.
 Roche-Blanche; or, the Hunters of the Pyrenees. A romance. 1822.
 Tales round a Winter Hearth (Glenowan, Lord Howch, and Jeanie Halliday
 by Anna Maria Porter). 2 vols. 1826.
 Honor O'Hara. 3 vols. 1826.
 Coming Out; and The Field of Forty Footsteps. 2 vols. 1828. [Former
 only by Anna Maria Porter.]
 The Barony. 3 vols. 1830.

Elwood, Anne K. Memoirs of the literary ladies of England. 2 vols. 1843.
 Jerdan, W. National Portrait Gallery. 5 vols. 1830-4.

Jane Porter

- Thaddens of Warsaw. 4 vols. 1803.
 Aphorisms of Sir Philip Sidney; with Remarks. 2 vols. 1807.
 The Scottish Chiefs. 5 vols. 1810.
 The Pastor's Fireside. 3 vols. 1815.
 Duke Christian of Luneburgh; or, Traditions from the Hartz. 3 vols. 1824.
 Tales round a Winter Hearth. 2 vols. 1826.
 Coming Out; and The Field of Forty Footsteps. 3 vols. 1828. [Latter only by Jane Porter.]
 Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative of his Shipwreck and Consequent Discovery of certain Islands in the Caribbean Sea; with a Detail of many extraordinary and highly interesting Events in his Life, from the Year 1733 to 1749; as written in his own Diary; edited by Miss Jane Porter. 3 vols. 1831.

Elwood, Anne K. Memoirs of the literary ladies of England. 2 vols. 1843.

Ann Radcliffe

- The Novels of Mrs. Ann Radcliffe. To which is prefixed, A memoir of the Life of the Author [by Scott, Sir Walter]. (Ballantyne's Novelists' Library, vol. x.) 1824.
 The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne; a Highland Story. 1789.
 A Sicilian Romance. 2 vols. 1790.
 The Romance of the Forest: interspersed with some pieces of poetry. 3 vols. 1791.
 The Mysteries of Udolpho; a romance interspersed with some pieces of poetry. 4 vols. 1794.
 A Journey made in the Summer of 1794 through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany. 1795.
 The Italian, or, the Confessional of the Black Penitents. 3 vols. 1797.
 Poems. 1815. 1816. 2 vols. 1834. Also 1845.
 Gaston de Blondville, or, the Court of Henry III keeping Festival in Ardenne. 4 vols. 1826. [With a memoir of the authoress.]
 Jeaffreson, J. C. Novels and Novelists from Elizabeth to Victoria. 1858.
 Le Fèvre-Deumier, J. Célébrités anglaises. 1895.

Clara Reeve

- The Champion of Virtue, a Gothic Story. 1777. Title changed to The Old English Baron in second (1778) and all later edns. Rptd, with memoir by Scott, Sir W., 1823 and 1883.
 The Progress of Romance through Times, Countries, and Manners. 2 vols. Colchester, 1785.
 See, also, bibliography to vol. x, chap. III, ante.

Regina Maria Roche

- The Vicar of Lansdowne; or, Country Quarters. 2 vols. 1793.
 The Maid of the Hamlet. 3 vols. 1793.
 The Children of the Abbey. 4 vols. 1798.
 Clermont. 4 vols. 1798.
 The Nocturnal Visit. 4 vols. 1800.
 The Discarded Son, or, the Haunt of the Banditti. 5 vols. 1807.
 The Houses of Osma and Almeria, or the Convent of St. Ildefonso. 3 vols. 1810.
 The Monastery of St. Colomba. 5 vols. 1812.
 Treothick Bower. 3 vols. 1813.

- London Tales; or, Reflected Portraits. 1814.
 The Munster Cottage Boy. 4 vols. 1819.
 Bridal of Dunamore; and Lost and Won. Two tales. 3 vols. 1823.
 The Tradition of the Castle, or Scenes in the Emerald Isle. 2 vols. 1824.
 The Castle Chapel. 3 vols. 1825.
 Contrast. 3 vols. 1828.
 The Nun's Picture. A tale. 3 vols. 1834.
 Gentleman's Magazine. Vol. II, p. 86. 1845.

Charlotte Turner Smith

- Elegiac Sonnets, and other essays. 1784.
 Translation of Manon L'Escout from the French of the Abbé Prevost.
 1786.
 The Romance of Real Life. [A collection of tales.] 3 vols. 1787.
 Emmeline, the Orphan of the Castle. 4 vols. 1788.
 Ethelinde; or the Recluse of the Lake. 5 vols. 1790.
 Celestina. A novel. 4 vols. 1791.
 Desmond. A novel. 3 vols. 1792.
 The Old Manor House. 1793.
 The Emigrants, a poem in two books. 1793.
 The Banished Man. A novel. 4 vols. 1794.
 The Wanderings of Warwick. 1794.
 Rural Walks: in dialogues... for... young persons. 2 vols. 1795.
 Rambles farther: a continuation of Rural Walks. 2 vols. 1796.
 Marchmont, a novel. 4 vols. 1796.
 A Narrative of the loss of the Catherine, Venus and Piedmont transports,
 and the Thomas, Golden Grove and Aeolus merchant ships near
 Weymouth... 18 Nov. [1796]. 1796.
 Minor Morals, interspersed with sketches of natural history... and original
 stories. 2 vols. 1798.
 The Young Philosopher: a novel. 1798.
 What is She? A comedy. 1799.
 Letters of a Solitary Wanderer. 5 vols. 1801.
 Conversations introducing poetry; chiefly on subjects of natural history.
 2 vols. [1804.]
 Beachy Head; with other poems. 1807.
 The Natural History of Birds. 2 vols. 1807.
 Elwood, Anne K. Memoirs of the literary ladies of England. 2 vols.
 1843.
 L'Estrange, A. G. K. The Life of M. R. Mitford. 1870.

Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford

- The Castle of Otranto. A Story. Translated by William Marshall, Gent.
 From the Original Italian of Onuphrio Muraltò, Canon of the Church of
 St Nicholas at Otranto. 1765. [Written 1764.] 2nd edn. 1765. 5th
 edn. 1786. 6th edn. Parma, 1791. Rptd with a Memoir by Scott, Sir
 W., 1823 and 1883. Transl. into French, 1767; into Italian, 1795.

G. A. B. AND A. T. B.

CHAPTER XIV

BOOK PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, 1625-1800

In addition to the books mentioned in this list, the lives and correspondence of the prominent literary men of the time—Dryden, Swift, Pope, Johnson, Goldsmith and others—contain much information respecting the relations between author and publisher during this period. The D. of N. B. should also be consulted for notices of the more important publishers and booksellers, and for sources of fuller information. For a list of works on bookbindings, see the bibliography to chap. XVIII in vol. IV, *ante* (p. 548).

I. GENERAL WORKS

Barwick, G. F. Some magazines of the eighteenth century. Bibliographical Soc. Trans. Vol. x. 1910.

Beljame, A. Le public et les hommes de lettres en Angleterre, 1660-1744. Paris, 1883.

Birrell, A. Seven lectures on the law and history of copyright in books. 1899.

Boswell's Life of Johnson. Ed. Hill, G. B. 6 vols. Oxford, 1887.

Copinger, W. A. The law of copyright. 4th edn. 1904.

Curwen, H. A history of booksellers. [1873.]

Decree of Starre-Chamber, concerning printing, made the eleventh day of July last past. 1637.

Dictionary of printers and booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1557-1640. Ed. McKerrow, R. B. Bibliographical Society. 1910.

Dictionary of the booksellers and printers at work in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1641-1667. By Plomer, H. B. Bibliographical Society. 1907.

D'Israeli, I. Calamities and quarrels of authors. New edn. [1881.]

Grub-Street Journal. 1730-7. [A satire on hackwriters and their works.

The chief contributors were Russell, R., Martyn, J., and Pope, Alex.]

Memoirs of the Society of Grub-Street. 2 vols. 1737. [Selections from The Grub-Street Journal.]

History of bookselling in England. Quarterly Review. Vol. CLXXIV. 1892.

Knight, C. Shadows of the old booksellers. 1865.

L'Estrange, Sir Roger. Considerations and proposals in order to the regulation of the press. 1663.

Kitchin, G. Sir Roger L'Estrange: a contribution to the history of the press in the seventeenth century. 1913.

See, also, bibliographies to vol. VII, chap. xv, and vol. IX, chap. I, *ante*.

Macfarlane, J. The paper duties of 1696-1713. The Library, 1900.

— Pamphlets and the pamphlet duty of 1712. The Library, 1900.

Marston, E. Sketches of booksellers of other days. 1901.

— Sketches of some booksellers of the time of Dr Samuel Johnson. 1902.

Masson, D. The life of John Milton. 6 vols. 1859-80. [For booksellers and press censorship of the time.]

Milton, John. Areopagitica; a speech for the liberty of unlicenc'd printing. 1644. Ed. Arber, E. 1868.

Mumby, F. A. The romance of bookselling: a history from the earliest times to the twentieth century. 1910. [Contains a full bibliography of the subject by Peet, W. H.]

- Nichols, J. *Literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century.* 9 vols. 1812-15.
— *Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth century.* 8 vols. 1817-58.
- Plomer, H. R. *A short history of English printing, 1476-1898.* 1900.
— *The booksellers of London Bridge.* The Library, 1903.
— *The church of St Magnus and the booksellers of London Bridge.* The Library, 1911.
— *Westminster Hall and its booksellers.* The Library, 1905.
- Ralph, J. *The case of authors by profession or trade, stated. With regard to booksellers, the stage, and the public.* 1758. Another edn, with the author's name. 1762.
- Roberts, W. *The earlier history of English bookselling.* 1889. [To the beginning of the 18th century.]
- Shaylor, J. *The Fascination of Books, with other papers on books and bookselling.* 1912.
- Spence, J. *Anecdotes, observations and characters of books and men.* 1820.
The Times Printing Number: reprinted from the 40,000th issue of *The Times.* 1912.
- Timperley, C. H. *Encyclopaedia of literary and typographical anecdote.* 1842.
Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers, 1554-1640. Ed. Arber, E. 5 vols. Privately printed, 1875-92.
- *Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; from 1640-1708.* 3 vols. Vol. I (1640-1655). Roxburghe Club. 1913.
- Watt, R. *Bibliotheca Britannica; or a general index to British and foreign literature.* 4 vols. Edinburgh, 1824.
- Wheatley, H. B. *The dedication of books to patron and friend.* 1887.
— *Prices of books: an inquiry into the changes in the price of books which have occurred in England at different periods.* 1898.
- Lawler, J. • *Book auctions in England in the seventeenth century (1676-1700).* 1898.
- Pollard, A. W. *English book-sales, 1676-1680.* *Bibliographica*, vol. 1, 1895.
A list of the original catalogues of the principal libraries which have been sold by auction by Mr Samuel Baker [and his successors] from 1744 to 1828. 1828.
- Axon, W. E. A. *A London circulating library of 1743.* The Library, 1900.
- Clarke, A. *The reputed first circulating subscription library in London.* The Library, 1900.
- Barwick, G. F. *Humfrey Wanley and the Harleian library.* The Library, 1902.

II. PARTICULAR BOOKSELLERS

- Cave, Edward. *The rise and progress of the Gentleman's Magazine: with anecdotes of the projector and his early associates.* By John Nichols. 1821.
- Cruden, Alexander. *Life*, by Alexander Chalmers. Prefixed to an edn of the *Concordance* published in 1824, and frequently rptd in later edns.
- Curll, Edmund. *The Curliad. A hypercritic upon the Duhelad Variorum.* With a farther key to the new characters. 1792. [An attack upon Pope, by Curll.]
— *A full and true account of a horrid and barbarous revenge by poison on the body of Mr Edmund Curll, bookseller: with a faithfull copy of his will and testament.* [By Alex. Pope.] 1716.
- *Curll Papers: stray notes on the life and publications of E. Curll.* By W. J. Thoma. Privately reprinted from *Notes and Queries.* 1879.
For a list of Curll's writings see D. of N. B.

- Dodsley.** Robert Dodsley, poet, publisher, and playwright. By Straus, R. S. 1910. [With a full bibliography.]
- At 'Tully's Head.' By Austin Dobson. In *Eighteenth Century Vignettes*. 2nd ser. 1894.
See, also, bibliography to vol. ix, chap. vi, p. 484, ante.
- Dunton.** The life and errors of John Dunton. 1705. New edn (enlarged). 2 vols. 1818.
- The Dublin Scuffle: being a challenge sent by John Dunton, citizen of London, to Patrick Campbell, bookseller in Dublin. Together with the small skirmishes of bills and advertisements. 1699.
- For a list of Dunton's numerous other writings see D. of N. B.
- Lackington.** Memoirs of the first forty-five years of the life of James Lackington...bookseller....Written by himself. [1791.] New edn, enlarged. 1792. Further enlarged. 1794. 13th edn. [1810.]
- The confessions of James Lackington. 1804.
- James Lackington. By George Paston. In *Little Memoirs of the Eighteenth Century*. 1901.
- Murray.** A publisher and his friends (The House of Murray, 1768-1843). By Samuel Smiles. 2 vols. 1891.
- Newbery, Francis.** An old London bookseller. By Austin Dobson. In *Eighteenth Century Vignettes*. 1st ser. 1892.
- Newbery, John.** A bookseller of the last century, being some account of the life of John Newbery. By Charles Welsh. 1885.
- Payne.** The two Paynes (Thomas Payne, bookseller, and Roger Payne, bookbinder). By Austin Dobson. In *Eighteenth Century Vignettes*. 2nd ser. 1894.
- Richardson.** A famous printer: Samuel Richardson. By Thorne, W. B. The Library, 1901.
See, also, bibliography to vol. x, chap. i, p. 411, ante.
- Rivington.** The publishing house of Rivington. By Septimus Rivington. 1894.
- Thomason, George.** See biographical notice by G. K. Fortescue, prefixed to the Catalogue of the Thomason collection of pamphlets in the British Museum. 2 vols. 1908.

III. THE PROVINCES. SCOTLAND. IRELAND

- Allnutt, W. H.** English provincial presses [to 1750]. *Bibliographica*. Vol. II. 1896.
- Notes on the introduction of printing-presses into the smaller towns of England and Wales after 1750 to the end of the eighteenth century. The Library, 1901.
- Bowes, R.** A catalogue of books printed at or relating to Cambridge, 1521-1893. With index by Worman, E. J. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1894.
- Biographical notes on the [Cambridge] University printers. Cambridge Antiquarian Soc. Communications. Vol. v. 1886.
- Cottle, Joseph.** Reminiscences of Coleridge and Southey. 1847. Cottle also published the following poems: *Malvern Hills*, 1798; *John the Baptist*, 1801; *Alfred*, 1801; *The Fall of Cambria*, 1809; *Messiah*, 1815.
- Cotton, H.** A typographical gazetteer. 2 vols. Oxford, 1831-66.
- Davies, R.** A memoir of the York press...in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. 1868.
- Dredge, J. I.** Devon booksellers and printers in the 17th and 18th centuries. Privately printed, Plymouth, 1885. Rptd from *The Western Antiquary*.

Gent, T. *The life of Mr Thomas Gent, printer of York.* Written by himself [in 1746]. 1832.

— Thomas Gent, printer. By Austin Dobson. In *Eighteenth Century Vignettes*. 3rd ser. 1896.

For a list of Gent's topographical and other writings see D. of N. B. Hester, Giles. Nevill Simmons, bookseller and publisher (in Sheffield). 1893.

Hill, Joseph. *The book-makers of Old Birmingham.* Birmingham, 1907.

Hindley, C. *The history of the Catnach press (John and James Catnach, 1769-1841) at Berwick-upon-Tweed, Alnwick, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in Northumberland, and Seven Dials, London.* 1886.

Hutton, W. *The life of William Hutton [bookseller in Birmingham]...* written by himself and published by his daughter, Catharine Hutton. 1816. 4th edn, ed. by Jewitt, L. [1872.]

— *An history of Birmingham to the end of the year 1780.* Birmingham, 1781. 6th edn, with additions. 1835.

— *Works.* 8 vols. 1817.

Madan, F. *A brief account of the University Press at Oxford.* Oxford, 1908.

— *A chart of Oxford printing, '1468'-1900.* Bibliographical Society. 1904.

* Plomer, H. R. *A Chester bookseller, 1667-1700.* The Library, 1903.

Rylands, W. H. *Booksellers in Warrington, 1639 to 1657. With the full list of the contents of a stationer's shop there in 1647. Proc. of the Historic Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire.* Vol. xxxvii. [1888.]

Straus, R. and Dent, R. K. *John Baskerville: a memoir.* Cambridge, 1907.

Wheatley, H. B. *The Strawberry Hill press.* Bibliographica. Vol. iii. 1897.

See, also, Dobson, A., *Horace Walpole*, 2nd edn, 1893. [With a list of books printed at the Strawberry Hill press.]

Aldis, H. G. *A list of books printed in Scotland before 1700; with brief notes on the printers and stationers.* Edinburgh Bibliographical Society. 1904.

Archibald Constable and his literary correspondents. By his son Thomas Constable. 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1873. [Appendix to vol. i contains notes on Edinburgh booksellers at the end of the 18th century.]

Couper, W. J. *The Edinburgh Periodical Press from the earliest times to 1800.* 2 vols. Stirling, 1908.

Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Papers. 1896 ff.

Lee, J. *Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland.* Edinburgh, 1824. Additional memorial. Edinburgh, 1826. [Contain information relating to Scottish printers.]

Aberdeen printers, 1620-1736. By Edmond, J. P. Aberdeen, 1886. Last notes on the Aberdeen printers. By E., J. P. 1888.

Ballantyne. *The Ballantyne press and its founders, 1796-1908.* By Dobson, W. T. and Carrie, W. L. Edinburgh, 1909.

The first book printed by James Ballantyne: being An Apology for Tales of Terror. By Johnston, G. P. Edinburgh Bibliographical Soc. Papers. Vol. i. 1896.

Creech, William. *Edinburgh fugitive pieces.* Edinburgh, 1791. New edn, with memoir. Edinburgh, 1815.

William Creech, Robert Burns's best friend. By Carrick, J. C. Dalkeith, 1903.

- Foulis.** The Brothers Foulis and early Glasgow printing. The Library, March 1889.
- The Foulis press. By Macleod, R. D. The Library, 1910.
- Robert and Andrew Foulis and the Glasgow Press, with some account of the Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts. By Murray, David. Glasgow, 1918.
- Holyrood press, The.** By Cowan, W. Edinburgh Bibliographical Soc. Papers. Vol. vi. 1906.
- Morison.** A notable publishing house: the Morisons of Perth. By Minto, J. The Library, 1900.
- Rae.** The Rae press at Kirkbride and Dumfries (1711-1720). By Stewart, W. Edinburgh Bibliographical Soc. Papers. Vol. vi. 1906.
- Ruddiman.** The life of Thomas Ruddiman. By Chalmers, G. 1794.
- Smellie.** Memoirs of the life, writings, and correspondence of William Smellie, late printer in Edinburgh. By Kerr, R. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1811.
- Watson.** James Watson, printer. By Gibb, J. S. Edinburgh Bibliographical Soc. Papers. Vol. i. 1896.
- James Watson, king's printer. By Couper, W. J. Scottish Historical Review. Vol. vii. 1910.
- Watson's History of Printing. By Couper, W. J. The Library, 1910.
- History of the art of printing. By Watson, James. Edinburgh, 1713.
- Catalogue of books printed in Ireland, and published in Dublin, from 1700.** Dublin, 1791.
- Anderson, J.** Catalogue of early Belfast printed books, 1694 to 1830. New edn. Belfast, 1890. Supplements. 1894, 1902.
- Dix, E. B. McC.** A list of Irish towns and the dates of earliest printing in each. 2nd edn. Dublin, 1909.
- Books printed in Dublin in the 17th century. 5 parts. Dublin, 1898-1912.
- Irish bibliography. [Lists of books, etc. printed at provincial presses to 1800.] Nos. 1-8. Dublin, etc., 1901-12.
- List of books, pamphlets, etc., printed wholly, or partly, in Irish. Dublin, 1905.

IV. CATALOGUES

- Arber, E.** Contemporary printed lists of books produced in England. Bibliographica. Vol. iii. 1897.
- Growoll, A.** Three centuries of English booktrade bibliography. New York, 1903. [Contains a list, by Eames, W., of the catalogues, etc., published for the English book trade from 1595 to 1902.]
- Catalogue of the pamphlets, books, newspapers, and manuscripts relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661.** [Now in the British Museum.] 2 vols. 1908.
- A catalogue of the most approved divinity-books, which have been printed or reprinted about twenty yeares past, and continued down to this present year, 1655.** London, printed for John Rothwell. 1655. Enlarged edn, continued to 1657. 1657.
- A catalogue of the most vendible books in England, orderly and alphabetically digested.... All to be sold by the Author at his shop in Newcastle.** [By London, William.] 1657. A second edn, with supplement, was issued in 1658; and a further supplement in 1660.

- Mercurius Librarius*, or, a catalogue of books published in Michaelmas term, 1668. Continued quarterly to Midsummer term 1670. 8 nos.
- * A catalogue of books continued, printed and published at London in Easter term 1670. Continued quarterly to Trinity term 1709.
- The Term Catalogues 1668—1709: a contemporary bibliography of English literature. Edited by Arber, Edward. 3 vols. Privately printed, 1903-6. [A reprint of the two preceding entries.]
- A catalogue of all the books printed in England since the dreadful fire of London, in 1666. To the end of Michaelmas term, 1672.... Collected by Robert Clavell. 1673. 2nd edn. 1675. 3rd edn. 1680. 4th edn. 1696.
- A general catalogue of all the stitch'd books and single sheets etc. printed the two last years, commencing from the first discovery of the Popish Plot (September 1678). And continued to Michaelmas term 1690. 1690.
- The Compleat Library... an historical account of the choicest books.... Published monthly. 3 vols. May 1692 to April 1694.
- Bibliotheca Annua*: or, the Annual Catalogue for the year, 1699.... Published ... by A. Roper and W. Turner. [Vol. 1.] 1700. [Continued, in 3 vols., to 25 March 1704.]
- The Monthly Catalogue. To be continued monthly. May 1714—December 1714. 8 nos. Printed for Bernard Lintott, 1714.
- * The Monthly Catalogue: being an exact account of all books and pamphlets published in March 1723. [Published by Wilford, John, and continued to December 1729.]
- A complete catalogue of modern books, published from the beginning of this century to the present time. 1766.
- The London Catalogue of books in all languages, arts and sciences, that have been printed in Great Britain, since the year 1700. 1773.
- A general catalogue of books in all languages, arts, and sciences, printed in Great Britain, and published in London. From the year 1700 to 1786. Printed for W. Bent. 1786.
- The London Catalogue of books, selected from the General Catalogue published in 1786, and including the additions and alterations to September 1791. Printed for W. Bent. 1791. Another edn, corrected to September 1799. 1799.

For a fuller list of trade catalogues of this period, see the bibliography in Growoll's *Three centuries of English booktrade bibliography* (mentioned above).

V. MISCELLANEOUS WRITERS

- Bowyer, William (1699-1777). *Remarks on Mr Bowman's Visitation Sermon*. 1731.
- *Conjectural Emendations* [of the Greek Testament]. 1763. And later edns.
- *The Origin of Printing*. 1774. 2nd edn. 1776.
- Brice, Andrew (1690-1773). *Grand Gazetteer or Topographic Dictionary*. 1759.
- Brydges, Sir S. E. (1762-1837). *Poems*. 1785. 4th edn. 1807.
- *Mary de Clifford*. 1792.
- *Arthur Fitzalbini*. 1798.
- *Censura literaria*. 1805-9.
- *The British Bibliographer*. 1810-14.
- *Restituta*. 4 vols. 1814-16.
- *Cimelia*. Geneva, 1823.
- *Autobiography*. 2 vols. 1834.

- Byerley, T. (d. 1826). *The Percy Anecdotes*. 1821-3.
 — *Relics of Literature*. 1823.
 — *London Memorials*. 1823.
 Haste, W. (1709-1774). *Essay on Reason*. 1735.
 — *History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus*. 2 vols. 1759.
 — *Essays on Husbandry*. 1764. 1770.
 — *The Amaranth*. 1767.
 Heron, B. (1764-1807). *General View of the Natural Circumstances of the Hebrides*. 1794.
 — *History of Scotland*. 6 vols. 1794-9.
 — *Life of Robert Burns*. 1797.
 — *Pizarro. A tragedy*. 1799.
 Graham, H. G. *Robert Heron. A literary waif. Literary and Historical Essays*. 1908.
 Hill, John (1716?-1775). *Orpheus. An opera*. 1740.
 — *A General Natural History*. 3 vols. 1748-52.
 — *Lucina sine concubitu*. 1750.
 — *Cautions against the immoderate use of snuff*. 1759.
 — *Hortus Kewensis*. 1768.
 Kenrick, W. (1725?-1779). *The Town*. 1748.
 — *The Pasquinade*. 1753.
 — *Review of Dr Johnson's Shakespeare*. 1765.
 — *Poems*. 1768. 1770.
 Kippis, A. (1725-1795). *Biographia Britannica*. 2nd edn. Vols. I-V (no more published). 1778-93.
 Knox, V. (1752-1821). *Elegant Extracts, or useful and entertaining passages in prose*. 1783.
 — *Elegant Extracts, or useful and entertaining pieces of poetry*. 1789.
 — *Elegant Epistles*. 1790.
 Lemoine, H. (1756-1812). *The Kentish Curate*. 1786.
 — *Typographical Antiquities*. 1797. 2nd edn. 1801.
 — *Lackington's Confessions rendered into narrative*. 1804.
 Northcote, J. (1746-1831). *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds*. 1813.
 — *One Hundred Fables*. 1828.
 Palmer, Mary (1716-1794). *A Devonshire Dialogue. Written in the middle of the 18th century. First complete edn*. 1839.
 Price, Sir U. (1747-1829). *An Essay on the Picturesque*. 1794. 2nd edn. 1796-8. Another edn. 1810.
 Stevens, G. A. (1710-1784). *The History of Tom Fool*. 1760.
 — *A Lecture upon Heads*. [1764.] First authentic edn. 1785.
 Weber, H. W. (1783-1818). *Metrical Romances of the 13th, 14th, and 16th centuries*. 3 vols. 1810.
 — *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*. 1814.
 Williams, John (1761-1818). *The Royal Academicians*. 1786.
 — *Poems by Anthony Pasquin*. 2 vols. 1789.
 — *Legislative Biography*. 1795.

CHAPTER XV

THE BLUESTOCKINGS

I. GENERAL WORKS

- Arblay, Mme d' (Frances Burney). *Memoirs of Dr Burney*. 3 vols. 1832.
 Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. Ed. Hill, G. B. 6 vols. Oxford, 1887.
 Delany, Mary. *The autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*. Ed. by Lady Llanover. 6 vols. 1861-2.
 Elwood, Anne K. *Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England from the commencement of the last century*. 2 vols. 1843.
 Gausson, Alice C. C. *A later Pepys: the correspondence of Sir William Weller Pepys, Bart., Master in Chancery, 1758-1825*. 2 vols. 1904.
 Hawkins, Laetitia M. *Anecdotes, biographical sketches, and memoirs*. 1822.
 — *Memoirs, anecdotes, facts, and opinions*. 2 vols. 1824.
 Lobban, J. H. *The Blue-Stockings*. *Blackwood's Magazine*. Vol. CLXXX. Oct. 1906.
 • Wheeler, Ethel Rolt. *Famous Blue-Stockings*. 1910.

II. PARTICULAR AUTHORS

Frances Burney, Mme d'Arblay

See ante, vol. x, bibliographies to chaps. III and XI.

Elizabeth Carter

- Poems upon particular occasions*. 1738.
An examination of Mr Pope's Essay on Man, translated from the French of M. Crousaz. 1739.
Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy explain'd for the use of the ladies. From the Italian of Sig. Algarotti. 2 vols. 1739.
All the works of Epictetus, which are now extant. Translated from the original Greek. 1758. 4th edn. 1807. *Temple Classics*. 2 vols. [1899.]
Poems on several occasions. 1762. 4th edn. 1789.
A series of letters between Mrs Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catherine Talbot, from 1741 to 1770. To which are added, letters from Mrs Elizabeth Carter to Mrs Vesey between 1763 and 1787. Ed. by Pennington, M. 4 vols. 1809.
Letters from Mrs Elizabeth Carter to Mrs Montagu, between 1755 and 1800, chiefly upon literary and moral subjects. 3 vols. 1817.
 Gausson, Alice C. C. *A woman of wit and wisdom: a memoir of Elizabeth Carter, one of the 'Bas Bleu' society*. 1906.
 Pennington, Montagu. *Memoirs of the life of Mrs Elizabeth Carter: with a new edition of her poems; to which are added, some miscellaneous essays in prose, together with her notes on the Bible, and answers to objections concerning the Christian religion*. 1807. 3rd edn. 2 vols. 1816.

Hester Chapone

Works, with a life drawn up by her own family. 4 vols. 1807.

Miscellanies in prose and verse. 1775.

A letter to a new-married lady. 1777.

Letters on the improvement of the mind. 2 vols. 1777. *Frequently rptd.*

Posthumous works: containing her correspondence with Mr Richardson, a series of letters to Mrs Elizabeth Carter, and some fugitive pieces. Together with an account of her life and character. 2 vols. 1807.

Cole, John. Memoirs of Mrs Chapone...embracing an account of the literature of the age in which she lived. 1839.

Elizabeth Montagu

An essay on the writings and genius of Shakespear compared with the Greek and French dramatic poets, with some remarks upon the misrepresentations of Mons. de Voltaire. 1769. 6th edn. 1810.

The letters of Elizabeth Montagu, with some of the letters of her correspondents. Published by Matthew Montagu. 4 vols. 1809-13.

Mrs Montagu also contributed three dialogues (nos. 26, 27, 28) to Lyttelton's Dialogues of the Dead, 1760.

Climenson, Emily J. Elizabeth Montagu, the Queen of the Bluestockings: her correspondence from 1720 to 1761. 2 vols. 1906.

Doran, John. A lady of the last century (Mrs Elizabeth Montagu), illustrated in her unpublished letters. With a chapter on Blue Stockings. 1873.

Huchon, R. Mrs Montagu, 1720-1800. 1907.

Hannah More

Works. 8 vols. 1801. 19 vols. 1818-19. 11 vols. 1830.

Poems. 1816 and 1829.

The Search after Happiness, a pastoral drama. Bristol, 1773. 11th edn. 1796.

The Inflexible Captive. Bristol, 1774.

Sir Eldred of the Bower, and The Bleeding Rock: two legendary tales. 1776.

Percy, a tragedy. 1777. 5th edn. 1812.

Essays on various subjects, principally designed for young ladies. 1777. 5th edn. 1791.

The Fatal Falsehood, a tragedy. 1779.

Sacred Dramas, chiefly intended for young persons; to which is added Sensibility, a poem. 1782. 24th edn. 1850.

Florio, a tale for fine gentlemen and fine ladies; and, The Bas Bleu, or Conversation: two poems. 1786.

Slavery, a poem. 1788.

Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General Society. 1788. 8th edn. 1792.

An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World. 1790. 5th edn. 1793.

Remarks on the speech of M. Dupont...on the subjects of Religion and Public Education. 1793.

Village Politics, by Will Chip. 1793.

Cheap Repository Tracts. 1795-8. [Those signed 'Z' were written by Hannah More.]

Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education. 2 vols. 1799. 18th edn. 1826.

Hints towards forming the character of a Young Princess. 2 vols. 1805.

Cœlebs in Search of a Wife. 2 vols. 1809. 16th edn. 1826.

Practical Piety, or the influence of Religion of the Heart on the Life and Manners. 2 vols. 1811. 19th edn. 1850.

- Christian Morals.** 2 vols. 1813. 9th edn. 1826.
Essay on the character and practical writings of St Paul. 2 vols. 1815. 5th edn. 1851.
Stories for the Middle Ranks of Society, and Tales for the Common People. 1819. [Reprints of Cheap Repository Tracts, etc.]
Moral Sketches of prevailing opinions of Manners, foreign and domestic; with Reflections on Prayer. 1819. 10th edn. 1830.
Bible Rhymes on the names of all the books of the Old and New Testaments. 1821.
The Spirit of Prayer. 1825. 12th edn. 1849. [Selections from her published works.]
The Feast of Freedom; or, the Abolition of Domestic Slavery in Ceylon. 1827.
Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay. Ed. Roberts, Arthur. 1860.
Harland, Marion. Hannah More. (Literary Hearthstones.) 1900.
Meakin, Annette M. B. Hannah More, a biographical study. 1911.
Roberts, William. Memoirs of the life and correspondence of Mrs Hannah More. 2 vols. 1834. 4 vols. 1838.
Thompson, Henry. Life of Hannah More, with notices of her sisters. 1838.
Yonge, Charlotte M. Hannah More. (Eminent Women Series.) 1888.

Catherine Talbot

- Works.** 1772. 9th edn. 1819.
Reflections on the Seven Days of the Week. 1770. Frequently rptd.
Essays on various subjects. 2 vols. 1772.
Correspondence. See Carter, Elizabeth.

Catherine Talbot wrote one paper for Johnson's *Rambler* (no. xxx, 30 June 1750), and was also a contributor to *Athenian Letters*, ed. by Birch, Thomas, 4 vols., 1741-3.

CHAPTER XVI

CHILDREN'S BOOKS

I. HISTORY AND CRITICISM

- Ainger, Alfred.** Lectures and Essays. Vol. i. 1905.
Ashton, John. Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century. 1882.
Dobson, H. Austin. De Libris. 1908. [On Maria Edgeworth and Kate Greenaway.]
Eckenstein, Lina. Comparative Studies in Nursery Rhymes. 1906.
Field, E. M. The Child and his Book. 1892.
Godfrey, Elizabeth. English Children in the Olden Time. 1907.
Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O. Catalogue of Chapbooks, Garlands, and Popular Histories. Privately ptd. 1849.
 — **The Nursery Rhymes of England.** (Percy Society. Early English Poetry, vol. iv.) 1842-3. Enlarged edn. 1846.
 — **Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales.** 1849.
Keightley, Thomas. Fairy Mythology. 1828. Enlarged edn. (Bohn.) 1847.
Lucas, E. V. Forgotten Tales of Long Ago. 1906. Selections, with introduction.
 — **Old-Fashioned Tales.** 1905. Selections, with introduction.
Mackarness, Mrs H. (born Planché). Children of the Olden Time. 1874.

Pearson, Edwin. *Banbury Chapbooks and Nursery Toy Book Literature of the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries*. (Limited edn, privately ptd.) 1890.

Salmon, Edward. *Juvenile Literature as it is*. 1888.

Tuer, A. W. *The History of the Horn-Book*. 2 vols. 1896.

— *Pages and Pictures from Forgotten Children's Books*. 1898-9.

— *Stories from Old-Fashioned Children's Books*. 1899-1900.

See, also, his introduction to reprint of Lamb's *Prince Dorus*, 1889.

Tytler, Sarah (Keddie, Henrietta). *Childhood a Hundred Years Ago*. 1877.

Welsh, Charles. *A Bookseller of the Last Century* [*i.e.* John Newbery]. 1885.

See, also, his introductions to A. Berquin's *Looking-Glass for the Mind*; to W. Roscoe's *Butterfly's Ball*; to Mrs C. A. Dorset's *The Peacock 'At Home,'* and *The Lion's Masquerade*; and to Elizabeth Turner's *The Daisy and The Cowslip*; of which details are given below.

Yonge, C. M. *A Storehouse of Stories*. 2 vols. 1870. Selections, with introduction.

A work which cannot be overlooked by anyone who studies the subject, but which defies classification, is *The Story of Pet Marjorie* [Fleming], with her *Journals*. Ed. Macbean, L. 1905. *See, also*, *Marjorie Fleming*, a sketch. By Brown, John. 1863.

Magazine Articles

The *Atlantic Monthly*, 1888; *Chambers's Journal*, 1855, 1862 (on chapbooks); The *Cornhill Magazine*, 1900; The *English Illustrated Magazine*, 1883 (*The New Hero*, by Watts-Dunton, Theodore); *Fraser's Magazine*, 1846 (Thackeray, W. M.); The *Guardian of Education*, 1802-4 (a retrospect by Trimmer, Mrs); The *Imprint*, 1913 (Crane, Walter, and others); *The Library*, 1901; *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1869 (Yonge, Charlotte M.); *National Review*, 1905; *Newbery House Magazine*, 1890-1 (Welsh, Charles); *Notes and Queries*, 1913 (11th series, vol. VII: largely bibliographical); *Opuscula of the Sette of Odd Volumes*, nos. 11 and 13 (privately ptd, by Welsh, Charles); *Quarterly Review*, vols. LXXI, LXXIV, CLXII, CLXXXIII, CXCII, CXCIV; The *Studio* (Winter Number), 1897-8 (White, Gleeson); The *Sunday at Home* (1894).

Germane to the subject, but not concerned with it primarily, are very many works on education (for which see the various chapters in this History), many on morals and the state of society (particularly in the reign of George III) and many biographies. Most of the introductions to reprints of individual works contain historical matter. Welsh's *Bookseller of the Last Century* gives a full bibliography of all Newbery's publications from 1740 to 1802. Eckenstein's *Comparative Studies in Nursery Rhymes* contains a brief list of works on this highly-specialised branch of the subject: except for the few convenient summary treatises mentioned above, books on folk-lore pure and simple are not included here. The Folk-lore Society has traced most fairy tales to their oral appearance all over the world.

For early writers whose works passed into the hands of children, see the references in the text to previous volumes of this History. 'Adult' writers who also wrote books for children are mentioned below.

II. CHAPBOOK EDITIONS

These often piratical productions not merely included any new popular work of the day, but preserved many traditional tales and rimes not otherwise recorded in print. They were seldom dated, and the old blocks were used over

and over again, in different circumstances. It is impossible to give a strict bibliography of them. So far as children are concerned, they began about 1700 and died out about 1820; towards the end of that period, the more responsible publishers copied the chapbook format to some extent, but provided new type, new blocks and good paper. The chief works regularly produced in chapbook form were: *Bevis of Southampton*; *The Children (or Babes) in the Wood*; *Cook Robin*; *Cries of London*; *Cries of York*; *Robinson Crusoe*; *Eastern Tales (Arabian Nights and similar stories)*; *Fables*; *Fairy Tales (Perrault, etc.; usually single tales, not collections)*; *John Gilpin*; *Guy of Warwick*; *Tom Hickathrift*; *The House that Jack Built*; *Mother Hubbard*; *Jack the Giant-Killer*; *Jack and Jill*; *Nursery Rimes of all kinds, under various titles*; *Adventures of Philip Quarll*; *Riddle-books*; *The Seven Champions of Christendom*; *Tom Thumb*; *Valentine and Orson*; *Dr Watts's poems, under various titles*; *Sir Richard Whittington*.

III. SELECTED AUTHORS

In this and the following section only the most important authors and works are included. In some cases, the first edition cannot be traced, though it is known that existing editions are not the first. Where dates are given in brackets, they are those which are certified by the known facts of the author's life, or by the work of an illustrator, or by the publisher's name.

(Anonymous works are included among Minor Writers, below.)

Aikin, Anna Laetitia (afterwards Mrs Barbauld). *Hymns in Prose for Children*. 1781.

— *Lessons for Children*. 4 parts. 1808.

— *Life of. Memoir of Mrs B., by Le Breton, A. L.* 1874.

Aikin, A. L. and J. (Barbauld and Aikin). *Evenings at Home*. 6 vols. 1792-6.

Aikin, John. *The Calendar of Nature*. 2nd edn. 1785.

Aikin, Lucy. *Juvenile Correspondence*. 2nd edn. 1816.

— *Poetry for Children*. (Selected by L. A.) 1803.

— *Memoirs etc. of. Ed. by Le Breton, P. H.* 1864.

Also many versions of classical works in words of one syllable, under *pseud.* Godolphin, Mary.

Argus, Arabella. *The Adventures of a Donkey*. 1815. *Further Adventures*. 1821.

— *The Juvenile Spectator*. 2 parts. 1810.

— *Ostentation and Liberality*. 2 vols. 1821.

Ballantyne, Robert Michael. *See* Reference Catalogue of current literature, issued annually (J. Whitaker and Sons), and the D. of N. B.

Barbauld, Mrs. *See* Aikin, A. L., *ante*.

Belson, Mary. *See* Elliott, Mary, *post*.

Blake, William. *Songs of Innocence*. *See* chap. ix, *ante*.

Bunyan, John. *A Book for Boys and Girls: or, Country Rhymes for Children*. By J. B. 1686. *A Book for Boys and Girls: or, Temporal Things Spiritualised* (a revised and shortened version of the first edn), 1701; 3rd edn, 1707; 9th edn, as *Divine Emblems, or Temporal Things Spiritualised*, 1724. Facsimile reprint of 1st edn, with introd. by Brown, John, 1889.

Burton, Richard. *See* Crouch, N., *post*.

'Carroll, Lewis' (i.e. Dodgson, Charles Lutwidge). *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. 1865. Through the Looking-Glass and what Alice found there. 1871. Both illustrated by Tenniel, Sir John. *The Nursery Alice*. 1890.

- 'Carroll, Lewis.' *The Hunting of the Snark*. 1876.
 — Sylvie and Bruno. 1889.
 — Sylvie and Bruno concluded. 1893.
 — *Life and Letters of*. By Collingwood, Stuart Dodgson. 1898.
 Chapone, Mrs. *See ante*, chap. xv.
 Cole, Sir Henry (*pseud.* Summerley, Felix). *The Home Treasury*. 12 vols. 1843-55.
 Crossman, Samuel. *The Young Man's Calling: or the Whole Duty of Youth...* And also, *Divine Poems*. 1685. Other edns: 1695, 1725.
 Crouch, N. (*pseud.* Burton, Richard, or B., R.). *Winter Evening Entertainments; in two Parts*. 6th edn. 1737. [The first edition appears to have been published at least by 1685.]
 — *Youth's Divine Pastime*. 3rd edn. 1691.
 Day, Thomas. *The Children's Miscellany: in which is included the History of Little Jack*. 1787.
 — *The History of Sandford and Merton*. 3 vols. Vol. I. 1783. Vol. II. 1786. Vol. III. 1789. Translated into French, '*An VI de la République*.'
 Dickens, Charles. *Holiday Romance*. 1868.
 Dodgson, Charles Lutwidge. *See* 'Carroll, Lewis,' *ante*.
 Dorset, Mrs C. A. *The Lion's Masquerade*. 1807. Facsimile rpt, ed. Welsh, C. 1883.
 — *The Peacock 'At Home.'* By a Lady. 1807. Facsimile rpt, ed. Welsh, C. 1883.
 — *The Peacock and Parrot on their Tour*. 1816.
 — *Think before you Speak, or The Three Wishes*. 1809.
 Edgeworth, Maria. *See ante*, chap. XIII.
 Elliott, Mary (born Belson). (Where no dates are given, the publishers' names necessitate a date between 1805 and 1825.)
 — *The Adventures of Thomas Two Shoes: being a sequel to The modern Goody Two Shoes (v. post)*. n.d. [not later than 1818].
 — *Confidential Memoirs, or the Adventures of a Parrot, a Greyhound, a Cat, and a Monkey*. 1821.
 — *Grateful Tributes: or Recollections of Infancy*. n.d. [not later than 1816].
 — *Idle Ann, or the Dunce Reclaimed*. n.d.
 — *Industry and Idleness: a pleasing and instructive tale*. 1811.
 — *The Modern Goody Two Shoes*. n.d. [not later than 1818].
 — *The Orphan Boy, or a Journey to Bath*. n.d. [not later than 1816].
 — *Precept and Example, or Midsummer Holidays*. n.d. [not later than 1812].
 — *The Rambles of a Butterfly*. 1819.
 — *Simple Truths in Verse*. n.d. [not later than 1816].
 — *The Sunflower, or Poetical Truths for Young Minds*. 1822.
 — *Tales for Boys*. n.d.
 — *Tales for Girls*. n.d.
 — *Tales of Truth*. n.d.
 — *Truth our Best Friend*. 1825.
 [A majority of the above were translated into French soon after publication.]
 Ewing, Juliana Horatia. *The Brownies, and Other Tales*. Illustd by Cruikshank. 1870.
 — *Daddy Darwin's Dovecot*. Illustd by Caldecott, R. 1884.
 — *A Flat Iron for a Farthing*. 1873.
 — *Jackanapes*. Illustd by Caldecott, R. 1884.
 — *Lob-lie-by-the-Fire, and Other Tales*. Illustd by Cruikshank, G. 1873. Illustd by Caldecott, R. 1885.

Ewing, Juliana Horatia. *Mrs Overthway's Remembrances*. 1869.

— *Old-Fashioned Fairy Tales*. 1882.

— *Six to Sixteen*. 1876.

— *The Story of a Short Life*. 1885.

— *Life of J. H. E. and her Books*, by Gatty, Horatia K. F. 1885.

Fables. It is impossible to trace the exact descent of fables into children's literature. The translations under the name of Aesop (*q.v.* under *Foreign Works*, sect. v, *post*) gave them literary currency, and Gay's metrical versions stereotyped them. (For Gay, *see ante*, vol. ix, chap. vi.) There do not seem to have been any definite early versions (for children) of Bidpai ('Pilpay'), Babrius, or Phaedrus. Probably a certain amount of oral tradition entered into the chapbook versions, of which there were many. *See, also, s.v.* La Fontaine (*Foreign Works*, sect. v, *post*).

Fairy Tales. *See* Ewing, J. H., Jacobs, J., Lang, A. (in this sect.); The Court of Oberon, Mother Bunch, Mulock, D. M. (in sect. iv); and under *Foreign Works, s.v.* Asbjørnsen, Grimm, Perrault: *see, also*, *History and Criticism*, sect. i, *ante*.

Fenn, Eleanor (Lady F.). *Cobwebs to Catch Flies*. 2 vols. n.d.

— *Fables in Monosyllables*. n.d.

— *The Fairy Spectator*. 1789.

— *The Juvenile Tatler*. 1789.

— *Mrs Lovechild's Golden Present*. n.d. [Published by Newbery, John.]

— *Short Sermons for Young Persons*. By Lovechild, Mrs. n.d. [Newbery.]

[Lady F. also wrote as Mrs Teachwell, but it is not possible to identify the exact works certainly. It was a common pseudonym 1750-1820.]

— *Life of*. *See* *Unstoried in History*. By Festing, Gabrielle. 1901.

[Chap. vi deals with Lady F. and her sister, from family documents.]

Fielding, Sarah. *The Governess, or Little Female Academy*. [Anonymous.] 2nd edn. 1749. Revised, and practically rewritten and remodelled, by Mrs Sherwood in 1820. [Sometimes quoted as Mrs Teachum.]

Gatty, Margaret. *Aunt Judy's Tales*. 1859.

— *The Fairy Godmothers and other Tales*. 1851.

— *Parables from Nature*. 1855-71. Complete edn, with memoir by Ewing, J. H. 1880.

Gay, John. (*Fables*). *See ante*, vol. ix, chap. vi.

Godolphin, Mary. *See* Aikin, Lucy, *ante*.

Goldsmith, Oliver (?). *Goody Two Shoes*. (*The History of Mrs Margery Two-Shoes*.) 1766. Facsimile rpt of earliest extant edn, ed. by Welsh, C., with introd. 1881.

For Goldsmith's undoubted works, *see ante*, vol. x, chap. ix.

Guyse, John, D.D. *Youth's Monitor*. 3rd edn. 1747.

— *Youth reminded of a Judgment to Come*. 1729.

Hack, Maria. *English Stories*. 1820. 2nd series. 1820. 3rd series. 1825.

— *Grecian Stories*. 1819.

— *Harry Beaufoy*. 1821.

— *Lectures at Home*. 2nd edn. 1841.

— *Tales of the Great and Brave*. n.d.

— *Winter Evenings*. 4 vols. 1818-19.

Havergal, Frances Ridley. *Bruey*. 2nd edn. 1873.

— *Little Pillows*. 1875.

— *Morning Bells*. 1875.

— *Autobiographical Sketch*. 1881.

Henty, George Alfred. *See* *Reference Catalogue of current literature issued annually* (J. Whitaker and Sons) and *D. of N. B.*

Hofland, Mrs. Alfred Campbell, the Young Pilgrim, 1825. [Also known as *The Young Pilgrim*.]

— *The Daughter of a Genius*. 1823.

— *The History of a Clergyman's Widow and her young Family*. 1812.

— *Matilda; or, The Barbadoes Girl*. 1816. [Also known by its sub-title.]

— *The Son of a Genius*. n.d.

— *William and his Uncle Ben*. 1826.

Howard, the Hon. Edward Granville Legge. *Rattlin the Reefer*. 2nd edn. 1836. [Ed. by Marryat, Capt.]

Howitt, Mary and William. *The Boy's Country Book*. 1839.

— *The Children's Year*. 1847.

— *The Childhood of Mary Leeson*. 1848.

— *Hymns and Fireside Verses*. 1839.

— *The Picture Book for the Young*. 1855.

— *Tales in Prose for Young People*. 1864.

— *Tales in Verse for Young People*. 1864.

See, also, Andersen, H. C., sect. v, *Foreign Works, post*.

Hughes, Mary, born Robson. *See* Robson, Mary, *post*.

Hughes, Thomas. *Tom Brown's School Days*. 1857. Many edns, esp. 1911 (introd. by Howells, W. D.) and 1913 (ed. by Sidgwick, F.).

— *The Scouring of the White Horse*. 1859. Illustd by Doyle, R.

Jacobs, Joseph (Ed. by). *The Book of Wonder Voyages*. 1896.

— *Celtic Fairy Tales*. 1891. More C. F. T. 1894.

— *English Fairy Tales*. 1890. More E. F. T. 1893.

— *Indian Fairy Tales*. 1892.

See, also, Aesop, sect. v, *Foreign Works, post*.

Janeway, James. *A Token for Children, being an Exact Account of the Conversion, Holy and Exemplary Lives, and Joyful Deaths of several young Children*. 1671-2.

Jefferies, Richard. *Bevis*. 1882.

— *The Story of my Heart*. 1883.

Keary, Annie. *The Heroes of Asgard*. 1857. [By A. K. and her sister, E. K.]

— *Little Wanderlin and other Fairy Tales*. 1865.

Kendall, Edward Augustus. *Keeper's Travels in Search of his Master*. 1798.

— *Parental Education; or Domestic Lessons... for Youth*. 1803.

— *The Stories of Senex, or Little Histories of Little People*. 1800.

Kilner, Dorothy. (There is some obscurity as to her work. According to family tradition, she wrote all children's books signed M. P., and her sister-in-law, M. J. K. (*see post*), wrote those signed S. S. They are often allocated otherwise, however, and some are attributed to Lady Fenn, *q.v. ante*.)

— *Anecdotes of a Boarding School*. 2 vols. n.d. [1790?].

— *Anecdotes of a Little Family*. n.d.

— *Ellen Harding, or the Tell-Tale*. 1849. [? Earlier edns.]

— *The Holiday Present*. n.d.

— *Letters from a Mother to her Children*. 2 vols. 2nd edn. 1787.

— *The Life and Perambulations of a Mouse*. 2 vols. [1775?]

— *The Rotchfords*. [1800?]

— *Sunday School Dialogues*. [1790?] [Attributed in Brit. Mus. catalogue to Lady Fenn.]

— *The Village School*. n.d.

Kilner, Mary Jane (*pseud.* S. S.; *see ante*, *s.v.* Kilner, Dorothy). *The Adventures of a Pin-Cushion*. n.d.

- Kilner, Mary Jane. *The Adventures of a Silver Penny*. 1787.
 — *Jemima Placid*. 1813.
 — *The Memoirs of a Peg Top*. New edn. 1828.
 — *A Course of Lectures for Sunday Evenings*. . . 1783.
 Kingsley, Charles. *Glaucus, or the Wonders of the Shore*. 1855.
 — *The Heroes*. 1856.
 — *The Water Babies*. 1863.
 Kingston, William Henry Giles. *See* Reference Catalogue of current literature, issued annually (J. Whitaker and Sons) and D. of N. B.
 Lamb, Charles and Mary. *Tales from Shakespeare*. 1807.
 Lang, Andrew (Ed. by). *The Blue Fairy Book*. 1889. Followed by many other volumes under the title of the cover colour.
 — *The Blue Poetry Book*. 1891.
 — *The Nursery Rhyme Book*. 1897.
 See, also, s.v. Grimm, Perrault, sect. v, *Foreign Works, post*.
 Lear, Edward. *Book of Nonsense*. 1846. 2nd edn. 1862.
 — *Nonsense Songs, Stories, Botany, and Alphabets*. 1871.
 — *More Nonsense Songs*. 1872.
 — *Letters of*, ed. by Strachey, Lady. 1907. *Later Letters*. 1911.
 Macdonald, George. *At the Back of the North Wind*. 1871.
 — *The Princess and the Goblin*. 1872.
 Macleod, Norman. *The Gold Thread*. 1861. Other edns, especially 1907 (with introd.) and 1911.
 Marryat, Frederick. *The Children of the New Forest*. 1847.
 — *Masterman Ready, or the Wreck of the Pacific*. 1841.
 — *The Settlers in Canada*. 1844.
 [*Marryat's* even better-known books, *Midshipman Easy*, *Peter Simple*, and their companions, were written in the first place as novels, though they have become established as books for boys.]
 Martineau, Harriet. *The Playfellow*. 4 pts. 1841. [Includes *The Settlers at Home*, *The Peasant and the Prince*, *Feats on the Fiord*, and *The Crofton Boys*, all of which went into many edns in a separate form.]
 — *Autobiography*. 3 vols. 1877.
 More, Hannah. *See ante*, chap. xv.
 Mortimer, Fawell Lee, Mrs. *Far Off*. 1852.
 — *Line upon Line*. 1837.
 — *Near Home*. 1849.
 — *The Peep of Day*. 1873.
 — *Reading without Tears*. 1857.
 Nursery Rimes. *See* Eckenstein, L., and Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O., sect. 1, *History and Criticism, ante*. *See, also*, *Mother Goose*, and *The Top-Book of All*, sect. iv, *post*.
 Osborne, Francis. *Advice to a Son*. 1656. Pt II. 1658.
 Parley, Peter. This pseudonym was adopted by several writers, who cannot all be identified. The most voluminous users of it were Goodrich, Samuel Griswold, and Martin, William. An alleged Rev. T. Wilson, to whom many Peter Parley books have frequently been attributed, never existed: he was a figment created by the publishers (Darton and Clarke), Doctor Samuel Clarke being the chief, but not the only, participant in the works to which the fictitious name was attached.
 The chief works published under the pseudonym were:
 — *Parley's Cabinet Library*. 2 vols. A miscellany. n.d. [1840-50].
 — *Persevere and Prosper*. n.d. New edn. 1864.
 — *P. P.'s, Illustrations of Commerce, of the Animal Kingdom, etc.* [1840-50.]

- Parley, Peter. *P. P.'s Tales about Africa*. [Other vols. about other countries.] Various dates: same period. [These were 'ed.' by Goodrich, S. G. Also re-ed. by Mogridge, George.]
- *The Hatchups*. 1858.
- *The Holiday Keepsake*. 1865. [These were mainly by Martin, W.]
- *P. P.'s Wonders of the Earth, Sea, and Sky*. 1837. ['Ed.' by 'Wilson, T.']
- Pilkington, Mrs M. S. *Biography for Boys*. n.d.
- *Biography for Girls*. 1799.
- *Marvellous Adventures, or The Vicissitudes of a Cat*. 1802.
- *A Mirror for the Female Sex*. 2nd edn. 1799.
- *Obedience Rewarded, and Prejudice Conquered: or, the History of Mortimer Lascelles*. 1797.
- [Mrs P. also translated parts of Mme de Genlis's *Vieilles du Château*, and Marmontel's *Tales*. See sect. v, *Foreign Works*, *post*.]
- P., M. See *ante*, Kilner, Dorothy.
- Reed, Talbot Baines. See *Reference Catalogue of current literature*, issued annually (J. Whitaker and Sons) and D. of N. B.
- Reid, Mayne. See *Reference Catalogue of current literature*, issued annually (J. Whitaker and Sons) and D. of N. B.
- Robson, Mary (afterwards Hughes or Hughs). *The Alchemist*. 1818.
- *The Orphan Girl*. 1819.
- *The Ornaments Discovered*.
- *Something New from Aunt Mary*. 1820.
- Bonksley, William. *The Child's Week's Work*. . . . 1712.
- Roscoe, William. *The Butterfly's Ball and the Grasshopper's Feast*. 1807. Facsimile rpt, ed. Welsh, C. 1883.
- Rossetti, Christina. *Sing-Song*. 1872.
- Buskin, John. *The King of the Golden River*. 1851. See, *also*, sect. iv, *post*, s.v. *Dame Wiggins*.
- Sherwood, Martha Mary. *The Governess*. See *Fielding, Sarah*, *ante*.
- *The History of the Fairchild Family*. 3 parts. 1818-47. This work has never been out of print since 1818. Chief modern edns (revised), ed. Palgrave, M. E., 1899; ed. Strachey, Lady, 1913.
- *The History of Henry Milner*. 4 parts. 1823-7.
- *The History of Little Henry and his Bearer*. 1832.
- *The History of Susan Gray*. 1815.
- *The Infant's Progress from the Valley of Destruction to Everlasting Glory*. 1821.
- *The Little Woodman and his Dog Caesar*.
- *The Lady of the Manor*. 1825-9.
- [Some minor works (chiefly tracts) published under Mrs S.'s name were not entirely by her, but were written by her daughter, Mrs Kelly, under her inspiration.]
- *Life*. Ed. by her daughter, Kelly, Sophia. 1854. Re-written from original MS autobiography by Darton, F. J. H. 1910.
- Sinclair, Catharine. *Holiday House*. 1839.
- S., S. See *ante*, Kilner, Dorothy.
- Strickland, Agnes. *The Juvenile Forget-me-not*. 1827.
- *The Moss-House*. [Anon.] 1822.
- *The Rival Crusoes*. 1826.
- *Tales of the School-Room*. [1835?]
- *The Tell-Tale*. 1823.
- *The Young Emigrant*. 1826.
- Summerley, Felix. See *Cole, Sir Henry*, *ante*.
- Taylor, Ann (Mrs T., of Ongar). *The Family Mansion*. 2nd edn. 1820.

- Taylor, Ann (Mrs T., of Ongar). *Maternal Solitude*. 3rd edn. 1814.
- Taylor, Ann (daughter of Mrs T. of Ongar: afterwards Mrs Gilbert). *Autobiography*. 2 vols. 1874.
- *Signor Topsy-Turvy's Wonderful Magic Lantern etc.* 1810. [The title-page attributes this to A. T. alone. But her sister and her brother Jefferys had a share in it.]
- *The Wedding Among the Flowers*. 1808.
- Taylor, Ann and Jane. *City Scenes*. [An older anonymous book rewritten by A. and J. T.] First edn apparently 1809; rewritten in or before an edn of 1828.
- *Hymns for Infant Minds*. 1808.
- *Limed Twigs to catch Young Birds*. 3rd edn. 1815.
- *Original Poems*. [Contains, also, work by Adelaide O'Keeffe, *q.v.*, sect. IV, *post*, Bernard Barton, and Isaac Taylor, sen. and jr.] 1804. Many later edns. Illustd by Gilbert, John, Greenaway, Kate, etc. Centenary edn, ed. with Introd. by Lucas, E. V. 1904.
- *Rhymes for the Nursery*. 1806. [Included in Centenary edn of *Original Poems*.]
- *Rural Scenes*. 1806. [Rewritten, like *City Scenes*.] A greatly revised edn. [1813?]
- Taylor, Isaac. (Father of A. and J. T.) *Advice to the Teens*. 2nd edn. 1818.
- *Scenes in America*. 1825. [Also *Scenes in Africa, Asia, England, Europe*.]
- *Self-Cultivation Recommended; or, Hints to a Youth*. 1817.
- Taylor, Jane. *The Contributions of Q. Q.* 2 vols. 1824. [Posthumous.]
- *Display, a Tale*. 1815.
- *Essays in Rhyme*. 1816.
- *Life and Letters*. By Knight, Mrs H. C.
- *Memoirs and Poetical Remains*. By Taylor, Isaac, jr (her brother). 1825. *See, also*, *Twelve English Authoresses*. By Walford, L. B. 1892.
- Taylor, Jefferys. *Aesop in Rhyme, with some originals*. 1820.
- *Harry's Holiday; or The Doings of One Who Had Nothing to Do*. 3rd edn. 1822.
- *The Little Historians*. 3 vols. 1824.
- *Ralph Richards, the Miser*. 1821.
- Taylor, Joseph. *The Wonders of Trees, Plants, and Shrubs, etc.* 1823.
- Taylor (family of). *The Family Pen*. Ed. by Taylor, Isaac, jr. 2 vols. 1867.
- Teachwell, Mrs. *See* Fenn, Lady, *ante*.
- Thackeray, William Makepeace. *The Rose and the Ring*. 1855.
- Trimmer, Sarah. *A Comment on Dr Watts's Divine Songs for Children*. 1789.
- *Fabulous Histories*. 1786. [The title was changed subsequently to the *History of the Robins*, by which the book is still known.]
- *The Family Magazine*. 1788. [Apparently issued for one year only.]
- *The Guardian of Education, a Periodical Work*. 1802-4. [Ed. and very largely written by Mrs T.]
- *The Two Farmers: an Exemplary Tale*. 1787.
- *Life. Some Account of the Life and Writings of Mrs T.* 2 vols. 1814.
- Anon. Contains Mrs T's private journal.
- [For her position in regard to the history of Education, *see* Sydney Smith's *Essays and The Fortnightly Review*, 1909 (Bell and the Dragon).]
- Turner, Elizabeth. *The Cowslip; or more Cautionary Stories in Verse*. 1811.
- Facsimile rpt of 1830 edn, illustd by Williams, S., ed. Welsh, C., 1885.
- *The Daisy; or, Cautionary Stories in Verse*. 1807. Facsimile rpt of 1830 edn, ed. Welsh, C., 1885.

Wakefield, Priscilla. *Domestic Recreation*. 1805.

— *Excursions in North America*. 1806.

— *A Family Tour through the British Isles*. [Probably 1804.] 8th edn. 1812.

— *Instinct Displayed*. 1811. 4th edn. 1821.

— *Introduction to Botany*. 1796. 7th edn. 1816.

— *Juvenile Anecdotes*. 2 vols. 1795 and 1798. 4th edn. 1803.

— *The Juvenile Travellers*. 1801. 11 edns before 1818.

— *Leisure Hours*. 2 vols. 1794-6. 7th edn. 1821.

— *Mental Improvement*. 2 vols. 1794-5. 8th edn. 1818.

— *Sketches of Human Manners*. 1807. 5th edn. 1817.

— *The Traveller in Africa*. 1814. In *Asia*. 1807.

— *Variety*. 1809.

Watts, Isaac. *Divine and Moral Songs*. See *ante*, vol. ix, chap. vi.

White, Thomas. *A Little Book for Little Children, wherein are set down Several Directions*. 12th edn. 1702.

— *A Little Book for Little Children: wherein are set down, in a plain and pleasant way, Directions for spelling, and other remarkable matters*. n.d. [Frontispiece, queen Anne.] [A different work from the same author's other *Little Book*.]

Yonge, Charlotte Mary. *The Chaplet of Pearls*. 1868.

— *Countess Kate*. 1862.

— *The Daisy Chain*. 1856.

— *The Dove in the Eagle's Nest*. 1866.

— *The Heir of Redclyffe*. 1853.

— *The Lances of Lynwood*. 1855.

— *The Little Duke*.

— *The Pillars of the House*. 4 vols. 1873.

— *A Storehouse of Stories*. 2 vols. 1870-2. [Rpts of old tales, chiefly eighteenth century, ed. Yonge, C. M.]

— *Life of*. By Coleridge, C. R. 1903.

IV. SELECTED MINOR WRITERS AND ANONYMOUS WORKS

The Academy, or a Picture of Youth. 1808. [See Lucas, E. V., *Old Fashioned Tales*.]

— Author of. *The Rector and his pupils*. A sequel. 1810.

The Adventures of a Silver Threepence... By Mr Truelove. n.d. [before 1800].

Advice from a Lady of Quality to her Children.... 2 vols. Gloucester, 1778.

Aldiborontiphoskyphorniositikos. n.d. [1800-20]. [A nonsense book.]

Amusing Instructor, The. 1777.

Anecdotes and Adventures of Fifteen Young Ladies. n.d. [before 1820]. [The first 'Limericks']

Barnard, Caroline. *The Parent's Offering*. 2 vols. 1813.

— *The Prize or, The Lace-makers of Missenden*. 1817.

Bishop, J. *The Child's Toy Book*. n.d. [1800-20].

— *Pleasing Tales for Little Folks*. n.d. [1800-20].

Bisset, J. *Juvenile Reduplications: or, the New 'House that Jack Built'*. Birmingham, 1800.

Bloomfield, Robert. *The History of Little Davy's New Hat*. 3rd ed. 1824.

Book of Trades, The, or Library of the Useful Arts. 1807.

Bewman, Anne. *The Boy Voyagers*. 1859.

— *The Castaways*. 1857.

— *The Young Exiles*. 1858.

- Brewer, George. *The Juvenile Lavater; or, a Familiar Explanation of the Passions of Le Brun.* n.d. [1800-20].
- Brothers, The; A Novel, for Children. Henley, 1794.
- * Bunch, Mother. *See* Mother Bunch, *post*.
- B., W. *The Elephant's Ball and Grand Fête Champêtre.* By W. B. 1807. Facsimile rpt, ed. Welsh, C., 1883.
- Cameron, Lucy Lyttelton. *The Caskets.* 12th edn. 1833.
- *The History of Margaret Whyte.*
- *The Two Lambs.* 1821.
- *Life of.* Ed. by her son. n.d.
- Carey, J. *Learning Better than House and Land, as exemplified in the History of Harry Johnson and Dick Hobson.* 1824.
- Children's Magazine, The, or, Monthly Repository.
- [It is not clear how long this lasted. The writer's copy is July-Dec. 1800, and a story in the Dec. no. is 'To be continued.']
- Church, Alfred John. *See* Reference Catalogue of current literature, issued annually (J. Whitaker and Sons).
- Circle of the Sciences, The. Newbery. 7 vols. 1745-6. *See* full bibliography in Welsh, C., *op. cit.* sect. 1, *ante*.
- Clarke, Mary Cowden. *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines.* 3 vols. 1851-2.
- * Cooper, W. D. *The Blossoms of Morality.* 1789. 6th edn illustd by Bewick, T. 1814.
- Copley, Esther. *See* Hewlett, Esther.
- Court of Oberon, The, or Temple of the Fairies. 1823. [An early 'complete' fairy tale book. Contains Perrault, d'Aulnoy, Eastern Tales, and English traditional tales.]
- Crabb, Maria Joseph. *Tales for Children in a Familiar Style.* 1805.
- Craik, Georgiana Marion. *Miss Moore.* 1873.
- *My First Journal.* 1860.
- *Playroom Stories.* 1863.
- Craik, Mrs. *See* Mulock, D. M., *post*.
- Crake, Augustine David. *Aemilius: a Tale of the Decian and Valerian Persecutions.* 1871.
- *The Doomed City.* 1885.
- *Edwy the Fair: or, the First Chronicle of Aescendune.* 1874.
- Crompton, Sarah. *Tales that are True, in short words.* 1853.
- Dame Truelove's Tales. n.d. [1800-20].
- * Dame Wiggins of Lee and her Seven Wonderful Cats... written principally by a Lady of Ninety. 1823. Ed. by Ruskin, J. [illustd by Greenaway, Kate]. 1885. Rpt of 1823 edn, 1887.
- Darton, William. *Little Truths.* 2 vols. 1788.
- *A Present for a Little Boy.* 1798.
- *A Present for a Little Girl.* 1803.
- Dasent, Sir G. *See* Asbjørnsen, P. C., sect. v, *post* (Foreign Works).
- Day, Isaac. *Scenes for the Young, or Pleasing Tales.* 1807.
- Deborah Dent and her Donkey. n.d. [1800-20].
- Dick, the Little Poney. n.d.
- Author of. *The Dog of Knowledge; or, Memoirs of Rob, the Spotted Terrier.* 1801.
- Dorrington, Edward. *See* Quarll, Philip, *post*.
- Early Impressions, or Moral and Instructive Entertainment... with Designs by Dighton. 1828.
- Easter Gift, The: or, The way to be very good. A Book very much wanted. 1787.

- Ellen, or The Naughty Girl Reclaimed. 1811.
[A story illustrated with pictures the chief feature of which was a cut-out head, to be placed successively in each picture, through a slit. The first of several such works.]
- Entertaining instructions...interspersed with Original Fables...by a Lady. 1807.
- Evans, John. Juvenile Pieces...to which is prefixed an Essay on the Education of Youth. 4th edn. 1804.
- Excellent example, An, to all Young men...a dialogue betwixt Guilt and Conscience and Satan. 1684. [Also in other forms.]
- Fallowfield, John. The Moral Instructor,...Essays, Poems, Anecdotes, Maxims etc....Penrith. 1795.
- False Alarms; or, The Mischievous Doctrine of Ghosts...exploded from the Minds of every Miss and Master. 1770.
- Felissa, or, The Life and Opinions of a Kitten of Sentiment. 1811. Rptd 1903.
- Female Guardian, The....By a Lady. 1784.
- Fenwick, Mrs. Infantine Stories. 1810.
— Lessons for Children. 1809.
— The Life of Carlo. n.d.
— Mary and her Cat. n.d.
— A Visit to the Juvenile Library. n.d. [1800-20].
- Fenn, George Manville. See Reference Catalogue of current literature, issued annually (J. Whitaker and Sons), and D. of N. B.
- Filial Duty, Recommended and Enforc'd.... n.d. [not later than 1782].
- Fisher, A. The Pleasing Instructor, or Entertaining Moralist. 1780.
- Gammer Gurton's Garland: or, the Nursery Parnassus. Stockton, n.d.
'A new edition, with additions.' [Probably before 1800.]
- Gaping, Wide-mouthed, Waddling Frog, The.... n.d. [1800-25].
- Goody Two-Shoes. See Goldsmith, Oliver (?), sect. III, ante.
- Goose, Mother. See Mother Goose, post.
- Gregory, John, M.D. A Father's Legacy to his Daughters. 1774. Trans. into French, 1774.
- Halifax, George Savile, Marquis of. See Savile.
- Hall, Anna Maria (Mrs S. C. H.). The Hartopp Jubilee. n.d. [?1840].
— The Juvenile Forget-me-not. 1862.
- Hedge, Mary Ann. Affection's Gift to a beloved God-child. 1819.
— Radama; or, The Enlightened African. 1824.
— Samboe; or, The African Boy. 1823.
- Helme, Elizabeth. Instructive Rambles in London and the Adjacent Villages. 1798.
— James Manners, Little John, and their Dog Bluff. 3rd edn. 1807.
- Hewlett, Esther (afterwards Copley). The Old Man's Head. n.d. [1815-25].
— The Young Reviewers. n.d.
- Heywood, Oliver. Advice to an only Child. 1693.
- History of the Enchanted Castle, The; or, The Prettiest Book for Children. 1777.
- History of Sixteen Wonderful Old Women, The. 1820. ('Limericks.' See, also, Anecdotes and Adventures, ante.)
- Hobby Horse, The; or, Christmas Companion by Toby Ticklepitcher. (?1775.)
- Hugessen, Edward Hugessen Knatchbull, Baron Brabourne. Higgledy-Piggledy. 1875.
— Tales at Tea-Time. 1872.
- Hurry, Mrs (born Mitchell). Moral Tales for Young People. 1807.
— Rational Amusement for Leisure Hours.... 1804.

- Infant's Library, The. [A complete copy does not seem to exist. In several parts. 1780? More than one edn.]
- Ingelow, Jean. *Mopsa the Fairy*. 1869.
- *Stories Told to a Child*. 1865.
- *Life*. Some Recollections of J. I. Anon. 1901.
- J., W. *The Father's Blessing Penn'd for the instruction of his Children*. n.d. [prob. temp. William III].
- Jameson, Anna Brownell (Mrs). *Characteristics of Women*. 2 vols. 1832.
- Juvenile Encyclopaedia, The. n.d. [Vol. iv. 1801-2.] [A magazine, offering prizes to readers.]
- Juvenile Magazine. 1788. 2 vols. [Appeared for one year only. Apparently all by one hand.]
- The 'Author' of. *The Little Emigrant*. 1799.
- — *The Six Princesses of Babylon*. n.d.
- — *The Visits for a Week*. n.d.
- Juvenile Mirror, The.... *Moral and Instructive Tales... with Interesting Biography....* n.d. [1800-20].
- Juvenile Trials for Telling Fibs, robbing orchards, and other offences. Revised edn. 1803. Another edn. 1816.
- Leathley, Mrs. *Chick-Seed without Chick-Weed*. [New edn. 1860. The first edn. seems to have disappeared. Over 250,000 copies of the book were sold.]
- Lee Boo, Prince. *The Interesting and Affecting History of Prince Lee Boo of the Pelew Islands*. 1789.
- Lemon, Mark. *The Enchanted Doll*. Illustd by Doyle, Richard. 1849.
- Letters from a Tutor to his Pupils*. 1780.
- Letters to a Young Nobleman*. 1763.
- Life and Adventures of a Fly*, The. 1789. Illustd by Bewick.
- Life and History of A. Apple-Pie, The, who was cut to pieces, etc.* n.d. [1800-25].
- Little Jack of all Trades....* 1810. 2 parts.
- Lilliputian Library, The; or, Gulliver's Museum....* By Lilliputius Gulliver.... 10 vols. [5s. 'But little Masters and Misses may be supplied with one or more volumes, weekly or monthly, till the whole work is completed, at Sixpence each.' n.d. [probably before 1800]. [Apparently an imitation of Newbery's publications.]
- Lilliputian Magazine, The*. 1752. [In its volume form this periodical, which apparently ran for about a year in monthly numbers, went into several edns.]
- Lilliputian Story Teller, The*. 1785.
- Lioness's Ball, The; Being a Companion to the Lion's Masquerade*. n.d. [Almost certainly 1807. Dedicated to Mrs Dorset, *q.v.*]
- Little Female Orators, The*. 1770.
- Little Moralists, The, or the History of Amintor & Florella, the Pretty Little Shepherd and Shepherdess of the Vale of Evesham*. [Illustd by Bewick.] 1786. Other edns.
- Little Pretty Pocket-Book, A*. 1744.
- Lobster's Voyage to the Brazils, The*. 1807. [One of The 'Butterfly's Ball' series.]
- London Cries, The, for the amusement of all the good children throughout the World*. 1770. Also a variant, *The Cries of London* [Both went into many edns, authorised and pirated, until about 1825.]
- *Lovechild, Mrs, or Nurse*. Many little collections of rimes, spelling books, and short stories were issued under this pseudonym, 1750-1820. The best were those by Fenn, Lady, *q.v.*

- Mant, Alicia Catherine. *Caroline Lismore: or, the Errors of Fashion.* 1815.
 — *The Cottage in the Chalk-pit.* 1822.
 — *Ellen: or, The Young Godmother.* 1812.
 — *Margaret Melville...or Juvenile Memoirs.* 1818.
 — *Tales for Ellen.* 1825.
 See, also, Lucas, E. V., Old Fashioned Tales.
 Marchant, John. *Puerilia: or, Amusements for the Young, consisting of a Collection of Songs....* 1751.
 — *Lusus Juveniles.* 1753.
 Marshall, Mrs. *Henwick Tales.* 3rd edn. 1818.
 Masquerade, The...to Amuse and Instruct all the Good Boys and Girls in the Kingdom. n.d. [1770-1800].
 Mavor, William (author of many educational works). *The Juvenile Olio, or Mental Medley.* 1796.
 — *Youth's Miscellany.* 1798.
 Meeke, Mrs. *The Birth-day Present.* n.d. [1800-25].
 — *Mamma's Gift; or, Pleasing Lessons.* n.d.
Memoirs of the Little Man and the Little Maid. 1808.
 Minor's Magazine, The, and Epitome of Knowledge and Entertainment. 4 vols. n.d. [1800-20].
 Mister, Mary. *The Adventures of a Doll.* 1816.
 — *Little Anecdotes for Little People.* 1817.
 — *Mungo the Little Traveller.* n.d.
 — *Tales from the Mountains.* n.d.
 Mitchell, Miss. *Tales of Instruction and Amusement.* 1795.
 Mother, A. *Always Happy.* 7th edn revised. 1819.
 — *Right and Wrong.* 4th edn revised. 1825.
 Mother Bunch's Fairy Tales. 2 pts. [1777?]
 Mother Goose's Melody; or, Sonnets for the Cradle. In Two Parts.... 1791.
 [This is the earliest extant English edn, though probably Newbery produced it originally about 1760. An American edn of 1785, published at Worcester, Mass., is in existence. For all that is known of the book see the introductions to the two following rpts. The rimes have appeared in innumerable edns and forms ever since the eighteenth century.]
 — A Facsimile Reproduction of the earliest known [English] edn, with Introd. by Prideaux, Col. W. F., C.S.I. 1904.
 — *The Original Mother Goose's Melody....* With Introductory notes by Whitmore, William H. Albany, U.S.A., 1889. Revised edn. [London: but printed in U.S.A.], 1892.
 Mother's Gift, The; or, a Present for Little Children who are good. 1770.
 Mulock, Dinah Maria (afterwards Mrs Craik). *Children's Poetry.* 1881.
 — *The Fairy Book.* 1863. [Tales selected by D. M. M.]
 — *The Little Lame Prince.* 1875.
 Museum, The, for Young Gentlemen and Ladies. 1758.
 My Real Friend, or, Incidents in Life, founded on Truth.... 1812.
 Neale, John Mason. *Hymns for the Young.* 2 parts. 1843.
 — *Sermons for Children.* 1867.
 — *The Triumphs of the Cross.* 1845.
 Nurse Truelove. N. T.'s New Year's Gift. 1760.
 — N. T.'s Christmas Box. 1760. [1750?]
 O'Keeffe (or O'Keefe), Adelaide. (Part author of *Original Poems: see Taylor, Ann and Jane.*) *National Characters exhibited in 40 Geographical Poems.* London and Lymington, 1818.
 — *Original Poems.* 1808.
 — *Poems for Young Children.* n.d.

- Pastoral Lessons and Parental Conversations. Intended as a companion to E. Barbauld's 'Hymns in Prose.' 1797.
- Paths, The, of Learning Strewed with Flowers. 1820.
- Peacock, Thomas Love. Sir Hornbook; or, Childe Lancelot's Expedition; a Grammatico-Allegorical Ballad. (Anonymous.) 1813.
- Percival, Thomas, M.D., F.R.S. A Father's Instructions... to promote the Love of Virtue, a Taste for Knowledge, and an early acquaintance with... Nature. New edn. 1789.
- Personal Nobility: or, Letters to a Young Nobleman.... 1794.
- Pinchard, Mrs. The Blind Child. 1791.
- Dramatic Dialogues. 2 vols. 1792.
- The Two Cousins. 1794.
- Planché, Matilda Anne (Mrs Mackarness). Example Better than Precept. 1867.
- The Golden Rule. 1859.
- A Trap to Catch a Sunbeam. 10th edn. 1850.
- Polite Academy, The: or, School of Behaviour for young Gentlemen and Ladies. 1762. 3rd edn. 1765. 10th edn, with slight revision. n.d.
- Pretty, Playful, Tortoise-shell Cat, The. n.d. [1800-25].
- Pretty Book. The P. B. for Children. 1751.
- The P. B. of Pictures for Little Masters and Misses; or, Tommy Trip's History of Birds and Beasts... to which is added the history of little T. T. himself, his dog Jowler, and of Woglog the great Giant. 1762. For Goldsmith's and Bewick's connection with the book, see Welsh, C., *op. cit.* sect. 1, *ante*.
- Quarll, Philip. Adventures of. Attributed to the transcriber, Dorrington, Edward [? pseudonym]. 1727. [A book which was ed. and pirated frequently for children. Usually published anonymously.]
- Rands, William Brighty. Lilliput Levee. Illustrated by Millais, J. G. and Pinwell, G. J. 1864.
- Renowned History of Giles Gingerbread, The: a little boy who lived upon learning. 1769.
- Richardson, Mrs. Original Poems Intended for the Use of Young Persons. On a plan recommended by the Rev. Dr Isaac Watts. 1808.
- Riley, George. Choice Emblems, Natural, Historical, Fabulous, Moral and Divine. 1772.
- St John, Percy Bolingbroke. The Arctic Crusoe. 1854.
- The Coral Reef. 1868.
- The Young Buccaneer. 1873.
- Sandham, Elizabeth. The Adventures of Poor Puss. Two pts. 1809.
- The Boys' School. A moral Tale. 1800.
- Deaf and Dumb. 3rd edn. 1818.
- The Happy Family at Eason House. 1822.
- The History of Elizabeth Woodville. 1822.
- The Orphan. n.d.
- The School-fellows. 1818.
- The Twin Sisters. n.d.
- The Twin Sisters was translated into French. 2nd edn. 1824.
- Savile, George, Marquis of Halifax. See *ante*, vol. VIII, chap. XVI.
- Sewell, Anna. Black Beauty. 5th edn. 1878.
- School Occurrences... among a Set of Young Ladies... By One of Them. 3rd edn. n.d. [about 1800].
- Somerville, Elizabeth. Aurora and Maria; or, The Advantages of Adversity. ... Brentford. 1809.
- The Birthday. 1802.
- The Village Maid. 1801.

- Southey, Robert. *The Three Bears, in The Doctor.* *See ante*, chap. VIII.
- Sullivan, W. F. *Young Wilfred; or, The Punishment of Falsehood.* 1821.
- T., B. A. *Cobbler! Stick to your Last; or, The Adventures of Joe Dobson.* 1807.
- Tagg, Thomas. *A Collection of Pretty Poems for the Amusement of children Three Foot High.* By Thomas Tagg (*pseud.*?). [c. 1758.]
- Thumb, Tom. *T. T.'s Exhibition.* n.d. [before 1800].
- *T. T.'s Folio, or, etc.* 1768.
- *Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book.* 2 vols. [?]. Only one copy extant, and that of vol. II only. 1744.
- Top Book of All, The, for Little Masters and Misses. Containing the Choicest Stories, prettiest Poems and most Diverting Riddles; all wrote by Nurse Lovechild, Mother Goose, Jacky Nory, Tammy Thumb, and other eminent Authors. To which is added, A New Play of the Wide Mouth Waddling Frog, and a Prize Poem, to be learnt by Heart, with a Shilling at the End for every one that shall say it prettily without Book, and not miss a Word. This Book is also enriched with curious lively Pictures, done by the top Hands. . . . London and Salisbury, 1760.
- Twelfth-Day. Gift, The, or, The Grand Exhibition. [? By John Newbery.] 1767.
- Vaux, F. B. *The Dew Drop.* n.d. [1800–20].
- *The Disappointment.* n.d.
- *Domestic Pleasures.* n.d.
- Ventum, Harriet. Charles Leeson. 1810.
- *Selina, or, The Village Tale.* 1798.
- *Surveys of Nature.* . . . 1802.
- Visions in Verse, for . . . Younger Minds. 1752.
- Visits of Tommy Lovebook, The. Illustd by Bewick. n.d. [before 1800].
- Whim Wham, The: or Evening Amusement. . . . 1810.
- Whimsical Incidents; or, The Power of Music. A Poetic Tale by a Near Relation of Old Mother Hubbard. 1805. Rptd 1904.
- Wiggins of Lee. *See* Dame W.
- Wilberforce, Samuel. *Agathos, and other Sunday Stories.* 2nd edn. 1840. Rptd with introduction by Mason, A. J. Cambridge, 1908.
- Wilkinson, S. *Village Rambles.* 1806.
- Young Gentleman and Lady, The, instructed in . . . principles, etc. 2 vols. 1747.
- Young Gentleman's New-Year's-Gift, The. . . . 1729.
- Youthful Sports. New edn. 1804.
- Youth's Friendly Monitor. 2nd edn. 1754.
- Youth's Looking Glass. . . . n.d. [1660?]. [The title was used for several similar works, especially in chapbook edns.]

V. FOREIGN WORKS

Many foreign authors, translated into English, have become—some for a generation or so, some permanently—an integral part of the nursery library, either by their influence or in themselves. They have also, in some instances, been identified with the work of eminent English artists, so that, though they are not originally native, they may be called English so far as their readers are concerned. The following are the chief instances of this kind of acclimatization (arranged alphabetically, under authors).

Aesop, Fables of. There were many translations from an early period, from Caxton onwards. They were adapted for children by Brinsley, John (1624), Croxall, S. (1722), Dodsley, Richard (1761), and many others. Noteworthy editions are—1818 (illustd by Bewick), 1848 (illustd by

- Tenniel), 1883 (illustd by Caldecott), 1886 (illustd by Crane, Walter), 1894 (ed. by Jacobs, Joseph).
- Andersen, Hans Christian. *Danish Fairy Legends and Tales*. Trans. by Peachey, Caroline. 1846.
- *Wonderful Stories for Children*. Trans. by Howitt, Mary. 1846.
[The most popular editions are probably those illustrated by Stratton, Mrs. (1896, etc.), by Robinson, T. C. and W. Heath (1898, etc. translated by Lucas, Mrs E. V.) and by Tegner, H. (1900, introd. by Gosse, Edmund).]
- Asbjörnsen, P. C. and Moe, J. *Popular Tales from the Norse*. Translated by Dasent, Sir G. W. 1859.
- Beaumont, Jeanne Marie Le Prince de. (Translated.) *Moral Tales*. 2 vols. 1775.
- *The Young Misses' Magazine*. 2 vols. 2nd edn. 1767. Many edns. [Apparently not issued periodically in England.]
- Berquin, Arnaud. *The Children's Friend*. Translated by the Rev. Mark Anthony Meilan. 1783. 24 volumes. The French edn appeared in 1782, and was issued in London, in French, in the same year.
- *The Looking-Glass for the Mind*. [Selections chiefly from *L'Ami des Enfants*.] 1792. Facsimile rpt ed. Welsh, C. 1885.
- Carové, Friedrich Wilhelm. *The Story without an End*. Trans. by Austin, Sarah. 1834.
- D'Aulnoy, Comtesse (Marie Catherine La Mothe). *The Diverting Works of 1707*. (Vol. iv. *Tales of the Fairies*.) Many edns, especially that ed. by Ritchie, Anne Thackeray, 1892.
- Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Adventures of Telemachus*. 2 vols. 1742.
- *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter*. 1707.
- Genlis, Comtesse de (Stéphanie Félicité Brulart de Sillery). *Adelaide and Theodore*. 3 vols. 1783.
- *Tales of the Castle*. 4 vols. 1785.
- *The Theatre of Education*. 2nd edn. 4 vols. 1781.
- Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl, and Wilhelm Carl. *German Popular Stories*. Illustd by Cruikshank, George. 1823. Ed. by Taylor, E., pref. by Ruskin, J. 1869.
- *Gammer Grethel*. . . . Trans. by Taylor, E. 1839. Bohn's edn. 1849.
- *Household Stories*. . . . newly translated. Illustd by Wehnert, E. H. 2 vols. 1853. Illustd by Crane, W. 1882.
- *Household Tales*. Trans. and ed. by Hunt, M. Introd. by Lang, A. 2 vols. Bohn's Standard Library. 1884.
- [Now usually issued (in selections) simply as *G.'s Fairy Tales*: under this title illustrated by Browne, Gordon (1894), Hunsall, John (1901), Rackham, Arthur (1900), Stratton, Helen (1905).]
- Hoffmann, Heinrich. *The English Struwpeter*. 4th edn. 1848.
- La Fontaine, Jean de. Any nearly contemporary translations of *La F.'s* fables appear to have vanished. The first extant English edn seems to be *Fables and Tales from La F. in French and English*, 1734. The fables were so well known under Aesop's name that, so far as children were concerned, the existing English versions probably sufficed.
- La Motte Fouqué, Friedrich Heinrich Carl de, Baron. *Aslauga's Knight*. Trans. by Carlyle, Thomas. 1827.
- *Sintram and his Companions*. Trans. by Hare, Julius C. 1820. Illustd by Sumner, Heywood. 1883. Introd. by Yonge, C. M. 1896.
- *Undine*. Trans. by Soane, G. 1818. Trans. by Tracey, T. 1841. Illustd by Tenniel, Sir John. 1845. Trans. and ed. by Gosse, Edmund. 1896.

- Marmontel, Jean François. *Moral Tales*. Translated by a Lady [Roberts, Miss E.]. 1763. Trans. by Pilkington, Mrs. Illustd by Bewick. 1799. Selected and ed. by Saintsbury, G. 1895.
- Perrault, Charles. *Tales of Passed Times*, By Mother Goose. Written in French by M. Perrault and Englished by R. S[amner]. 6th edn. 1764. [1st English edn, 1729. See note, p. 375.] The standard modern edn is that ed., with introduction, by Lang, Andrew, Oxford, 1888. First French edn (as a separate book), Paris, 1697.
- Raspe, Rudolph Erich. *Baron Munchausen's Narrative of his Marvellous Travels, etc.* 1786. Many edns, especially 1810 (chapbook), 1889 (illustd by Crowquill, Alfred), 1895 (ed. by Seccombe, Thomas).
- Wyss, J. D. *The Swiss Family Robinson*. Translated. 7th edn. 1828. [The first English edn is obscure: an edn of 1849 is 'a continuation.'] Many edns, especially that ed. by Kingston, W. H. G. 1879.
- The following foreign writers, though never assimilated nor influential to the same extent as those enumerated above, have also established themselves as favourites to more than one generation of English children.
- Abbott, Jacob. *Beechnut*. 1853. *The Beechnut Book*, ed. Lucas, E. V. 1901. *Rollo in Paris*. 1854. *Rollo on the Atlantic*. 1854.
- Alcott, Louisa May. The first introduction of her works to England cannot be fixed exactly. It was between 1870 and 1880. The chief are: *Good Wives*: *Little Men*: *Little Women*.
- Fern, Fanny (*pseud.* Sarah Payson Willis). *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio*. 1853. Second series. 1854. *Shadows and Sunbeams*. 1854.
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys*. Boston, U.S.A. 1852. *Tanglewood Tales*. 1853.
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. 1852.
- Verne, Jules. See Reference Catalogue of current literature, issued annually (J. Whitaker and Sons).
- Warner, Susan (*pseud.* Wetherell, Elizabeth). *Ellen Montgomery's Book-case*. [1853.] Melbourne House. [1877.] *Queechy*. 1852. *The Wide, Wide World*. 1851.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOL. III

p. 559. The date of Robynson's translation of More's *Utopia* was 1551 not 1561

VOL. IV

p. 554, after Owen Felltham's *Resolves add* (first complete edition)

VOL. VII

p. 37, l. 8 from foot, for 1621 read 1622

VOL. IX

p. 106, l. 11, and index. The correct titles are as follows: *Histoire comique de la Lune* (1678) and *Histoire comique contenant les états et empires de la Lune* (1657)

p. 414. Quite recently has been published: Kitchin, G. *Sir Roger L'Estrange: a contribution to the History of the Press in the Seventeenth Century*. 1918. Three appendixes to this work treat of bibliographical matter, various points in which are critically discussed in articles contributed to the *New York Nation*, 10 and 17 July 1918.

● p. 433, ll. 33—37. 'Both these pamphlets have been found, and are clearly Defoe's.' W. P. Trent.

p. 575. The dates of Butler's *Hudibras* are 1668—78 not 1668—8

VOL. X

p. 41, l. 11, for *The North Briton* read *The Briton*, and the footnote reference should be to chapter xvii

p. 118, l. 3 from foot of text, for MacGaussin read Mlle Gaussin

p. 275, l. 14, for *Recollections* read *Recollection*

p. 276, l. 2, for son read nephew

p. 309, l. 18, and index, for John read Joseph

p. 320, note, for *Edinburgh Review*, July 1808, read *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, November 1824

● p. 344, l. 22, for 1771 read 1772

p. 387, l. 22, for Micaijah read Michaijah

p. 409, l. 9, for four or five read four out of the five

p. 411, l. 11, for W. H. read W. L.

p. 421, l. 15 from foot, for Vienna? read Brieg

p. 436, l. 13 from foot, for Scanderberg read Scanderbeg

p. 497, add *An Eighteenth Century Correspondence*, ed. Dickens, L. and Stanton, M. 1910.

p. 522, l. 19 from foot, for Roughead read Ruffhead

p. 525, headline, in some copies, for X read XVII

In index, p. 538, add, before Cumberland, Richard, the heading Cumberland, Richard, bishop of Peterborough, 851, and omit 851, 2 lines below

- p. 90, footnote, for *Caldicott* read *Coldicott*
- p. 156, l. 7, for *Irish secretary* read *chancellor of the Irish exchequer*
- p. 172, l. 27, for *Amherst* read *Amhurst*
- p. 177, l. 6, for *Burgess* read *Burges*
- p. 284, l. 24, for *Reliques* read *Remains*
- p. 242, l. 14 from foot, for *Richard* read *Robert*
- p. 248, l. 8 from foot, for *John* read *James*
- p. 257, l. 28, for *Bensly* read *Bensley*
- p. 263, l. 19, for *Griffith's* read *Griffith's*
- „ footnote, for *Celisia* read *Celestia*
- p. 275, l. 21, for *The Sisters* (1679) read *The Sister* (1769)
- p. 276, l. 2 of footnote, for *first 1791* read *1798*
- p. 281, l. 35, for *1761* read *1791*
- p. 282, footnote, for *P. Toynbee* read *Mrs P. Toynbee*
- p. 289, footnote 3, l. 1, for *Reading* read *Redding*
- p. 299, l. 12 from foot, for *Thorp* read *Thorpe*
- p. 300, l. 1, for *Anne* read *Ann*
- p. 326, ll. 33 and 42, for *Straham* read *Strahan*
- p. 331, l. 23, for *Sobière* read *Sorbière*
- p. 374, l. 13, for *Corbett* read *Corbet*
- p. 379, l. 5, for *Venn* read *Fenn*
- p. 384, l. 10 etc., for *Mrs Turner* read *Miss Turner*
- p. 435, l. 9. The *Glenriddel MSS*, formerly in the *Liverpool Athenaeum*, are to be placed in the custody of three trustees, and will be deposited in the cities of *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow* for alternate periods of five years each.
- p. 447, add *Nettleton, G. H. English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century (1642—1780). 1914.*
- p. 472, l. 4, for *Haste* read *Harte*

TABLE OF PRINCIPAL DATES

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1700 Death of Dryden. | 1764 Death of Hogarth. |
| 1702 Edward Bysshe's <i>Art of Poetry</i> . | 1765 Horace Walpole's <i>Castle of Otranto</i> . |
| 1709 First English Copyright Act. | 1765-9 Blackstone's <i>Commentaries</i> . |
| 1712 J. J. Rousseau born. | 1766 C. Anstey's <i>New Bath Guide</i> . |
| 1714-27 George I. | 1766 Malthus born (d. 1834). |
| 1717 David Garrick born (d. 1779). | 1766 Lessing's <i>Laokoon</i> . |
| 1719 Death of Addison. | 1768-71 <i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> , 1st edn. |
| 1720 Mrs Elizabeth Montagu born (d. 1800). | 1769 R. Cumberland's <i>The Brothers</i> produced. |
| 1723 Blackstone born (d. 1780). | 1770 Burke's <i>Thoughts on the Present Discontents</i> . |
| 1727-60 George II. | 1770 Wordsworth born (d. 1850). |
| 1727 Death of Newton. | 1771 R. Cumberland's <i>The West Indian</i> . |
| 1728 Oliver Goldsmith born (d. 1774). | 1771 Walter Scott born (d. 1832). |
| 1729 Burke born (d. 1797). | 1772 Coleridge born (d. 1834). |
| 1731 Cowper born (d. 1800). | 1773 Goethe's <i>Götz von Berlichingen</i> . |
| 1731 Death of Defoe. | 1773 Goldsmith's <i>She Stoops to Conquer</i> . |
| 1737 Edward Gibbon born (d. 1794). | 1774 Burke's Speech on American Taxation. |
| 1744 Death of Pope. | 1774 Southey born (d. 1843). |
| 1745 Hannah More born (d. 1833). | 1774 Goethe's <i>Sorrows of Werther</i> . |
| 1745 Death of Swift. | 1775 Burke's Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies. |
| 1748 Bentham born (d. 1832). | 1775 Grattan enters the Irish parliament. |
| 1749 Goethe born. | 1775 Jane Austen born (d. 1817). |
| 1750 The bluestocking parties begin. | 1775 Charles Lamb born (d. 1834). |
| 1751 Sheridan born (d. 1816). | 1775 Sheridan's <i>The Rivals</i> . |
| 1751 <i>Encyclopédie</i> , vols. I and II. | 1776 Bentham's <i>A Fragment on Government</i> . |
| 1753 Dugald Stewart born (d. 1828). | 1776 Death of Hume. |
| 1754 Crabbe born (d. 1832). | 1776 Adam Smith's <i>The Wealth of Nations</i> . |
| 1756 Amory's <i>John Bunce</i> . | 1776 The American Declaration of Independence. |
| 1756 Burke's <i>Sublime and Beautiful</i> . | 1776 Gibbon's <i>Decline and Fall</i> , vol. I. |
| 1757-60 Pitt's first ministry. | |
| 1757 Blake born (d. 1827). | |
| 1758 Mrs Carter's <i>Epictetus</i> . | |
| 1759 British Museum opened. | |
| 1759 Burns born (d. 1796). | |
| 1760-1820 George III. | |
| 1760 Rousseau's <i>Nouvelle Héloïse</i> . | |
| 1762 Wilkes's <i>The North Briton</i> . | |
| 1763 Rousseau's <i>Contrat Social</i> . | |

- 1777-84 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2nd edn.
 1777 Hannah More's *Percy*.
 1777 Clara Reeve's *The Champion of Virtue*, afterwards *The Old English Baron*.
 1777 Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* and *A Trip to Scarborough* produced.
 1778 Death of Rousseau.
 1778 Death of Voltaire.
 1778 Hazlitt born (d. 1830).
 1779 *Olney Hymns*.
 1779 Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*.
 1780 Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland*.
 1781 William Pitt the younger and Sheridan enter parliament.
 1781 Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*.
 1781 Rousseau's *Confessions*.
 1782 Cowper's *Poems*.
 1782 Mrs Siddons begins acting at Drury lane.
 1783 Crabbe's *The Village*.
 1783 Fox's India Bill.
 1783-1802 William Pitt the younger's first ministry.
 1784 Beckford's *Vathek* written.
 1784 Death of Johnson.
 1785 Clara Reeve's *Progress of Romance*.
 1785 Burke's speech *On the Nabob of Arcot's debts*.
 1785 Cowper's *The Task*.
 1785 Burke begins his attack on Warren Hastings.
 1786 Burns's *Poems* (Kilmarnock edn).
 1786 Burgoyne's *The Heiress*.
 1787 Sheridan's speech against Warren Hastings.
 1787 Colman's *Inkle and Yarico*.
 1788 *The Times* founded.
 1788-97 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 3rd edn.
 1788 Byron born (d. 1824).
 1788 Goethe's *Egmont*.
 1789 Blake's *Songs of Innocence*.
 1789 Fall of the Bastille.
 1789 Bentham's *The Principles of Morals and Legislation*.
 1790 Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*.
 1791 B. Inchbald's *A Simple Story*.
 1791 Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.
 1791-2 T. Paine's *The Rights of Man*.
 1791 Ann Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest*.
 1792 T. Holcroft's *The Road to Ruin*.
 1792 Pitt's speech on the slave-trade.
 1792-4 Arthur Young's *Travels in France*.
 1792 Shelley born (d. 1822).
 1793 W. Godwin's *Political Justice*.
 1794 W. Godwin's *Caleb Williams*.
 1794 Blake's *Songs of Experience*.
 1794 Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*.
 1794 Southey's *Wat Tyler* written.
 1794-5 Paine's *The Age of Reason*.
 1795 Carlyle born (d. 1881).
 1795 Keats born (d. 1821).
 1795 M. G. Lewis's *The Monk*.
 1796 Burke's *A Letter to a Noble Lord*.
 1796 Southey's *Joan of Arc*.
 1796 Bage's *Hermesprong*.
 1796 E. Inchbald's *Nature and Art*.
 1796-8 Southey's *Ballads* written.
 1797 Kotzebue popular on the London stage.
 1797 *The Anti-Jacobin*.
 1797 Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian*.
 1797 Heine born.
 1797-1814 Wordsworth's *Excursion* written.
 1798-1805 Wordsworth's *Prelude* written.
 1798 Southey's *Holly Tree* written.
 1798 Malthus's *Essay on the Principle of Population*.
 1798 Wordsworth and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads*.
 1799 Balzac born.
 1800 Schiller's *Wallenstein*.
 1800 Wordsworth's *Recluse* written.
 1801 Chateaubriand's *Atala*.
 1801 Southey's *Thalaba*.
 1802 Cobbett's *Weekly Register* begins.
 1802 Victor Hugo born.
 1802 *The Edinburgh Review*.
 1803 Jane Porter's *Thaddeus of Warsaw*.
 1804 Death of Kant.
 1804-6 William Pitt's second ministry.

- 1805 Southey's *Madoc*.
- 1805 Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty* written.
- 1805 Death of Schiller.
- 1805 Chateaubriand's *René*.
- 1806 'All the Talents' ministry.
- 1807 Crabbe's *The Parish Register*.
- 1809 *The Quarterly Review*.
- 1809 Charles Darwin born (d. 1882).
- 1809 Tennyson born (d. 1892).
- 1809 Chateaubriand's *The Martyrs*.
- 1810 Jane Porter's *The Scottish Chiefs*.
- 1810 Crabbe's *The Borough*.
- 1810 Southey's *The Curse of Kehama*.
- 1810 Mme de Staël's *L'Allemagne*.
- 1811 Thackeray born (d. 1863).
- 1812 Browning born (d. 1889).
- 1812 Crabbe's *Tales*.
- 1812 Dickens born (d. 1870).
- 1812 Maria Edgeworth's *Absentee*.
- 1813 Hogg's *The Queen's Wake*.
- 1813 Southey's *The Life of Nelson*.
- 1814 Southey's *Roderick, the Last of the Goths*.
- 1816 Coleridge's *Christabel*.
- 1816 Peacock's *Headlong Hall*.
- 1817 Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*.
- 1817 Peacock's *Melincourt*.
- 1817 Maria Edgeworth's *Ormond*.
- 1818 Peacock's *Nightmare Abbey*.
- 1819 Hope's *Anastasius*.
- 1820 Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer*.
- 1820 Southey's *Life of Wesley*.
- 1820-30 George IV.
- 1822 Peacock's *Maid Marian*.
- 1824-8 Godwin's *Commonwealth of England*.
- 1829 Southey's *Colloquies*.
- 1829 Peacock's *The Misfortunes of Elphin*.
- 1831 Peacock's *Crotchet Castle*.
- 1834-47 Southey's *The Doctor*.

INDEX OF NAMES

[The letters ff. after an entry imply that references to the same subject occur on at least two immediately succeeding pages. Birth and death dates are not, as a rule, given in the case of writers whose work is treated in other volumes.]

- A Apple Pie*, 386
 'A was an Apple-pie,' 368
A was an Archer, 370
 Abington, Frances, 257
 Absolute, captain, in *Sheridan's Rivals*, 266, 269
 — Sir Anthony, in *Sheridan's Rivals*, 266, 267
 Acres, Bob, in *Sheridan's Rivals*, 266, 267
 Act for the Encouragement of Learning, 314
 Adam house, an, 377
 Adams, J. Q., 266
 Adams, parson, in *Joseph Andrews*, 143
 Addison, Joseph, 2, 206, 280, 320, 330;
 Cato, 278
 Adeline, in *Mrs Radcliffe's Romance of the Forest*, 302
Advice to a Young Nobleman, 371
 Aelfric, 366; *Colloquy*, 367
 Aesop, 366, 490
 Africa, 112
 Africans, the, 159
 Aguecheek, Sir Andrew, in *Twelfth Night*, 266
 Ahania, Blake's, 194
 Aikin, Anna Laetitia. *See* Barbauld
 — John (1747-1822), 382, 384, 477
 Ailesbury, countess of, 282
 Ainger, Alfred, *Crabbe*, 146
 Akenside, Mark, 324; *Pleasures of Imagination*, 323
 Alasi, prince, in *Beckford's Episodes*, 291
 Albion, in *Blake's Jerusalem*, 198, 199
 Aleuin, 366
 Aldeburgh, 140, 141, 143, 144, 146, 147
 Aldhelm, 366
 Alembert, Jean B. le Rond d', 354
 Alexandrines, 246
 Alfoxden, 99, 102
 Algarotti, Francesco, *Newtonianismo per le Dame*, 356
 Allen, *Allan to the Unconverted*, 369
 Alloway, 219
 Alps, the, 96
 Alsorip, in *Burgoyne's Heiress*, 275, 276
 — Miss, in *Burgoyne's Heiress*, 275
 Alsopce, in *Morton's Way to get Married*, 281
 Alton, Miss, in *Burgoyne's Heiress*, 275
 Altrive farm, in *Yarrow*, 239
 Alvar, in *Coleridge's Remorse*, 414
 Alvarez Espriella, Don Manuel, in *Southey's Letters from Spain*, 163
 Amanda, in *Vanbrugh's Relapse* and *Sheridan's Trip to Scarborough*, 268
 America, 3, 7, 10 ff., 15, 20, 75, 119, 189, 190, 235, 236, 275, 380, 385
 — south, 60
 — United States of, 47 ff., 72
 American colonies, 5, 22
 — constitution, 71
 — Declaration of Independence, 71
 — war of independence, 5, 6, 16, 24
 Americans, the, 11, 15, 19, 52
 Amhurst, Nicholas, 172
 Amory, Thomas (1691?-1788), 285 ff.
 (main entry), 307; *Life of John Bunce*, 285 ff., 328, 329; *Memoirs of Several Ladies*, 285, 287
 Andersen, Hans Christian, 387, 491
 Angel of Death, 31
 Angellier, Auguste, 115
 Anglican clergy, 309
 'Anna Matilda.' *See* Cowley, Hannah
Annals of Agriculture, 72
 Anne, queen of Great Britain, 370, 372
Annual Register, 145, 324
 Anstey, Christopher (1724-1805), 158, 160, 172, 424; *New Bath Guide*, 173
 Anstruther, Fife, 243
Anti-Jacobin, The, 39 ff., 157, 392
Anti-Jacobin Review, The, 392
 Apollo press, 325
Arabian Nights, The, 161, 291
 Arabian tales, 290, 374
 Arabic language and literature, 290, 292, 355
 Arber, Edward, 311, 339
 Arblay, Frances Burney, *Madame d'*, 289, 296, 344, 349, 354; *Apelina*, 365
 Arcadia, 142, 287

- Argus, 'Arabella, 477; *Adventures of a Donkey*, 383; *Juvenile Spectator*, 388
 Argyll, Elizabeth, duchess of, 451
 Ariosto, Ludovico, 157
 * Aristotle, 47, 134; *Rhetoric*, 16
 'Arley,' Della Cruscan poet, 177
 Armour, Jean, 222
 Armstrong, C. F., *Shakespeare to Shaw*, 269
 Arnold, Matthew, 136, 161; *On Translating Homer*, 90
 Ashburton, Devonshire, 89
 Ashby-de-la-Zouch, 340
 Ashfield, dame, in Morton's *Speed the Plough*, 281
 Asia, 16, 190
 Athanasius, 287
 Atlantic, the, 190
 Atlantis, 190
 Attic eloquence, 18
 Aubrey, Augusta, in *Cumberland's Fashionable Lover*, 265
 Auchinleck, 285, 286
 'Auld Hornie,' 212
 'Auld Licht' clergy, 212, 213, 216
 * Auld Nick, in Burns's *Tam o' Shanter*, 219
 Aulnoy, Marie Catherine, countess de, 875, 491
 * Austen, Lady, 83, 87, 88
 — Jane, 285, 286; *Northanger Abbey*, 299
 Avondale, Lord, in Morton's *School of Reform*, 281
 Aylmer, Brabazon, 319, 332
 Ayrshire, 220, 235
 B.B. (Lady Nairne), 238
 Bab, Lady, in Burgoyne's *Maid of the Oaks*, 265
 Babes' Boke, *The*, 368
 Babes in the Wood, *The*, 385
 Babylon, in Blake's poems, 197, 199
 Back, John, 335
 Bacon, Francis, viscount St Albans, 11, 57
 — friar, 373
 Bage, Robert (1728-1801), 295 ff., 459
 Barham Downs, 295, 296
 Fair Syrian, 295
 Hermisprong, or Man as he is not, 292, 295
 James Wallace, 295
 Man as he is, 295, 296
 Mount Henneth, 295, 296
 Bailey, J. C., *The Poems of William Cowper*, 83
 Baillie, Lady Grizel, 231
 — Joanna (1762-1851), 149, 231
 (main entry), 442, 456
 De Montfort, 374
 Fugitive Pieces, 231
 * It was on a morn, 231
 Metrical Legends, 231
 'My Bride he is winsome and bonnie,' 231
 Poverty parts Good Company, 231
 Saw Ye Johnie Comin, 231
 Tam o' the Lin, 231
 Baker, Samuel (d. 1788), 336
 — Thomas, *The Yeoman of Kent*, 321
 Balcanres, Fife, 231
 Baldwin, Edwin (pseud. of William Godwin), 394
 Balfour, John, 342
 Ballad in Imitation of Martial, 174
 Ballantyne novels, 295
 — press, 342, 469
 — James (1772-1838), 342
 — Robert Michael (1825-1894), 387
 Ballantyne's Annual Register, 162
 Ballard, Edward (d. 1796), 332
 Ballards, the, 336, 337
 Ballitore, Ireland, 1
 'Balmquhapple,' Fife, 242
 Balzac, Honoré de, 290, 305
 Banbury, 373
 Bank of England, 89
 Bannatyne club, 231
 Barbadoes, 279, 280
 Barbauld, Anna Laetitia, born Aikin (1743-1825), 132, 343, 382, 477; *Easy Lessons*, 384; *Evenings at Home*, 384; *Hymns in Prose*, 384
 'Bard, The,' Della Cruscan poet, 177
 Bardolph, Shakespeare's, 289
 Barham, Richard Harris, 160; *Ingoldsby Legends*, 38
 Barkiarokh, in Beckford's *Episodes*, 291
 Barlow, Mr, in *Sandford and Merton*, 331, 332
 Barnard, Lady Anne (Lady Anne Lindsay: 1750-1825), 442; *Auld Robin Gray*, 231; *Why Tarrys My Love*, 232
 — Edward, 346
 Barrett, Eaton Stannard (1786-1820), 299, 459
 Barry, Spranger, 257, 260
 Barthélémon, François H., 258
 Basire, James, 181
 Baskerville, John (1706-1775), 341
 Bateman, Christopher, 331, 332, 336
 Bates, William, *Harmony of the divine attributes*, 316
 Bath, 149, 173, 175, 283, 344, 347
 — knights of the, 292
 — colonel, in Fielding's *Amelia*, 265
 — Sir William Pulteney, earl of, 174, 248, 350, 352, 353
 — Thomas Thynne, 2nd marquis of, 148
 Baxter, Richard, 334; *Call to the Unconverted*, 369; *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 316; *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, 316
 Bayle, Pierre, *Dictionary*, 320
 Bayly, Lewis, *The Practice of Piety*, 369
 Beaconsfield, Burke's residence, 142
 Beattie, James, 203, 342, 350; *Essay on Truth*, 351; *The Minstrel*, 247, 351
 Beaumarchais, Pierre A. C. de, *Figaro*, 262
 Beaumont, Sir George, 130
 Beaumont and Fletcher, 319
 Beaupuy, Michel, 98

- Beccaria, Cesare Bonesana, marquis di, 66, 70; *Crimes and Punishments*, 64
 Becket, Thomas, 815
 Beekford, William (1759-1844), 289 ff., 806, 807, 459 c
 Asemia, 289
 Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents, 289
 Episodes, 290 ff.
 History of Extraordinary Painters, 289
 Letters from Portugal, 289
 Modern Novel Writing, 289
 Vathek, 161, 289 ff., 804
 Bedford, Francis Russell, 5th duke of, 29, 80
 — Grosvenor, the elder, 154
 — Grosvenor, the younger, 154, 169, 172
Bee, The, 286
 Belcour, in Cumberland's *West Indian*, 264, 265, 275
 Belfast, 288
 Belfield, in Cumberland's *Brothers*, 264
 Belianis, Don, in *The Tatler*, 373
 Belinda, in Miss Edgeworth's novel, 297
 Bell, John (1745-1831), 325, 342
Bell's Weekly Messenger, 325
 Bellamy, Daniel, the elder (b. 1687), 424
 — David, the younger (d. 1789), 424
 — Miss George Anne, 260
 — Samuel, 172
 Belloy, Pierre L. B. de, *Le Siège de Calais*, 274
 Belson, Mrs. See Elliott, Mary
 Belvoir, Leicestershire, 143, 144
 Benares, rajah of, 14
 'Benedict,' Della Cruscan poet, 177
 Bengal, 242
 Benlow (or Bruce), Mrs Marinda, in Amory's *Memoirs of Several Ladies*, 287
 Bensley, Robert, 257
 Bent, William, 339
 Bentham, Jeremy (1748-1832), 57 ff. (main entry), 186, 397
 Anarchical Fallacies, 71
 Book of Fallacies, 71
 Chrestomathia, 72
 Codification Proposals, 72
 Constitutional Code, 71
 Defence of Usury, 58
 Deontology, 61
 Fragment on Government, 58, 61 ff., 71
 Influence of Time and Place in Matters of Legislation, 72
 Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation, 58, 59, 64, 65, 69
 Introductory view of the Rationale of Evidence, 61
 Poor Laws and Pauper Management, 72
 Rationale of Evidence, 61
 Table of the Springs of Action, 61, 65
 Theory of Legislation, 68
 Works, 60, 61
 Bentham, Samuel, 58
 Bentley, Richard (1662-1742), 341, 380
 Bentley, Richard (1708-1782), 456; *Philodamus*, 274
 Berenger, Richard, 362
 Berinthia, in Vanbrugh's *Relapse* and Sheridan's *Trip to Scarborough*, 268
 Berkeley, George, 57, 100
 Berquin, Arnaud, 491; *L'Ami des Enfants*, 378, 382; *Le Petit Grandisson*, 382
 Bertram, Sir Stephen, in Cumberland's *Jew*, 282
 Betterton, Thomas, 357
 Betty, W. H. W., 283, 452
 Beulah, daughters of, in Blake's *Four Zoas*, 196
 Beverley, in Sheridan's *Rivals*, 266
 Bevis, in *The Tatler*, 373
 Bewick, Thomas, 377
 Bible, the, 48, 89, 181, 188, 189, 287, 326, 363, 369; *Corinthians*, 355; *Psalms*, 206, 287; *Revelation*, 197
 — society, 259
 Bickerstaff, Isaac (d. 1812?), 451; *The Padlock*, 262
 — Isaac, of *The Tatler*, 373
 Birch, Thomas, 356
 Birmingham, 338, 340, 341
 Black prince, the, 131
Blackbird, The, 234
 Blacklock, Thomas (1721-1791), 283, 234, 442
 Blackstone, Sir William, *Commentaries*, 61, 62, 66; *Law Tracts*, 61
Blackwood's Magazine, 148
 Blair, Hugh, *Sermons*, 327
 — Robert, *The Grave*, 244
 Blake, William (1757-1827), 176, 181 ff. (main entry), 245, 250, 431
 Africa, 194
 America, 189, 190, 193
 Auguries of Innocence, 200
 Birds, The, 200
 Blossom, The, 185
 Book of Ahania, 193, 194
 Book of Los, 193, 194
 Book of Thel, 186, 187
 Book of Urizen, 193 ff.
 Chimney Sweeper, The, 185, 186
 Clod and the Pebble, 191
 Cradle Song, 186, 193
 Crystal Cabinet, The, 199
 Descriptive Catalogue, 200
 Divine Image, The, 184
 Dream, A, 185
 Earth's Answer, 192
 Echoing Green, The, 185
 Europe, 193, 194, 197
 Everlasting Gospel, The, 200
 Fair Elenor, 182
 Four Zoas, The, 196, 197
 French Revolution, 189, 190
 Ghost of Abel, 199
 Golden Net, The, 199
 Grey Monk, The, 199
 Holy Thursday, 185, 191
 'How sweet I roam'd from field to field,' 182

- 'I laid me down upon a bank,' 192
I love the jocund dance, 185
I told my love, 195
Infant Joy, 186
Infant Sorrow, 192
Introduction, 192
Island in the Moon, 183
Jerusalem, 197 ff.
King Edward the Third, 183
Lamb, The, 186
Land of Dreams, 199
Laocoon, 199, 201
Laughing Song, 185
Little Black Boy, 186
Little Boy Lost, 192
Mad Song, 170, 183
Marriage of Heaven and Hell, 187 ff., 192, 200
Mary, 200
Memorable Fancies, 188
Mental Traveller, The, 200
Milton, 188, 197
Morning, 199
My silks and fine array, 183
My Spectre around me, 200
Night, 185
No Natural Religion, 187
Note on The Canterbury Tales, 200
On Homer's Poetry, 201
On Virgil, 201
Passions, The, 182
Poetical Sketches, 181, 182, 184, 185
Public Address, 201
Schoolboy, The, 192
Smile, The, 199
Songs of Liberty, 189
Song of Los, 193, 194
Song of Phebe, 184
Songs of Experience, 190 ff.
Songs of Innocence, 184 ff., 191, 192, 196, 197, 384
Spring, 185
Sunflower, The, 192
Tiger, The, 191, 192
Tiriel, 187
To My Myrtle, 193
To the Christians, 200
To the Deists, 200
To the Muses, 182
Vala, 195, 196
Vision of the Last Judgment, 197
Visions of the Daughters of Albion, 190, 192
War Song to Englishmen, 183
When old corruption first begun, 184
Wild Flower's Song, 198
William Bond, 200
Lambeth books, 189, 193, 195 ff., 199
Pickering MS., 199, 432
Rossetti MS., 191, 197, 199, 200, 431
Blamire, Susanna (1747-1794), And Ye shall walk in Silk Attire, 252; *Nabob*, 232; *What ails this heart of Mine*, 232
Blandish, Mr and Mrs, in Burgoyne's Heiress, 276
Blois, 97
Bluebeard, 375
Bluestockings, the, 343 ff.
Blunderbore, giant, 374
Blunderhead family, in Anstey's New Bath Guide, 178
Bobadill, in Jonson's Every Man in His Humour, 283
Bolingbroke, Henry St John, 1st viscount, 2 ff., 9, 12, 26
Booth, Barton, 257
Boquet, M., 258
Borrowdale, 110
Boscawen, Mrs F., 348, 354, 361 ff.
Boswell, Sir Alexander (1775-1822), 443
Ah! Mary, sweetest maid, Farewell, 235
East Neuk of Fife, 236
Jenny Dang the Weaver, 236
Jenny's Bawbee, 236
New Whig Song, 236
Paddy O'Rafferty, 236
Sir Albyn, 236
Skeldon Haughs or the Sow stitied, 236
Songs Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect, 236
Taste Life's Glad Moments, 236
Boswell, James, 38, 235, 326, 333, 344 ff., 364; *Life of Johnson*, 18, 253, 325, 344
Botany bay, 58
Bourne, Vincent, 83
Bowler, Thomas, 260
Bowles, Caroline. See Southey, Mrs Caroline Anne
William Lisle (1762-1850), 118, 148, 177, 424
Bamborough Castle, 178
Fourteen Sonnets, 178
Hope, 178
Influence of Time on Grief, 178
Sonnets, 172
Tynemouth, 178
Bowring, John, 61
Bowyer, William, the younger (1699-1777), 327, 471
Boyes, Samuel (1708-1749), 172, 331, 425
Bradshaw, William, 329; *Parable of the Magpyc*, 330
Brahma, 194
Brahmanical religion, 18
Brailsford, H. N., Shelley, Godwin and their Circle, 276
Bramble, Tabitha, in Smollett's Humphrey Clinker, 266
Brand, Hannah (d. 1821), 456
Brash and Reid's Poetry Ancient and Select, 243
Breach, mistress, 332
Brent, Charlotte, 260
Braval, John Durant, Remarks on several parts of Europe, 322
Brice, Andrew (1690-1773), 471
Bridegroom Greets when the Sun gas's doom, 331
Bright, John, 31
Brightland, John, 250
Brindley, John, 323, 332

- Bristol, 6, 15, 80, 132, 155, 156, 159, 283, 340, 341, 359, 361
Bristol Journal, 133, 134
 British constitution, 8, 10, 12, 20, 26
 — empire, 18, 18
 — parliament, 20
 — theatre, 276
British Album, 177
 — *Magazine*, 260
 — *Poets*, 325, 328
 Bromion, in Blake's *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 190
 Bromsgrove, 340
 Brooks's club, 52
 Broome, William, 246
 Brothers, Richard, 163
 Brown, Thomas, *Elegy on Mr Edward Millington*, 336
 — William, 335
 Browne, Sir Thomas, 2, 28; *Religio Medici*, 318
 Bruce, Michael (1746–1787), 442; *Cuckoo, The*, 244; *Elegy on Spring*, 244; *Poems on Several Occasions*, 244
 Brunton, Mary (1778–1818), 459
 Brydges, Sir Samuel Egerton (1762–1837), 471
 Bryskett, Lodowick, *The Mourning Muse of Thestylis*, 179
 Buceleuch, Charles W. H. Scott, 4th duke of, 239
 Buchan, David Stuart Erskine, 11th earl of, 230
 Buckingham, George Villiers, 2nd duke of, *The Rehearsal*, 272
 Bulstrode, Buckinghamshire, 347
 Bulwer-Lytton. See Lytton, Lord
 Buncle, John, in Amory's *Life of John Buncle*, 288, 296
 Bunyan, John, 381, 477; *Book for Boys and Girls*, 372; *Divine Emblems*, 372; *Pilgrim's Progress*, 334
 Bürger, Gottfried August, 303
 Burges, Sir James Bland (Sir James Lamb), (1752–1824), 177, 425
 Burgh, Thomas, 6
 Burgoyne, John (1722–1792), 31, 456; *Heiress, The*, 275, 276; *Maid of the Oaks*, 265, 275
 Burke, Edmund (1529–1797), 1 ff. (main entry), 34, 42, 47, 48, 52, 58, 93, 139, 142, 143, 145, 146, 262, 324, 360, 388
 Address to the British Colonists, 5
 Address to the King, 5, 21
 Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, 7, 21 ff.
 Letter...to a Member of the National Assembly, 7
 Letter...to a Noble Lord, 7, 29
 Letter...to...Sheriffs of...Bristol, 5, 18
 Letter to William Smith, 25
 Letters on a Regicidal Peace, 25, 31, 138
 Letters...on the proposals for peace, 7 Observations on...The Present State of the Nation, 7
 On American Taxation, 5, 12, 21
 On moving his Resolutions for Conciliation, 5, 11, 12, 20, 26
 On Mr Fox's East-India Bill, 16, 18, 19
 Philosophical Enquiry into...the Sublime and Beautiful, 2, 3
 Reflections on the Revolution in France, 4, 7, 20, 22, 138
 Remarks on the Policy of the Allies, 7
 Speech at the Guildhall, in Bristol, 6, 15
 Speech on the...Nabob of Arcot's Private Debts, 6, 16, 18, 31
 Thoughts on French Affairs, 7
 Thoughts on the...Present Discontents, 5, 8, 9
 To a peer of Ireland on the Penal Laws, 15
 To Sir Hercules Langrishe, 15
 Tracts relative to the Laws against Popery, 14, 24
 Two Letters...to Gentlemen...of Bristol, 6, 15
 Vindication of Natural Society, 2 ff.
 Burke, Richard, brother of Edmund Burke, 6, 361
 — Richard, son of Edmund Burke, 6
 — William, 2, 6, 388
 Burnet, 'Theory', 330
 Burnett, James. See Monboddo, Lord
 Burney, Frances. See Arblay, Madame d'
 Burns, Robert (1759–1796), 182, 183, 203 ff. (main entry), 233 ff., 237 ff., 242, 243, 435
 Address to Edinburgh, 217
 Address to the Deil, 212, 218
 Address to the Unco Guid, 218
 Auld Farmer's New Year Salutation, 212, 214
 Auld Lang Syne, 225, 228, 232
 Author's Earnest Cry and Prayer, 212
 Banks o' Doon, 230
 Bard's Epitaph, 208
 Birthday Ode, 208
 Blue-eyed Lassie, 230
 Brigs of Ayr, 218
 Captain Matthew Henderson, 211, 219
 Charlie he's my Darling, 229
 Comin Thro' the Rye, 230
 Corn Rigs, 205
 Cotter's Saturday Night, 144, 206
 Death and Doctor Hornbook, 212
 Death and Dying Words of Poor Mailie, 214
 Despondency, 206, 217
 Dream, A, 215
 Duncan Davison, 229
 Epistle to a Young Friend, 218
 Epistle to Davie, 207, 217
 Epistle to Lord Daer, 218
 Epistles, 234
 Epistles to Graham of Fintry, 208
 Farewell, The, 217
 Fintry My Stay, 218
 From Esopus to Maria, 208
 Gloomy Night, 205

- Green grow the Rashes o'*, 205
Guildford Good, 218
Halloween, 215, 216, 235
Handsome Nell, 206
Here's to the Health, 206
Holy Fair, 218, 215
Holy Willie's Prayer, 212, 218
How Lang and Drearie is the Night, 229
In Lamington Kirk, 208
Inscribed on a Work of Hannah More's, 217
Inscribed to the Hon. C. J. Fox, 208
Is there for Honest Poverty, 229
It was a' for our Richtfu' King, 225, 229
James Smith, 211
John Anderson My Jo, 229
John Lapraik, 211
Jolly Beggars, 206, 215, 217 ff., 224
Kirk's Alarm, 218
Lament, The, 206, 217
Lass of Cessnock Banks, 206
Lines on the Fall of Fyers, 208
Logan Water, 235
MacPherson's Farewell, 228
Man was made to Mourn, 206, 217
Mary Morison, 280
Mauchline Wedding, 215
My Father was a Farmer, 206
No Churchman am I, 205
O Leeze me on my Spinnin Wheel, 230
O Merry Hae I been, 229
O Tibbie I hae seen the Day, 206
O Wert thou in the Cauld blast, 230
Ode Sacred to the Memory of Mrs Oswald, 208
Ode to General Washington's Birthday, 208
Ode to the Departed Regency Bill, 208
Ode to the Departed Year, 208
Of a' the Airts, 230
On a Wag in Mauchline, 208
On Captain Grose, 208
On Grizzel Grimme, 208
On Holy Willie, 208
On John Dove, Innkeeper, 208
On Tam the Chapman, 208
On the Death of Lord President Dundas, 208
On the Death of Robert Ruisseauz, 208
On the Death of Sir James Hunter Blair, 208
On the Late Miss Burnet of Monboddoo, 208
On Willie Nicol's Mare, 208
Ordination, The, 213, 215
Poems (Kilmarnock, 1786), 204 ff., 220, 221, 342
Poems (Edinburgh, 1787), 205
Poet's Welcome to his Love-Begotten Daughter, 212
Poor Mailie, 211, 214
Prayer in the prospect of Death, 206
Rantin Dog the Daddie O't, 230
Red, Red Rose, 225, 229
Remorse, 206
Reply to a Trimming Epistle, 211
Ruined Farmer, 206
Scotch Drink, 213
Scots Wha hae, 229
Tam o' Shanter, 215, 217 ff., 224, 238
Tam Samson, 211
To a Louse, 214
To a Mountain Daisy, 214
To a Mouse, 214
To John Rankine, 211
To Ruin, 206, 217
To the Guidwife of Wauchope House, 217
Tragic Fragment, 206
Twa Dogs, 214, 217
Twa Herds, 218
Up in the Morning Early, 229
Vision, The, 207, 214
What can a Young Lassie, 229
Who is that at My Bower Door, 229
Willie Brew'd a Peck o' Maut, 230
Willie Simpson, 211
Works (1834-5), 237
Written with a Pencil at Taymouth, 208
Ye Banks and Braes, 230
Yestreen I had a pint o' Wine, 230
 Burton, Richard, pseud. See Crouch, Nathaniel
 Bury St Edmunds, 140
 Bute, John Stuart, 3rd earl of, 174, 348
 Butler, Samuel, 247; *Hudibras*, 318
 Butts, captain, 196
 Byerley, Thomas (d. 1826), 472
 Byrom, John, 248
 Byron, George Gordon, Lord, 83, 91, 102, 108, 109, 117, 124, 144, 150, 158, 166, 167, 171, 178, 179, 300, 302 ff., 308, 308, 414; *Cain*, 106, 199; *Childe Harold*, 131; *Siege of Corinth*, 127
 Bysshe, Edward (fl. 1712), *Art of Poetry*, 249, 250, 256
 Cadell, Thomas (1742-1802), 326, 327, 361
 — Thomas, the younger (1778-1836), 327
 Cadmus, in *Dialogues of the Dead*, 351
 Cagliostro, Alessandro, count, 293
 Cain, Byron's, 199
 Calais, 97
 Callaghan, Sir, in *Maacklin's Love à-la-mode*, 257
 Calverley, C. S., 379
 Calvinism, 43, 213
 Calvinists, 19
 Cambridge, 57, 113, 150, 178, 335, 338, 340, 347, 357
 St John's college, 96
 Sturbridge fair, 340
 University press, 341
 Cambridge English Classics, 150
 — Richard Owen, (1717-1802), 350, 365, 325
 Cambridgeshire, 347
 Cameron, Lucy Lyttelton (1781-1856), 485

- Campbell, Alexander, *Albyn's Anthology*, 286
 — Thomas, 148, 150, 178
 Campion, Thomas, 160, 161, 179
 Canning, George (1770-1827), 39, 40, 42, 52, 174, 175, 392; *The New Morality*, 42
 Canterbury, 854
 — archbishop of, 814
 Capell, Edward, *Shakespeare*, 320
 Carathis, in Beckford's *Vathek*, 290, 291
 Carlisle, 240
 Carlyle, Alexander ('Jupiter' Carlyle), 220
 — Thomas, 26, 137, 209, 218, 228 ff.; *Life of Sterling*, 136
 Carnan, Thomas, 377
 Carnarvon castle, 131
 Carnatic, the, 19
 Carter, Elizabeth (1717-1806), 343, 350 ff., 354 ff. (main entry), 361, 363, 365, 473
Epictetus, 356 ff.
Examination of Mr Pope's Essay on Man, 356
Ode to Wisdom, 356
Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy Explained, 356
Memoirs, 356
 Carter, Nicholas, 354
 Cartesian philosophy, 57
 Cartwright, Thomas, 32
 Casimir, in Coleridge's *Zapolya*, 414
Catalogue of all the Books.. since the Dreadful Fire, 339
 — of Books (term catalogue), 339
 — of the most vendible Books, 338
 — Complete, of modern books, 339
 Catharine II, tsarina, 358
 Cathcart, Lord, in Glover's *Boadicea*, 258
 Catnach, James (1792-1841), 373, 469
 Caustic, in Morton's *Way to get Married*, 281
 Cave, Edward (1691-1754), 323, 355, 467
 Cecil, in Kelly's *False Delicacy*, 263
 Celestia, Dorothea (1788-1790), 263; *Almida*, 456
 Centlivre, Susannah, 322
 Cervantes, Miguel de, *Don Quixote*, 280
 'Cesario,' Della Cruscan poet, 177
 Chamfort, Nicolas, 175
 Chancery, court of, 315
 Chantrey, Sir Francis Legatt, 242
 Chapman, George, *Homer*, 90
 Chaponne, Mrs Hester, born Mulso (1727-1801), 356, 473; *Letters*, 365, 379
 Chapter books, 325
 Charles I, king of England, 280, 311
 Charlotte, in Cumberland's *West Indian*, 264
 — Augusta, princess, 166
 Charon, in *Dialogues of the Dead*, 351
 Châteaubriand, François Auguste, vicomte de, *Génie du Christianisme*, 108
 Chatham, William Pitt, 1st earl of, 11, 12, 16, 51, 165, 351
 Chatterton, Thomas, 181, 245, 250
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 161, 251, 255, 368; *Canterbury Tales*, 200; *Sir Thopas*, 218
 Chester, 12
 Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th earl of, 82, 173, 248, 260, 323; *Letters*, 278, 371
 Chetwood, W., 317
 Cheveril, in Holcroft's *Deserted Daughter*, 277
 Chinese language, 381
 — room, Mrs Montagu's, 348
 Chiswell, Richard, 323
Choice Song-Books, 218
 Christian era, 194
 Christianity, 18, 43, 194, 196, 198, 199, 286, 287, 380
Christis Kirk, 215, 218
 Churchill, Awnsham, 323
 — Charles, 34, 42, 78, 82, 246
 — John, 323
 Churne, William, 374
 Cibber, Colley, *Hamlet*, 258; *Love's Last Shift*, 321
 — Susannah Maria, 260
 Cicero, M. Tullius, 2, 30, 31; *In Verrem*, 16, 17, 274; *Orator*, 13
Cinderella, 380
 Cinque ports, barons of the, 232
Circle of the Sciences, 367, 376
 Clairmont, Mary Jane. See Godwin, Mrs
 Clarendon, Edward Hyde, 1st earl of, 12, 28; *History of the Rebellion*, 341
 Clark, Mrs Godfrey, 348
 Clarke, Samuel, 481
 Clarkson, Mrs, 121
 Clavell, Robert (d. 1711), 339
 Cleveland, Yorkshire, 174
 Clifford, in Burgoyne's *Heiress*, 275, 276
 Climenson, Emily J., *Elizabeth Montagu*, 328
 Olive, Catherine, 257
 'Clottie,' 212
 Cobb, James (1756-1818), 281, 456
 Cobbett, William (1762-1835), 49 ff., 393; *Political Register*, 49; *Rural Rides*, 51; *State Trials*, 49
 Cockburn, Alison, 231, 232
 Cockerell, Thomas, 332
 Cocker mouth, 94
 Coffey, Charles, *The Beggar's Wedding*, 218
 Coldicott, H. R. S., 'How Cowper got his pension,' 90
 Cole, Sir Henry ('Felix Summerly'; 1808-1882), 473; *The Home Treasury*, 386
 Coleridge, Hartley, 127, 162
 — Samuel Taylor (1772-1834), 28, 71, 99 ff., 104, 112, 118, 117 ff. (main entry), 150, 154 ff., 162, 163, 168, 171, 172, 176, 201, 202, 250, 294, 305, 308, 309, 341, 412
Aids to Reflection, 138
Ancient Mariner, 101, 120, 123 ff., 130, 132, 160, 169, 170, 201
Anima Poetae, 129, 130

- Biographia literaria*, 122, 123, 126, 133, 135 ff., 176, 304
Christabel, 120, 126 ff., 181, 182, 169, 170, 200, 201
Conciones ad populum, 188
Constitution of Church and State, 138
Dejection, 104, 120, 123, 129, 130
Eolign Harp, 119
Essays on his own Times, 139
Fall of Robespierre, 161
Fears in Solitude, 115
Friend, The, 122, 138, 139
Kubla Khan, 120, 124, 125, 169
Lay Sermons, 139
Letters, 122, 131, 139
Lyrical Ballads, 86, 101, 123, 150, 151
Nightingale, The, 129
Ode to France, 115
Ode to the Departing Year, 124
Preliminary Treatise on Method, 138
Religious Musings, 124
Sibylline Leaves, 119
Spiritual Philosophy, 121
Statesman's Manual, 139
Table-Talk, 131
Three Graves, The, 132
This lime-tree bower, my prison, 129
Watchman, The, 138
 Coleridge, Mrs Sara, born Fricker, 119
 Collier, Jeremy, 232
 — John Payne, 133
 Collins, Arthur (1690?–1760), *Peerage*, 327
 — William, 77, 86, 124, 158, 160, 161, 248, 250, 255; *Ode to Evening*, 86, 179
 Colman, George, the elder (1732–1794), 78, 270; *Man of Business*, 265; *New Brooms*, 282; *Ut Pictura Poesis*, 282
 — George, the younger (1762–1836), 276, 278 ff., 457
 Battle of Hexham, 280
 Heir at Law, 280
 Inkle and Yarico, 279
 Iron Chest, The, 280, 393
 John Bull, 280
 Mountaineers, The, 280
 Siege of Paris, 257
 Surrender of Calais, 280
 Turk and no Turk, 279
 Two to One, 279
 Commons, House of, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12, 18, 21, 29, 34, 50, 52
 Condorcet, marquis de, 414; *Esquisse d'un tableau historique*, 73, 276
 Conger, the, 325
 Congreve, William, 248
 Constable, Archibald (1774–1827), 342, 469
Contes de ma mère l'Oie, 374, 375
 Conway, Henry Seymour, 12
 Cooke, John (1781–1810), 326
 Cookesley, William, 40
 Cookson, Anne, 96
 Cooper, Thomas, 323, 375
 — William, 335, 336
 Copyright act, 313 ff., 317, 343
 Corbet, Richard, 374
 Cordier, M., *Pueriles Confabulationumculat*, 367
 Cork and Orrery, Mary Monckton, countess of (1746–1840), 364
 Corneille, Pierre, 353
Cornhill Magazine, The, 90
 Cornwall, 37
Corpus Poetarum Infantium, 375
 Corry, Isaac, 156
 Cottle, Joseph (1770–1853), 341, 468; *Early Recollections*, 133
 Cotton, Nathaniel, 186
 Coney, Raoul de, 274
Court Poems, 328
 Coventry, Francis (d. 1759?), 459
 Coverly, Sir Roger de, 146
 Cowley, Hannah, 'Anna Matilda' (1743–1809), 273, 425; *Belle's Stratagem*, 177, 275; *Bold Stroke for a Husband*, 275; *Runaway, The*, 274
 Cowper, Ashley, 78
 — Harriet. See Hesketh, Lady
 — John, 79
 — Theodora, 78
 — major William, 79
 — William (1731–1800), 77 ff. (main entry), 145, 150, 152, 167, 175, 176, 179, 246, 247, 251, 252, 254, 259, 327, 362, 401
 Absence and Bereavement, 78
 Anti-Thelyphthora, 81
 Roadicea, 83
 Castaway, The, 90
 Charity, 81
 Colubriad, The, 88
 Conversation, 81
 Dog and the Water-lily, 87
 Expostulation, 81
 Garden, The, 86
 God moves in a mysterious way, 80
 Hark, my soul! it is the Lord, 80
 Homer, 88 ff.
 Hope, 81
 Invitation into the Country, 83
 Jesus! wher'er thy people meet, 80
 John Gilpin, 79, 87
 Letters, 85
 Oh for a closer walk with God, 80
 'Old Tiney, surliest of his kind', 88
 Olney Hymns, 80
 On her endeavouring to conceal her Grief at Parting, 78
 On receipt of my Mother's Picture, 78, 87
 On the Loss of the Royal George, 88
 Poems (1782), 83
 Poplar Field, The, 88
 Progress of Error, 81, 82
 Retirement, 81 ff.
 Rose, The, 87
 Shrubbery, The, 79, 83
 Sofa, The, 84 ff.
 Table-Talk, 81
 Task, The, 81, 83 ff.
 There is a fountain filled with blood, 80

- Cowper, William (*continued*)
Time-piece, The, 86, 87
Tirocinium, 78, 87
To Mary, 80, 88
To Mrs Unwin, 80, 88
Truth, 81
Verses supposed to be written by Alexander Selkirk, 88
Winter Evening, 86
Winter Morning Walk, 86
Winter Walk at Noon, 86
Yardley Oak, 248
 Cowslip green, 868
 Crabbe, George (1754-1832), 86, 111,
 140 ff. (main entry), 418
 Amusements, 151
 Ancient Mansion, The, 150
 Birth of Flattery, The, 147
 Borough, The, 140, 146 ff., 151
 Confidant, The, 148
 Delay has Danger, 149, 151
 Ellen Orford, 140
 Epistle from the Devil, 141
 Epistle to Mira, 142
 Equal Marriage, The, 150
 Farewell and Return, The, 150
 Foes of Mankind, 141
 Frank Courtship, The, 148
 Gentleman Farmer, The, 148
 Hall of Justice, The, 147
 His Mother's Wedding-Ring, 150
 Inebriety, 140, 141
 Library, The, 143, 145
 Lover's Journey, 141
 Midnight, 141
 Natural Death of Love, 149
 Newspaper, The, 145
 Parham Revisited, 150
 Parish Register, The, 140, 145 ff.
 Parting Hour, The, 148
 Patron, The, 143, 148, 151
 Silford Hall, 150
 Sir Eustace Grey, 147
 Smugglers and Poachers, 149
 Tales, 141, 148, 149, 151
 Tales of the Hall, 149, 151
 'To the Authors of the Monthly Review, 142
 Village, The, 143 ff., 150
 Widow, The, 149
 Wish, The, 140
 Works, 148
 World of Dreams, The, 147
 Crabbe, George, younger, 150
 — Maria, 883
 — Mrs Sarah, born Elmy, 140 ff.,
 145, 148
 Cradock, Joseph (1742-1826), *Zobeide*,
 265
 Crashaw, Richard, 81, 818
 'Crazy Castle', 174
 Creech, William (1745-1815), 220, 221,
 842, 469
 Creole, in Miss Edgeworth's *Belinda*, 297
 Crèvecoeur, J. Hector St John (1781-
 1813), 899
 Critical Review, *The*, 839, 853
 Criticisms of the *Rolliad*, 34
 Crochallan club, 221
 Croft, Herbert, *Love and Madness*, 281
 Croker, John Wilson, 346
 Cromeke, Robert Hartley (1770-1812),
 443; *Remains of Nithdale and Gallo-
 way Song*, 234, 242
 Cromwell, Oliver, 312
 Crooke, Andrew, 818
 Crossman, Samuel, 370, 478
 Crouch, Nathaniel (1682?-1725?), 380,
 478; *Winter Evening Entertainments*,
 370
 Crousaz, Jean Pierre de, 356
 Croxall, Samuel, 172, 425
 Cruden, Alexander (1701-1770), *Concord-
 ance*, 327, 467
 Cruikshank, George, 386
 Crump, James, 834
 Cudworth, Ralph, 57
 Cumberland, 232
 — Richard (1732-1811), 263 ff., 270,
 272, 457
 Brothers, The, 263, 264, 277, 279, 414
 Choleric Man, The, 265
 Fashionable Lover, The, 265
 Jew, The, 282
 Timon of Athens, 265
 West Indian, The, 257, 264
 Cundall, Joseph, 386
 Cunningham, Allan (1784-1842), 234, 443
 Bonnie Lady Anne, 243
 Hame Hame, Hame, 243
 John Grumlie, 243
 Maid of Elvar, 242
 My Nannie O, 243
 She's Gane to dwell in Heaven, 243
 Sir Marmaduke, 242
 Songs of Scotland, 242
 Wee, Wee German Lairdie, 243
 Wet Sheet and a Flowing Sea, 243
 Young Maxwell, 242
 Cunningham, Lady Elizabeth, 223
 — Thomas Mounsey (1776-1834),
 Hairst Kirn, 243; *Hills o' Gallowa*, 243
 Cupid's Court of Salutations, 334
 Curlicism, 328
 Curll, Edmund (1675-1747), 288, 327 ff.,
 467
 Cutchery court, 12
 Cynewulf, 366
 Daffy's Elixir Salutis, 335
 Daily Courant, *The*, 333
 Dalrymple, Sir David. *See* Hailes, Lord
 — of Orangefield, 220
 Dame and her Donkey's Five, 386
 Dame Wiggins of Lee, 386
 Dangle, in Sheridan's *Critic*, 272
 Darton, William, 377
 Darton and Clarke, publishers, 481
 Darwin, Charles Robert, 75
 — Erasmus (1731-1802), 41, 172,
 175 ff., 180, 246, 425; *Botanic Garden*,
 175; *Loves of the Plants*, 41, 175, 176
 Dashall, Dick, in Morton's *Way to get
 Married*, 281

- D'Avenant, Sir William, 318; *Siege of Rhodes*, 282
- Davies, Thomas (1712?-1785), 327; *Life of Garrick*, 326, 333
- Davis, Lockyer, 336
- Dawson, Phoebe, in *Crabbe's Parish Register*, 146
- Day, Isaac, 383, 485
- Thomas (1748-1789), 478; *Sandford and Merton*, 381, 382; *History of Little Jack*, 382
- De Quincey, Thomas, 246, 344; *Confessions of an Opium-Eater*, 147
- Deal, 354, 358
- 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen,' 71
- Declaratory act, 10
- Defoe, Daniel, *Robinson Crusoe*, 323, 366, 373
- Deism, 286, 287
- Delacour, Lady, in *Miss Edgeworth's Belinda*, 297
- Delany, Mrs Mary, 343, 347, 354, 365
- Delap, John (1725-1812), 457; *Royal Suppliants*, 274
- Della Cruscan poets, 40, 158, 172, 176 (main entry), 178, 180
- Demosthenes, 13
- Denino, Fife, 243
- Dennis, John, 250
- Derwent river, 95
- Devonshire, 34, 39
- Dibdin, Charles (1745-1814), 281, 457
- Diok, in *Mrs Trimmer's Robins*, 379
- Dickens, Charles, 287, 385
- Diderot, Denis, 292, 295, 296; *Père de Famille*, 275
- Dilly, Charles, 326, 327
- Edward, 325 ff.
- Divine Poems*, 370
- Dobson, Austin, 374
- Dodgson, Charles Lutwidge ('Lewis Carroll,' 1832-1898), 477, 478; *Alice*, 387; *Sylvie and Bruno*, 387
- Dodsley, James (1724-1797), 142, 324
- Robert (1703-1764), 318, 323, 324, 327, 332, 334, 468; *Collection of Poems*, 324; *Select Collection of Old Plays*, 324; *The Toyshop*, 323
- Dogberry, in *Much Ado about Nothing*, 266
- Donald, in *Holcroft's Deserted Daughter*, 277
- Donaldson, Alexander, 315, 342
- Doncaster, 168
- Doon, river, 235
- Dornton, in *Holcroft's Road to Ruin*, 277
- Dorset, Catherine Ann (1750?-1817?), 478; *Lion's Masquerade*, 386; *Peacock at Home*, 386
- Dorsetshire, 99
- Douglas, Gawin, 203, 204
- Dove cottage, 102, 103
- Sir Benjamin and Lady, in *Cumberland's Brothers*, 264, 279
- Dr Daniel, in *Southey's Doctor*, 168
- Drugger, Abel, in *Jonson's Alchemist*, 257
- Dryden, John, 27, 40, 170, 171, 174, 201, 206, 316, 318, 320
- Abalom and Achitophel*, 86
- All for Love*, 171
- Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, 171
- Fables*, 171
- Prefaces*, 171
- Troilus and Cressida*, 319
- Dublin, 1, 283, 288, 340, 342, 373; Trinity college, 1, 2
- Dudley, Louisa, in *Cumberland's West Indian*, 264, 265
- Dudleys, the, in *Cumberland's West Indian*, 264, 265
- Dumas, Alexandre, the elder, 307
- Dumfries, 225, 235, 237
- Dumfries Journal*, *The*, 235
- Dumfriesshire, 222, 242
- Dumont, Étienne, 59, 60, 70, 397, 398
- Dunbar, William, 203, 204
- William, friend of Burns, 222, 223
- Dundas, Henry. See Melville, viscount
- Dunlop, Mrs Frances, 222, 223
- Dunton, John (1659-1733), 320, 329, 334, 340, 468; *Life and Errors*, 327, 330
- Dupely, in *Burgoyne's Maid of the Oaks*, 265
- Durham, 244
- Dutch paper, 377
- 'Dutch sublime, the,' 126
- Dyer, Sir Edward, 247
- Early English Text Society, 368
- East India bill, 6
- company, 6, 16, 17
- 'Ebbaac, G.,' 140
- 'Ebbare, G.,' 140
- Eblis, in *Beckford's Vathek*, 290, 291
- Edgeworth, Maria (1767-1849), 286, 296 ff. (main entry), 304, 381, 459
- Absentee*, *The*, 297
- Amie Inconnue*, *La*, 299
- Belinda*, 285, 297, 299
- Castle Rackrent*, 297
- Frank*, 382
- Harry and Lucy*, 382
- Helen*, 148, 297
- Moral Tales*, 296, 382
- Ormond*, 297
- Parent's Assistant*, *The*, 382
- Simple Susan*, 299, 382
- Edgeworth, Richard, 296
- Edinburgh, 75, 149, 220 ff., 233 ff., 236, 315, 327, 338, 341, 342
- Apollo press, 325
- Royal society, *Transactions*, 76
- St Andrew's church, 233
- University, 222, 244
- Edinburgh Magazine*, *The*, 248
- Edwin, John, 257
- Egerton, John, 336
- Eldon, John Scott, 1st earl of, 156
- Eleanor, Lady, in *Mrs Inchbald's Every one has his Fault*, 279
- Eliot, George, 146.

- Elizabeth, queen of England, 106, 350, 363
 Elizabethan drama, 258
 — era, 248, 269
 — poets, 182, 183
 — public, 262
 Ellena, in Mrs Radcliffe's *Italian*, 302
 Elliot, Charles, 327, 342
 — Jane, 231, 232
 Elliott, Mary (Mrs Belson), 382, 478
 Aunt Mary's Tales, 383
 Rambles of a Butterfly, 383
 Tales for Boys, 383
 Ellis, George (1753-1815), 35, 36, 39, 53, 391, 392; *Specimens of Early English Romances in Metre*, 172
 Ellisland, Dumfriesshire, 222
 Elmsley, Peter (1736-1802), 327
 Elmy, Sarah. *See* Crabbe, Mrs
 Elton, Olivet, *Survey of English Literature*, 20
 Elwina, in Hannah More's *Percy*, 274
 Elysian fields, 107, 352
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 153, 171
 Emily, in Mrs Cowley's *Runaway*, 274
 — in Mrs Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho*, 302, 303
 — in Wordsworth's *White Doe of Rylstone*, 106, 107
 — Lady, in Burgoyne's *Heiress*, 275
Encyclopaedia Britannica, 76, 235
 — *Metropolitana*, 133
 England, church of, 1, 167
English Poets, 325
 — *Post, The*, 333
 Enitharmon, Blake's, 194 ff.
 Ennui, in Reynolds's *Dramatist*, 281
 Epictetus, 356 ff.; *Enchiridion*, 357
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 367
 Erskine, Henry, 220
 — Thomas Erskine, Lord, 139
 Estesian 'proofs,' 163
Esto Perpetua club, 34, 35
 Eton, 173, 341, 346
 Ettrick, 239
 — shepherd. *See* Hogg, James
 Eugenius, in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, 174
 Euripides, *Heracidae*, 274
 Eustace, Lord, in Mrs Griffith's *School for Rakes*, 263
 Evans, Mary, 118
 — Thomas (1742-1784), 327
 Evelina, in Mason's *Caractacus*, 273
 Ewing, Juliana Horatia (1841-1885), 387, 478
Examiner, The, 128
 Fag, in Sheridan's *Rivals*, 266, 267
 Faïel, Eudes de, 274
 Falkland, in Godwin's *Calisto Williams*, 46, 293
 Farley's *Bristol Journal*, 133, 184
 Farquhar, George, *The Beaux' Stratagem*, 322; *The Twin Rivals*, 322
Father's Blessing Penn'd for the Instruction of his Children, 370
 Faulkland, in Sheridan's *Rivals*, 267
 Faulkner, George (1699?-1775), 342
 Fawkes, Francis, 172, 426
 Fell, John, 341
 Fellowes, Robert, 312
 Felpham, Sussex, 195, 197
 'Female dream,' the, in Blake's poems, 194
 Fenn, Eleanor, Lady, 479; *Cepheids to Catch Flies*, 379
 Fenwick, Mrs, 486
 Fenton, Elijah, 246
 Fergusson, Robert, 204 ff., 209, 211, 217, 221, 228; *Farmer's Ingle*, 206; *Hallow Fair*, 215; *Leith Races*, 215, 216
 Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, 136
 Fiddes, Richard, *Body of Divinity*, 322
 Fielding, Henry, 264, 288, 296, 331
 Amelia, 262, 265, 279, 324; *Author's Farce*, 329; *Tom Jones*, 260
 — Sarah, 479; *The Governess or Little Female Academy*, 376, 380
 Fife, 242, 243
 Firouzkhah, princess, in Beckford's *Episodes*, 291
 Fisher, Payne, 317
 FitzGerald, Edward, 147
 Fitzpatrick, Richard (1747-1813), 35; *Lyars*, 36
 — T., 450
 Fitzwilliam, William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, 2nd earl, 4
Flagellant, The, 155
 Flapsey, in Mrs Trimmer's *Robins*, 379
 Flaubert, Gustave, 293
 Flaxman, John, 181
 Fleet, publisher, 375
 Fleetwood, Charles, 449
 Florentine academy, 176
Flowers of the Forest, The, 232
Flying Post, The, 333
 Fogg, Peter Walkden, 250
 Fonthill, 289
 Foote, Samuel (1720-1777), 257, 260, 262; *The Cozeners*, 278; *The Minor*, 451
 Foppington, Lord, in Vanbrugh's *The Relapse*, 257, 269, 283; in Sheridan's *A Trip to Scarborough*, 269
 Forum, the (debating society), 239
 Foscolo, Ugo, *Lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, 288
 Foster, John (1731-1774), 250
 Foulis, Andrew (1712-1775), 342, 470
 — Robert (1707-1776), 342, 470
 Fox, Charles James (1749-1806), 1, 2, 19, 34, 35, 51, 52 ff. (main entry), 143, 146, 393
 — George, 167
 Foze, John, *Book of Martyrs*, 326, 369
 Frampton, in Mrs Griffith's *School for Rakes*, 263
 France, 1, 7, 22 ff., 25, 26, 30, 39, 42, 44, 47, 50, 71, 73, 97, 98, 118, 136, 189, 344, 374, 380, 382
 Francis, Sir Philip, 17
 Frankfort, 331
 Frazer, J. G., 35
 Freke, Harriot, in Miss Edgeworth's *Belinda*, 297

- French, the, 28
 — academy, 354
 — Constituent Assembly, 71
 — dancers, 282
 — Directory, 26
 — empire, 103
 — *fabliaux*, 175
 — language and literature, 58, 59, 181, 224, 289, 291, 292, 295 ff., 327, 330, 332, 334, 347, 353 ff., 359, 382
 — National Assembly, 12, 21 ff., 26
 — National Convention, 47
 — octave, the, 217
 — plays, 281, 354
 — poets, 209
 — publicists, 42
 — revolution, 4, 6, 14, 16, 19, 21, 22, 25 ff., 39, 44, 47, 79, 97, 106, 117, 118, 138, 155, 190, 194, 225, 236
 — theatres, 265
 Frere, John Hookham (1769-1846), 39, 40, 392
 Friar, *The, and the Boy*, 354
 Fricker, Edith. See Southey, Mrs
 — Sara. See Coleridge, Mrs
 Froth, Lady, in Congreve's *Double-Dealer*, 266
 Fulmers, the, in Cumberland's *West Indian*, 264
 Gaberlunzie Man, *The*, 218
 Gall, Richard (1776-1801), *Farewell to Ayrshire*, 234; *Now Bank and Brae*, 234; *Poems and Songs*, 234
 'Galloway poet,' the. See Nicholson, William
 Gallus, Ewaldus, *Pueriles Confabulationum*, 367
 Gally, Henry (1696-1769), 250
 Galt, John, *Annals of the Parish*, 64
 Gammer Gurton's Garland, 375
 Gaping Wide-mouthed Waddling Frog, 386
 Garrick, David, 257 ff., 264, 265, 271, 282, 284, 360 ff., 449 ff.; *Cymon*, 282
 Garth, Sir Samuel, 246
 Gascoigne, George, 248
 Gatty, Margaret (1807-1873), 248
 Gay, John, 88, 173, 248
 — *Beggars' Opera*, 218, 260
 — *Eclogues*, 36
 — *Shepherd's Week*, 144
 — *Three Hours after Marriage*, 322
 — *Trivia*, 322
 — *Wife of Bath*, 322
 Gay, Joseph, 330
 Gayville, Lord, in Burgoyne's *Heiress*, 275
 Geddes, John, 223
 Geneva, 59
 Genlis, comtesse de, 491; *Adèle et Théodore*, 382; *Tales of the Castle*, 382
 Gent, Thomas (1693-1778), 341, 469
 Gentleman's Magazine, *The*, 323, 324, 339, 355
 Gentils, the, 17
 George, saint, 373
 George III, king of Great Britain, 5, 11, 13, 37, 52, 166, 261
 — IV, king of Great Britain, 49, 54
 Georgian drama, 257 ff., 272
 — era, 284, 372, 373, 377
 — public, 259, 267, 268, 270
 — theatre, 269, 273
 German drama, 41, 281
 — language and literature, 177, 300, 355, 356, 414
 Germany, 102, 121, 136, 284, 303
 Gesner, Salomon, 181; *Death of Abel*, 182
Gesta Romanorum, 366, 372
 Gibbon, Edward, 260, 327; *Decline and Fall*, 71, 326
 Gifford, John, 392
 — William (1756-1826), 87, 89, 166, 177, 392, 393; *Baviad, The*, 40; *Maeviad, The*, 40
 Gilbert, Mrs. See Taylor, Ann
 Gildon, Charles, 250
 Gilfillan, Robert (1798-1850), 443; *O Why Left I my Home*, 243
 Gilliver, Lawton, 323
 Gillman, James, 121, 129
 Gillyflower, Matthew, 332
 'Gingerbread, Giles,' 377
 Girondists, the, 157
 Gladstone, William Ewart, 4
 Glasgow, 237, 244, 341, 373
 Glasgow Courier, *The*, 237
 — *Sentinel, The*, 236
 Gleanings from an Old Portfolio, 348
 Glen, William (1789-1826), 443; *Wae's me for Prince Charlie*, 243
 Glencairn, John Cunningham, 14th earl of, 220, 223
 'Glenkroden,' river, 287
 Glover, Arnold, 150
 — Richard, *Boadicea*, 258; *Leonidas*, 323; *Medea*, 179
 Godwin, Mrs Mary Jane (Mrs Clairmont), 294
 — Mrs Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), 43 ff., 189, 293, 395; *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 43, 44
 — William (1756-1836), 24, 43 ff. (main entry), 48, 98, 119, 189, 277, 292 ff. (main entry), 393
 Caleb Williams, 43, 46, 280, 292 ff.
 Cloudesley, 292
 Fleetwood, 292
 Juvenile Library, 385
 Mandeville, 292
 Political Justice, 43, 46, 73, 276, 292, 294
 St Leon, 43, 46, 286, 292, 293
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 42, 135; *Faust*, 181; *Shakespeare als Dichter überhaupt*, 284; *Shakespeare als Theaterdichter*, 283
 Goldfinch, in Holcroft's *Road to Ruin*, 277
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 82, 163, 206, 207, 246, 252, 260, 262, 265, 266, 271, 376, 377, 385, 479
 Deserted Village, *The*, 2, 144, 145, 361

- Goldsmith, Oliver (*continued*)
Good-Natur'd Man, The, 261, 263
Present State of Polite Learning, The, 323, 331
She Stoops to Conquer, 265
Vicar of Wakefield, The, 2
 Goodrich, Samuel Griswold, 387, 481
Goody Two Shoes, 376
 Goose, mother, 875
 Gordon riots, 27
 — Jane, duchess of, 220
 Gothic art, 181
 Gough, Richard, *Anecdotes of British Topography*, 335
 Gow, Niel, 233
 Graham, colonel, of Gartmore, 232
 Grahame, James (1765–1811), 443; *Birds of Scotland*, 244; *Mary Queen of Scots*, 244; *The Sabbath*, 244
 Grandison, Sir Charles, in Richardson's novel, 356
 Grant, Mrs Anne, of Laggan (1755–1838), 443
 Eighteen hundred and Thirteen a Poem, 232
 Letters from the Mountains, 232
 O Where tell me Where, 232
 Poems, 232
 Grant, Mrs Elizabeth, of Carron (Mrs Murray: 1745?–1814), *Roy's wife of Aldvalloch*, 232
 Grasmere, 102, 103, 109
 Grattan, Henry (1746–1820), 55, 56, 396
 Gray, Thomas, 77, 91, 124, 140, 207, 248, 250 ff., 255; *Elegy*, 85, 144, 206, 248, 323; *Eton Ode*, 323; *Metrum*, 252
 Great charter, the, 61
 — Berkhamstead, 78
 — Parham, 144
 Greece, 57, 72
 Greek chorus, 265
 — language and literature, 2, 58, 90, 181, 343, 354 ff.
 Greeks, the, 30, 273, 352, 363
 Greene, Robert, 262
 Grenville, George, 5, 7, 10 ff.
 Greta hall, Keswick, 156, 168
 Grey, Charles Grey, 2nd earl, 52
 Grierson, Constantia, 172, 426
 Griffith, Mrs Elizabeth (1720?–1793), 457;
 School for Rakes, 263
 — and Farran, 377
 Grime, in Holcroft's *Deserted Daughter*, 277
 Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl and Wilhelm Carl, 381, 491; *German Popular Stories*, 386
 Grosvenor, Richard Grosvenor, 1st earl, 40
 Grote, George, 72
 Growell, A., *Three centuries of English booktrade bibliography*, 339
 Grub street, 317, 329, 330
 Grundy, Mrs, in Morton's *Speed the Plough*, 281
Guardian of Education, 180
 Guest, Edwin, *English Rhythms*, 170
 Gunnings, the, 260
 Gurton, Gammer, 375
 Guy of Warwick, 373
 Guyon, Mme, 90
 Guyse, John, 479
 Gwyneth, Owen, in Southey's *Madoc*, 162
 Hack, Maria (1777–1844), 479; *Fireside Stories*, 384; *Harry Beaufoy*, 384
 'Hackney, Iscariot' (Richard Savage), 330
 Hailes, Sir David Dalrymple, Lord, 273, 341; *Ancient Scottish Poems*, 204
 Halévy, Elie, *Formation du radicalisme philosophique*, 69
 Halifax, George Savile, marquis of, *A Lady's Gift: Advice to a Daughter*, 371
 Hall, Robert (1764–1831), 399
 Hamburg, 259
 Hamilton archives, 290
 — Anthony, 290, 291, 307, 309
 — Elizabeth (1758–1816), 460; *Cottagers of Glenburnie*, 232; *My Ain Fireside*, 232
 — Gavin, 213
 — John (1761–1814), 234
 — William, of Gilbertfield, 204, 211
 — William Gerard, 5, 173
 Hamlet, W. H. W. Betty as, 283
 Hampshire, 49
 Hampstead, 149
 Hampton, 362
 Handel, G. F., *Scipio*, 88
 Hansard, Thomas Curson, 49
 Hardinge, George (1748–1816), 390
 Hardy, Laetitia, in Mrs Cowley's *Belle's Stratagem*, 275
 Hargraves, the, in Mrs Cowley's *Run-away*, 274
 Harleian library, 336
 Harley, Mrs, in Kelly's *False Delicacy*, 263
 Haroun, in Beckford's *Vathek*, 290
 Harris, James (*Hermes Harris*), 250
 — John, 377
 — Thomas, 451, 452
 Harry, Blind, *Wallace*, 204, 237
 Harte, Walter (1709–1774), 472
 Hartley, David, 100, 137
 — Elizabeth, 273
 Harvey, Clarence, in Miss Edgeworth's *Belinda*, 297
 — Joseph, 377
 Hastings, battle of, 34
 — Warren, 6, 14, 16 ff.; 20, 25, 54, 78, 167
 Haswell, in Mrs Inchbald's *Such Things Are*, 278
 Havard, William (1710?–1778), 257; *Regulus*, 273
 Havergal, Frances Ridley (1836–1879), 479
 Hawkesworth, John (1715?–1778), 457;
 Account of Voyages, 327

- Hawkins, Sir John, 333
 Hawkshead grammar school, 95
 Hay-Drummond, Robert, archbishop of York, 351
 Haydn, Joseph, 232
 Hayley, William (1745-1820), 90, 172, 176 ff., 180, 195, 426, 457; *Triumph of Temper*, 176
 Hayward, Abraham, 344
 Hazlitt, William, 99, 112, 120, 128, 151, 159, 168, 171, 284, 288; *Spirit of the Age*, 150
 Heberden, William, 333
 Hebrew language, 181, 354
 — prophets, 32
 Hebrides, 287
 Hegel, Georg W. F., 121, 139
 Hegelian philosophy, 57
 Heine, Heinrich, 307
 Heinse, Johann J. W., 303
 Hell, 188
 Helvétius, Claude Adrien, 70; *De l'Esprit*, 63
 Henley, Samuel, 289, 291, 460
 — W. E., 161
 • Henry III, king of England, 301
 — Robert, *History of England*, 326
 Henryson, Robert, 203; *Robene and Makyns*, 215
 Herbert, George, 79
 Hercules, in *Dialogues of the Dead*, 351
 Herd, David, *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, 204, 218
 — MS, 229, 235
 Hermsprong, Bage's, 295
 Heron, Robert (1764-1807), 472
 Herriock, Robert, 318, 383
 Herries, John, 250
 Herringman, Henry, 318, 319
 Hertfordshire, 78
 Hervey, James, *Meditations*, 325
 — Thomas (1699-1775), 394
 Hesketh, Lady (Harriet Cowper), 78, 88, 89, 91
 Hester, in Mrs Inchbald's *To Marry or not to Marry*, 279
 Hewlett, Esther, 883
 Heywood, Thomas, 286
 Hickathrift, 373
 'Higgins, Mr, of St Mary Axe,' 43
 Highwaymen, *Lives of the*, 352
 Hildreth, Richard, 68
 Hill, Constance, *Fanny Burney at the Court of Queen Charlotte*, 365
 — George Birkbeck, 13, 344
 — John (1716?-1775), 472
 — Joseph, 87
 — Thomas, 155
 Hills, Henry, 830
 Hindoos, the, 17
 Hindu romance, 164
 Hindustan, 12
 Hindustani language, 242
 Hinxman, John, 341
 Hislop, Andrew, 237
Histoire Littéraire de la France, 172
History of the Sixteen Wonderful Old Women, 386
 Hoare, Prince (1755-1834), 281, 457
 Hoares, the, 149
 Hobbes, Thomas, 7, 32, 57, 818
 Holland, Mrs Barbara (1770-1844), 490;
 Clergyman's Widow, 384; *Son of a Genius*, 384; *Theodore*, 384
 Hogarth, William, 'The Enraged Musician,' 282
 Hogg, Alexander, 326
 — James (1770-1835), 287 ff., 443
 Bonny Kilmeny, 241
 Cam Ye by Athol, 242
 Fate of Macgregor, 241
 Forest Minstrel, 241, 243
 Gathering of the Clans, 242
 Haunted Glen, 242
 Lock the Door Lauriston, 242
 M'Kinnon, 242
 Mador of the Moor, 241
 Mountain Bard, 239
 O Weel Befa', 242
 Pilgrims of the Sun, 241
 Queen Hynde, 241
 Queen's Wake, 239 ff.
 Rise Rise Lowland and Highland Man, 242
 Skylark, The, 242
 Spy, The, 239
 When the Kye comes Hame, 242
 Witch of Fife, 240
 Holcroft, Thomas (1745-1809), 119, 189, 270, 276 ff., 281, 295, 461
 Alwyn, 294
 Anna St Ives, 292, 294
 Autobiography, 294
 Crisis, The, 277
 Deserted Daughter, The, 277, 278
 Duplicity, 277
 Hugh Trevor, 294
 Road to Ruin, The, 277
 Holland, 19, 25, 321
 — Henry R. V. Fox, Lord, 174
 Holy Alliance, the, 108
 Home, Henry. See Kames, Lord
 — John, 457; *Douglas*, 273; *Siege of Aquileia*, 278
 Homer, 79, 88 ff., 355; *Iliad*, 88, 320, 322; *Odyssey*, 321, 322
 Hood, Thomas, 160
 Hooker, Richard, 28, 32
 Hoole, John (1727-1808), 246; *Cyrus*, 263; *Timanthes*, 263
 Hope, Thomas (1770?-1831), 461; *Anastasiarius*, 306, 307
 Horace, 2, 81, 82, 90, 184, 186; *Odes*, 859
 Horsley, Samuel (1733-1806), 399
 Hotspur, in *Macbeth*, 284
Hour before Marriage, An, 265
 Howard, John, 16, 278
 Howell, Thomas, *A Dreame*, 217; *De-vices*, 217
 Howitt, Mary (1799-1888), 387, 480
 — William (1792-1879), 387, 480
 Hoyden, Miss, in *Vaughan's Relapses*

- and Sheridan's *Trip to Scarborough*, 269
 Huchon, R., *Un Poète Réaliste Anglais*, 142
 Hudibrastic couplet, the, 247
 Hudson, John, *Dionysius*, 341
 Hughes, Thomas (1822-1896), 480
 Huguenots, 354
 Hull, Thomas (1728-1808), 457
 Hume, David, 57, 70, 71, 73, 74, 137, 189, 351; *History*, 324, 326; *Treatise of Human Nature*, 63, 64
 Hundred Years' war, 280
 Hunt, James Henry Leigh, 326
 Hunter, Mrs Anne (1742-1821), 444; *Adieu Ye Streams*, 232; *My Mother bids me bind my hair*, 232; *Poems*, 232
Hunting of the Cheviots, 215
 Huntingdon, 80
 Hurd, Richard, 183
 Hurd, James (1768-1801), 427
 Hussey, Edward, 174
 — Thomas, bishop of Waterford, 6
 Hutcheson, Francis, 63, 67 c
 Hutchinson, Mary, 103
 Hutton, William (1728-1815), 338, 340, 469
 Hyder Ali, 17, 18
 Hyslop, James (1798-1827), *Cameronian's Dream*, 243
 'I canna come every day to Woo,' 235
 'I saw a Peacock with a fiery Tail,' 370
 Ilochester, Stephen Fox, 1st earl of, 174
 — Elizabeth, countess of, 174
 Imlay, Gilbert, 44
 Immalee, in Maturin's *Melmoth*, 305
 Impey, Elijah, 78
 Inchbald, Mrs Elizabeth (1753-1821), 224, 270, 278, 281, 294-5 (main entry), 457, 461
 Every one has his Fault, 279
 I'll tell you What, 278
 Mogul Tale, The, 278
 Nature and Art, 294
 Simple Story, A, 279, 292, 294
 Such Things Are, 278
 To Marry or not to Marry, 278
 Wives as they Were, 279
 Inchbald, Joseph, 278
 India, 8, 5, 6, 11, 12, 14 ff., 27, 242, 381
 Ingelow, Jean (1820-1897), 387
 Inkle, in Colman's *Inkle and Yarico*, 279
 Ipswich, 140
 Ireland, 1, 3 ff., 12, 14 ff., 19, 39, 342, 343
 — William Henry (1777-1835), 414, 457
 Irish booksellers, 342
 — catholics, 7, 108
 — history, 15
 — parliament, 6, 55, 344
 — 'revolution,' 24
 — stories, 297
 Irish trade, 5, 6
 Irishman, the stage, 257
 Irwin, in Mrs Inchbald's *Every one has his Fault*, 279
 Isidora, in Maturin's *Melmoth*, 305
 Istakar, in Beckford's *Vathek*, 289, 290
 Iayphena, in Amory's *Memoirs of Several Ladies*, 287
 Italian epic, 39
 — language and literature, 181, 347, 355, 359
 — poets, 134
 — theatre, 266
 Italy, 302, 344
 Item, in Holcroft's *Deserted Daughter*, 277
 Jack and Jill, 303, 385
Jack of Newbery, 334
 Jack the Giant Killer, 374
 Jackson, Andrew, 327
 Jacobinism, 1, 7, 25 ff., 30, 32, 119, 138, 155, 156, 165, 380
 Jacobins, 40, 98, 118, 139, 157
 Jacobite songs, 233, 242, 243
 Jacobitism, 233
 Jacobs, Joseph, 480
 Jamaica, 37, 222
 James I, king of Great Britain, 217, 235
 — II, king of Great Britain, 313
 Janeway, James (1686?-1674), 480; *Taken for Children*, 371
 Jeake, Samuel, *Charters of the Cinque Ports*, 322
 Jefferies, Richard (1848-1887), 480
 Jeffrey, Francis Jeffrey, Lord, 149
 Jehovah, 194, 199
 'Jenks,' pseudonym of William Beckford, 289
 Jenyns, Soame, 350
 Jephson, Robert (1736-1803), 457; *Count of Narbonne*, 274
 Jerome, Don, in Sheridan's *Diuenna*, 267
 Jesus Christ, 185, 194, 196 ff., 326, 369
 Jew, the, in Sheridan's *Diuenna*, 267
 Jewish religion, 48
 Joanna, in Holcroft's *Deserted Daughter*, 277
 Johnson, James, 444; *Scots Musical Museum*, 225, 226, 231 ff.
 — Joseph (1738-1809), 189, 327
 — Lionel, *Postliminium*, 30
 — Michael, 340
 — Samuel, 2, 27, 31, 32, 38, 143, 145, 146, 246, 247, 251 ff., 260, 331, 333, 334, 345, 346, 350 ff., 355, 360 ff., 364, 365
 Dictionary, 324
 Life of Milton, 84
 Lives of the Poets, 325
 London, 323
 Rambler, 253, 356, 365
 Shakespeare, 320, 352
 Johnson's literary club, 345
 Johnson, William, 325
 Johnstone, Charles (1719?-1800?), 461
 Jolly Beggar, *The*, 218

- Jones, Sir William (1746-1794), 427;
From the Persian, 180; *Ode in imitation of Alcaeus*, 180
- *Jonson, Ben, 170, 248, 266; *Miscellanies*, 181; 'To my Bookseller,' 335; *Underwoods*, 181
- Jordan, Mrs Dorothea, 452
- Josephus, Flavius, 326
- Judith, in Amory's *Memoirs of Several Ladies*, 287
- Juigné, Antoine É. L. Leclerc de, archbishop of Paris, 189
- Julia, in Morton's *Way to get Married*, 281
- Julio, Don, in Mrs Cowley's *Bold Stroke for a Husband*, 275
- Jullien, A., *L'Histoire du Costume au Théâtre*, 258
- 'Jupius,' 34; *Letters*, 55
- Juvenal, 40, 81
- Kallah, in Beckford's *Episodes*, 292
- Kames, Henry Home, Lord, 250
- Kant, Immanuel, 121, 136 ff.
- Kantian philosophy, 57
- Keach, Benjamin, *Travels of True Godliness*, 334; *War with the Devil*, 334
- Keary, Annie (1825-1879), 480
- Keate, George (1729-1797), 427
- Keats, John, 102, 117, 129, 150, 171, 182, 192, 202; *Eve of Saint Agnes*, 131; *La Belle Dame*, 183; *Lamia*, 132
- Kelly, Hugh (1739-1777), *False Delicacy*, 263; *School for Wives*, 263
- Kelso, 342
- Kemble, John Philip, 260, 262, 283, 457; *Coriolanus*, 274; *The Tempest*, 274
- Kendall, Edward Augustus (1776?-1842), 480
- Kennedy, Walter, 203
- Kenrick, William (1725?-1779), 458, 472, *Duellist*, 265
- Ker, John, of Kersland, *Memoirs*, 328
- Keswick, 156, 161
- Killigrew, Thomas, the younger, *Chit-Chat*, 322
- Killychrankie, 218
- Kilmarnock, 342
- Kilner, Dorothy, 480; *Adventures of a Pincushion*, 378; *Jemima Platid*, 379; *Memoirs of a Peg-top*, 378
 — Mary Jane, 480
- King, *The, and the Cobbler*, 334
- King, Thomas, 257
- Kinglake, A. W., 307
- Kingsborough, Lady, 43
- Kingsley, Charles (1819-1875), 387, 481
- Kinnoul, Thomas Hay, 8th earl of, 351
- Kippis, Andrew (1725-1795), 472
- Kirkcudbrightshire, 234
- Kirkman, J., *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 258
- Kit-cat club, 320
- Kiuprili, in Coleridge's *Zapolya*, 414
- Knapton, James, 323
- Kneller, Sir Godfrey, 319
- Knight, Charles, *Shadows of the Old Booksellers*, 337
 — Joseph, David Garrick, 258
 — Richard Payne* (1750-1824), *Progress of Civil Society*, 41
- Knox, Vicesimus (1752-1831), 472
- Kotzebue, A. F. F. von, 42, 281, 414
- Kritchev, Russia, 58
- La Fontaine, Jean de, 38, 175, 491
- Lackington, James (1746-1815), 337, 338, 340, 468; *Confessions*, 327; *Memoirs*, 327, 337, 338
- Laidlaw, William (1780-1845), 238; *Lucy's Flittin*, 241
- Lake poets, 308
- Lakes, the English, 302
- Lamb, Charles (1775-1834), 40, 91, 118, 126, 200, 201, 284, 286; *King and Queen of Hearts*, *The*, 385; *Poems*, 385; *Prince Dorus*, 385; *Wife's Trial*, *The*, 148
 — Charles and Mary, *Mrs Leicester's School*, 385; *Poetry for Children*, 384; *Tales from Shakespeare*, 385
 — Sir James. See Burges, Sir James Bland
 — Mary Ann (1764-1847). See Lamb, Charles and Mary
- Lambton, Lady Betty, in Kelly's *False Delicacy*, 263
- Lancaster, 383
- Lancastrian system of education, 133
- Lander, Walter Savage, 158, 164; *Gebir*, 300
- Lang, Andrew, 374, 481
- Langland, William, 368
- Langriahe, Sir Hercules, 6
- Langton, Bennet, 333, 346, 365
- Languish, Lydia, in Sheridan's *Rivals*, 266
- Lansdowne, William Petty, 1st marquis of (earl of Shelburne), 59, 142
- Laodamia, Wordsworth's, 107
- Lapraik, John (1727-1807), *Jenny was Frail and Unkind*, 234; *Poems*, 234; *When I upon thy Bosom Lean*, 234
- Lark, *The*, 206, 232
- Laska, in Coleridge's *Zapolya*, 414
- Last judgment, the, 198
- Latin comedy, 266
 — hymns, 217
 — language and literature, 2, 54, 58, 83, 90, 181, 334, 348, 347, 354, 355, 359
- Lauderdale, James Maitland, 8th earl of, 29
- 'Laura,' Della Cruscan poet, 177
- Laurence, French (1757-1809), 35, 391
- Lavensforth, in Mrs Inchbald's *To Marry or not to Marry*, 279
- Lawrence, Polly, of Bath, 175
- Leapor, Mary (1722-1746), 172, 427
- Lear, Garrick as, 360
 — Edward (1812-1888), 386, 481; *Book of Nonsense*, 387
- Lee, Harriet (1757-1831), 306, 461

- Lee, Samuel, 330
 — Sir Sidney, 335
 — Sophia (1750-1824), 306, 461
 Leeds, 340, 341
 Leigh, George, 336
 Leith, south, 244
 Lemoine, Henry (1756-1812), 472
 Lemon, Mark (1809-1870), 337
 Lennox, Charlotte (1720-1804), 462; *The Sister*, 275
 Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, 121; *Laocoon*, 8; *Minna von Barnhelm*, 262
 Lessingham, Mrs., 451
 L'Estrange, Sir Roger, 312, 313, 331
 Lethe waters, 352
Letter from a Blacksmith, 216
Letters from a Tutor to his Pupils, 371
 Leven, loch, 244
 Lewis, Matthew Gregory (1775-1818), 160, 233, 236, 300, 303 ff., 414, 458, 462
 Alonso the Brave, 304
 Ardinghello, 303
 Monk, The, 303, 304
 Robbers, The, 303
 Lewis, William Thomas, 260
 Leyden, John (1775-1811), 444
 Cout of Keeldar, The, 242
 Lord Soulis, 242
 Mermaid, The, 242
 Ode to Scottish Music, 242
 Scenes of Infancy, 242
 Licensing act, 312, 335
 Lichfield, 340
 Ligon, Richard, *History of Barbadoes*, 280
Lilliputian Magazine, The, 376
 Lindsay family, 231
 — Lady Anne. *See* Barnard, Lady Anne
 Lintot, Barnaby Bernard (1675-1736), 318, 320 ff., 327, 335; *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations*, 320; *Monthly Catalogue*, 339
 — Henry (1708-1758), 323
 Lisbon, 155, 156
Little Pretty Pocket Book, 376
 Liverpool, 338
 — Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2nd earl of, 154
 Lloyd, Edward, 78
 Locke, John, 22, 57, 65, 136
 Lockhart, John Gibson, 166, 305
 Logan, John (1748-1788), 444; *Braes of Yarrow, The*, 244; *Cuckoo, The*, 244; *Runnameda*, 244
Logan Water, 235
 London, 37, 44, 58, 59, 80, 81, 96, 104, 130, 133, 148, 156, 181, 195, 263 ff., 270 ff., 278, 283, 286, 315, 325, 338, 340 ff., 346, 350, 363
 Adelphi, the, 362
 Aldermary churchyard, 373
 Angel, sign, 335
 Bible, sign, 332
 Black Boy, sign, 335
 Blackfriars, 330
 Bolton row, 340
 British museum, 295
 Chapter coffehouse, 325
 Charles street, 142
 Cheapside, 332
 Christ's hospital, 118
 Clarges street, 345, 359
 Cornhill, 141, 332, 335
 Covent garden, 333, 336
 — theatre, 244, 259 ff., 264, 273, 277, 278, 283, 452
 Cross Keys, sign, 320
 Devereux court, 376
 Devil tavern, 326
 Dover street, 348
 Drury lane, 327
 — theatre, 258 ff., 263, 264, 271, 273, 277, 283, 304, 393, 449, 452
 Duck lane, 325, 331
 Finsbury square, 337
 Fleet street, 323, 339
 'Globe,' Paternoster row, 323
 Gray's inn gateway, 332
 Haymarket theatre, 259, 278, 279, 451
 Highgate, 121
 Hill street, 348, 350
 Holborn, 329, 332
 Homer's Head, Fleet street, 323
 Hoxton academy, 43
 Lambeth, 139
 Leicester fields, 333, 364
 Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, 256
 Little Bartholomew's Well-yard, 334
 — Britain, 331, 332, 335
 Lombard street, 330
 London bridge, 332, 335
 Lower mews, 333
 Middle Temple, 2
 New Bond street, 323, 332
 Pall Mall, 323, 332, 333
 Paternoster row, 323, 325, 327, 332, 339
 Peacock, sign, 339
 Pelican, sign, 335
 Pewter Platter inn, 329
 Poultry, 326, 332
 Prince's Arms, sign, 318
 Ranelagh, 259, 352
 Royal exchange, 141, 327, 332
 Royalty theatre, 452
 Russell street, 333
 St Dunstan's churchyard, 318
 St Paul's cathedral, 332
 — churchyard, 318, 325, 331, 339, 376
 Shakespear's Head, sign, 319, 320
 Stocks market, 332
 Strand, 319, 323, 325, 332
 Swan tavern, 323
 Temple, 79
 — bar, 326, 332
 Threadneedle street, 280
 Three-legs, sign, 332
 Three Pigeons, sign, 332
 Tully's Head, sign, 323
 Vauxhall gardens, 352
 Warwick lane, 323
 Well-Close square, 452

- Westminster abbey, 181
 — hall, 332
 — school, 76, 83, 155, 157, 329
 York street, 336
London Gazette, The, 333
 — *Magazine, The*, 339
 — *Star, The*, 235
 London, William, *Catalogue of the most vendible Books*, 338
 Long, loch, 236
 — parliament, 311
 Longman, Thomas (1699-1755), 323
 — Thomas Norton (1771-1842), 327
Looking Glass for the Mind, 382
 Lord's prayer, 368
 Lords, House of, 17, 29, 34, 79, 315, 328
 Los, Blake's, 194 ff., 199
 Lothian, 244
 Louis XIV, king of France, 355
 — XVI, king of France, 28, 189
 Louverture, Toussaint, 114
 Lovechild, Mrs., 377, 379
 Loveless, in Vanbrugh's *Relapse* and Sheridan's *Trip to Scarborough*, 268
 Lovell, Robert (1770?-1796), 161
Loves of the Triangles, The, 41, 175
 Lowe, John (1750-1799), *Mary's Dream*, 234
 Lowther, Sir James, 95
 Lucian, 332
 Lucy, in Sheridan's *Rivals*, 266
 — in Wordsworth's poems, 113
 Lukin, Henry, *Practice of Godliness*, 334
 Lutwidge, in Miss Edgeworth's *Belinda*, 297
 Luvah, in Blake's *Vala*, 195
 Lyly, John, 262
 Lyndsay, Sir David, 203, 204, 215
 Lyttelton, George Lyttelton, Lord, 347, 349; *Dialogues of the Dead*, 351; *Life of Henry II*, 345
 Lytton, Lord, 304, 387; *Money*, 82

 M. P., *pseud.*, 379, 480
 Macartney, George Macartney, earl, 350
 Macaulay, Mrs Catharine (1731-1791), 390
 — Thomas Babington Macaulay, Lord, 167, 286
 — Zachary, 259
 Macbeth, W. H. W. Betty as, 283; Garrick as, 284
 Machigvelli, Niccolo, 32
 MacDonald, George, 387, 481
 Mackenzie, Henry, *The Man of Feeling*, 206
 Mackintosh, Sir James (1765-1832), 75, 76, 399; *Memoirs*, 53
 — R. J., 53
 Macklin, Charles (1697?-1797), 258, 260, 262, 450; *Love à-la-mode*, 257
 Macky, John, *Journey through England*, 332
 Maclehoose, Mrs Agnes ('Clarinda': 1759-1841), 222; *Talk not of Love*, 232; *To a Blackbird*, 232
 Macleod, Mary, *The Shakespeare Story Book*, 385
 Macleod, Norman, 491
 Macnally, Leonard (1752-1830), 381, 389
 MacNeil, Hector (1748-1818), 444
Come Under my Plaidie, 234
Dianna think Bonnie Lassie, 234
Donald and Flora, 234
Harp, The, 234
Mary of Castle Cary, 234
My Boy Tammy, 234
Scotland's Scath, 234
Waes of War, 234
 MacPherson, James, 229
 Madan, Martin, 81
 Madeline, in Keats's *Eve of Saint Agnes*, 131
 'Maecenas of Hill street,' 350
 Maeterlinck, Maurice, 384
 Maggie, in Burns's *Auld Farmer's Salutation*, 214
 Mahrattas, the, 17
 Mainwaring, Edward, 250
 Malaprop, Mrs, in Sheridan's *Rivals*, 266, 267, 277
 Malkin, Benjamin Heath, *A Father's Memoir of his Child*, 181, 182
 Malta, 121
 Malthus, Daniel, 78
 — Thomas Robert (1768-1834), 73 ff., 399; *Essay on the Principle of Population*, 74, 75; *Inquiry into the Nature... of Rent*, 75; *Principles of Political Economy*, 75
 Manchester, Isabella, duchess of, 174
 Mann, Sir Horace, 259, 260
 Manners, Lord Robert, 145
 Mansfield, Sir James, 58
 Mant, Alicia Catherine, 488
 'Maps' (John Nicholson), 338
 Marchant, John, *Puerilia*, 372
 Marchmont, Miss, in Kelly's *False Delicacy*, 263
 Marguerite, in Godwin's *St Leon*, 298
 Maria, in Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, 270, 271
 Marie-Antoinette, queen of France, 24, 157
 Marlay, Richard, 365
 Marmaduke, in Wordsworth's *Borderers*, 99
 Marmontel, Jean François, 296, 492; *Les Incas*, 280; *Moral Tales*, 385
 Marriot, Richard, 318
 Marryat, Frederick (1792-1848), 387, 481
 Martial, 174
 Martin, William (1801-1867), 481
 Martineau, Harriet (1802-1876), 387, 481
 'Martinus Scriblerus' (George Crabbe), 142
 Martyn, Henry, 381
 Marzials, Sir Frank, 291
 Mason, John (1708-1768), 251 ff., 255
 — William (1724-1797), 145, 458; *Caractacus*, 278; *Elfrida*, 265
 Masson, Arthur, *Collection of English Prose and Verse*, 206
 — David, *Life of Milton*, 312
 Mathew, Mrs, 181, 184

- Mathias, Thomas James (1754?-1835), 177, 427
 Maturin, Charles Robert (1782-1824), 300, 462
 Albigenses, The, 305
 Bertram, 176, 304
 Fatal Vengeance or The Family of Montorio, 304
 Melmoth the Wanderer, 304, 305
 Milesian Chief, 304
 Wild Irish Boy, 304
 Women, 304
 Mauchline, 218, 216, 219, 220
 Maurice, F. D., 136
 — Thomas (1754-1824), 428
 Mayne, John (1759-1836), 444
 Halloween, 216, 235
 Logan Water, 235
 Siller Gun, The, 235
 Mazarin blue, 364
 Melmoth, Maturin's, 305
 Melville, Henry Dundas, 1st viscount, 16, 31, 35
 — Lewis, 290, 291
 Mendez, Moses (d. 1758), 172, 428
Mercurius Librarius, 339
 Mercury, in *Dialogues of the Dead*, 351, 352
 Meredith, George, *Woods of Westernmain*, 85
 Merlin, in *The Rolliad*, 34
 Merry, Robert (1755-1798), 172, 176, 177, 428
 Merry Beggars, The, 218
 Merry Muses, The, 229
 Meuser, Friedrich Anton, 293
 Metastasio, Pietro, 263, 359
 Mexico, 72, 162
 Michael, in Wordsworth's poem, 113
 Middle Ages, 273, 372
 Middlesex, 8, 183
 Middleton, Conyers, 347
 Miede, Guy, *Present state of Great Britain*, 333
 Mill, James (1773-1836), 60, 61
 — John Stuart, 61, 70, 136; *Autobiography*, 64; *Utilitarianism*, 64
 Millar, Andrew (1707-1768), 315, 317, 323, 324, 326
 Millington, Edward, 336, 340
 Milton, John, 13, 28, 77, 84, 90, 124, 133, 140, 157, 159, 171, 179, 181, 182, 188, 193, 201, 206, 207, 224, 247, 250, 252, 254, 255, 290, 330
 Areopagitica, 311, 312
 Paradise Lost, 197, 212, 251, 315, 319, 327, 332
 Poems (1645), 318
 Second Defence, 312
 'Mira' (Sarah Elmy), 140, 141
 Mirabeau, comte de, 59
 Mister, Mary, 488; *The Adventures of a Doll*, 333
 Mitford, William (1744-1827), 251 ff., 255
 Modiah, Mrs, in *Dialogues of the Dead*, 352
 Mostjen's *Recueil de piéces curieuses et nouvelles*, 374
 Mogul government, 16
 Mohammed, 18
 Mohammedanism, 18, 194
 Mohammedans, 17
 Mohawks, the, 261
 Molière, J. B. P. de, 322; *L'Avare*, 277; *Le Misanthrope*, 269; *Le Mariage Forcé*, 265
 Monboddo, James Burnett, Lord, 250
 Monckton, Mary. *See* Cork and Orrery, countess of
 Monkhouse, Mrs, in Amory's *Memoirs of Several Ladies*, 287
 Monnet, Jean, 258
 Montagu, Edward, 347, 348, 350
 — Mrs Elizabeth (1720-1800), 272, 328, 343, 346 ff. (main entry), 358, 363, 361, 364, 365, 474; *Dialogues of the Dead*, 351, 352; *Essay on Shakespeare*, 352 ff.
 Montagn, Lady Mary Wortley, 348
 Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, baron de, 163
 Montgomerie, Alexander, 203; *Bankis of Helicon*, 217; *Cherrie and The Slae*, 217
Monthly Catalogue, The, 339
Monthly Chronicle, The, 374
Monthly Review, The, 142, 339, 353
 Montoni, in Mrs Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho*, 303
 Moody, John, 257, 261
 Moore, Edward, 324
 — John (1729-1802), 207, 462
 — Zachary, 174
 Moorish wars in Spain, 280
 Mordent, in Holcroft's *Deserted Daughter*, 277
 More, Hannah (1745-1833), 260, 300, 350, 359 ff. (main entry), 365, 458, 474
 Bas Bleu, or Conversation, 346, 348, 362
 Bishop Bonner's Ghost, 363
 Bleeding Rock, The, 361
 Fatal Falsehood, The, 274, 362
 Inflexible Captive, The, 273
 Percy, 272, 273, 362
 Preface to Tragedies, 259
 Repository Tracts, 362
 Sacred Dramas, 379
 Search after Happiness, The, 360
 Sensibility, 362
 Sir Eldred of the Bower, 361
 Thoughts on the importance of the Manners of the Great, 362
 Village Politics, 362
 More, Henry, 57
 Morgans, the, 121
 Morland, Catherine, in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, 299, 300
Morning Herald, The, 34
 Mortimer, Mrs Favell Lee (1802-1876), 481
 Morton, Thomas (1764?-1838), 270, 276, 458
 Columbus, 280

- Cure for the Heartache*, 281
School of Reform, 281
Speed the Plough, 281
Way to get Married, 280, 281
Mosaic code, the, 194
Moseley, Humphrey (d. 1661), 318, 319
Mossiel, 220, 224
Mother Goose's Melody, 375, 376, 488
Mother Goose's Tales, 376
Mother Shipton, 334
Motherwell, William (1797-1835), 444
Harp of Renfrewshire, 237
Jeanie Morrison, 237
Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern, 237
Poems Narrative and Lyrical, 237
Mountfort, Harriet, in Mrs Griffith's
School for Rakes, 263
Mulso, Hester. See Chapone, Mrs
'Murphy', pseudonym of C. R. Maturin, 304
Murphy, Arthur, *Know your own Mind*, 269
Murray, Mrs Elizabeth. See Grant, Mrs Elizabeth
— John (1745-1793), 327
— John (1778-1843), 327
Museum, The, 324
Myers, F. W. H., 110
Nairne, Caroline Oliphant, baroness (1766-1845), 232, 444
Auld Hoose, The, 233
Caller Herrin, 233
Charlie is My Darling, 233
Here's to them that are Gane, 233
He's O'er the Hills, 233
Hundred Pipers, 233
Hunting Tower, 233
John Tod, 233
Laird of Cockpen, 233
Land of the Leal, 233
Lass of Gowrie, 233
Rowan Tree, The, 233
Wha'll be King but Charlie, 233
Will ye no come back again? 233
Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick, 167
Napoleon I, emperor of the French, 27, 54, 103, 108, 115, 117; *Code Napoléon*, 26
Narcissa, in Colman's *Inkle and Yarico*, 279, 280
Nares, Robert, 250
Necker, Jacques, 28
Needy Knife-Grinder, The, 40, 41
Nether Stowey, Somersetshire, 99, 120, 126
New Conger, the, 325
Newbery, Elizabeth, 377
— Francis (d. 1780), 377, 468
— Francis (1743-1818), 377
— John (1713-1767), 367, 374 ff., 468, 476
Newcastle, 338, 341
Newhaven, 233
Newman, John Henry, 81
Newton, Sir Isaac, 194
— John, 80, 81, 83, 259
Nichols, John (1745-1826), *Literary Anecdotes*, 321, 327, 332, 335, 337, 467
Nicholson, John ('Maps', 1730-1796), 338
— William (1782?-1849), 444; *Broonie of Blednock*, 243
'Nickie Ben', 212
Nicoll, Robert (1814-1837), 444
'Nipelose, Sir Nicholas', *The Theatres*, 282
Nithsdale, 243
Nobs, Dr Dove's horse, 168
Nore, the, 39
Norfolk, 43, 47
Norland, Lord, in Mrs Inchbald's *Every one has his Fault*, 279
Norman era, 367
North American Indians, 5, 16, 31
North Briton, The, 33
North End, 356, 365
North, Dudley, 141, 146
— Frederick North, Lord (2nd earl of Guilford), 6, 10, 142
— Roger, *Life of Dr John North*, 329; *Lives of the Norths*, 331
Northcote, James (1746-1831), 88, 472
Norwich, 179
Nouronihar, in Beckford's *Vathek*, 290, 291
Noverre, Jean George, *Lettres sur les Arts*, 258
Nun in her Smock, 328
O'Brien, William (d. 1815), 458; *The Duel*, 265
Of a' the Airts, 234
O'Flaherty, in Cumberland's *West Indian*, 257, 266
O'Keeffe, Adelaide (1776-1855?), 383, 488
— John (1747-1833), 224, 257, 458; *Wild Oats*, 281
Oliphant, Mrs, *Literary History of England*, 307
Olivia, in Mrs Cowley's *Bold Stroke for a Husband*, 275
Ollendorf series, 373
Olney, 80, 81
Olney Hymns, 80
Oothoon, in Blake's *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 190
Opie, Amelia (1769-1853), 344, 462
Opie, John, 37, 360
Orc, Blake's, 190, 194
Ord, Mrs, 346, 365
Orford, Sir Robert Walpole, 1st earl of, 174
Orleans, 97
Orrery, Charles Boyle, 4th earl of, 316
Osborne, Thomas, 332, 337
Ossian, 179, 181, 184, 187, 188, 206, 245
Ossory, 344
Oswald, in Wordsworth's *Borderers*, 99
Oswin, Sir, in Mrs Inchbald's *To Marry or not to Marry*, 279
Ovid, 2
Oxford, 85, 40, 61, 62, 109, 118, 119, 158, 335, 357
Balliol college, 145
Christ church, 155, 322

Oxford (continued)

- Clarendon press, 341
 Peakwater quadrangle, 322
 Queen's college, 58
 Sheldonian theatre, 341
 University press, 341
 Vinerian professorship of law, 61
 Oxford, Edward Harley, 2nd earl of, 347
 — Robert Harley, 1st earl of, 317
 Ozell, John, 322
- Paine, Thomas (1737-1809), 46 ff., 189, 395
Age of Reason, The, 46
Common-Sense, 47
Crisis, The, 47
Rights of Man, The, 47, 48, 276
 Paisley, 236, 237
Paisley Advertiser, The, 237
 Paley, William, 67, 73, 74
 Palmer, John, 452
 — Mary (1716-1794), 472
 Pangloss, in Colman's *Heir at Law*, 280
 Pantisocracy, 118, 119
 Paris, 1, 59, 60, 353, 354
 Bastille, the, 97, 189
Opéra-Comique, 258
 Rue St Jacques, 331
 Théâtre de la Foire, 258
 Paris academy, 274
 — peace of, 7
 Parisian salons, 346, 351, 354, 364
 — scenery, 258
 Parley, Peter, *pseud.*, 387, 481, 482
Parliamentary Debates, 49
 'Paternoster Row numbers,' 325
 Paterson, Samuel (1728-1802), 336
 Payne, Henry, 333
 — Thomas (1719-1799), 333 ff., 337, 468
 Peacock, Thomas Love (1785-1866), 285, 286, 307 ff. (main entry), 462, 489
Crotchet Castle, 308
Gryll Grange, 285, 307, 308, 310
Headlong Hall, 183, 308
Maid Marian, 308
Melincourt, 308, 309
Misfortunes of Elphin, 308, 309
Nightmare Abbey, 308, 310
Peblis to the Play, 215
 Peckay, in Mrs Trimmer's *Robins*, 379
 Pedlar, in Wordsworth's *Excursion*, 106
 Peel, Sir Robert, 154
 Peele, George, *Complaint of Oenone*, 179
 Pegasus, 166
 Pemberton, Henry (1694-1771), 250
 Pendarves, Mrs. *See* Delany, Mrs
 Pennecuik, Alexander, *Truth's Travels*, 217
 Pennington, M., *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Elizabeth Carter*, 356
 Pennsylvania, 47
Pennsylvania Magazine, 47
 'Penny Godlinesses,' 334
 'Penny Merriments,' 334
 Penrith, 95
 Pepys, Sir Lucas, 335
 — Samuel, 319, 334
- Pepys, William, 363, 365
 Percy, in Hannah More's play, 274
 — Thomas, 333; *Reliques*, 360
 Perrault, Charles, 380, 492; *Histoires ou Contes du Tens Passé*, 374, 375
 Petronius, in Cowper's *Progress of Error*, 82
 Philadelphia, 47, 49
 Philips, Ambrose, 144
 Pilkington, Mrs Mary (1766-1839), 364, 482
Biography for Boys, 385
Biography for Girls, 385
Marvellous Adventures, 385
Moral Tales (trans.), 385
 Pindar, Peter. *See* Wolcott, John
 'Pindarics,' 248
 Pine, William, 341
 Pinkerton, Miss, 379
 Pitt, William, the younger (1759-1806), 25, 29, 31, 33 ff., 39, 51, 52 ff. (main entry), 74, 118, 157, 396
 Placids, the, in Mrs Inchbald's *Every one has his Fault*, 279
 Plagiary, Sir Fretful, in Sheridan's *Critic*, 272
Plain-man's path way to Heaven, 369
 Plantagenet era, 367
 Plato, 70, 100
 Plautus, 265; *Aulularia*, 277
 Pleyel, Ignaz Joseph, 226
 Plutarch, 330, 351, 352
Political Eclogues, 34, 36, 40
Political Miscellanies, 35
 Pollok, Robert (1798-1827), 444; *The Course of Time*, 244
 Polly, in *The Beggar's Opera*, 260
 — in *The Little Pretty Pocket Book*, 376
Pompey's Ghost, 234
 Poole, Joshua, 249
 — Thomas, 121
 Pope, Alexander, 36, 77, 79, 82, 86, 91, 142, 150, 175, 178, 201, 206 ff., 216, 247, 254 ff., 320 ff., 330, 335, 356
Correspondence, 328
Dunciad, 140, 212, 320, 328
Essay on Man, 140
Homer, 89, 90, 246, 320 ff.
Letter to H. Cromwell, 250
Shakespeare, 320
 Porcupine, Peter, 49
Porcupine, The, 49
 Porter, Anna Maria (1780-1832), 305, 463
 — James (1753-1798), 395
 — Jane (1776-1850), 305, 464; *Scottish Chiefs*, 306; *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, 306
 Portland, William Bentinck, 2nd duke of, 347
 Portsmouth academy, in O'Keeffe's *Wild Oats*, 281
 Portugal, 72, 155
 Portuguese language, 355
Post Boy, The, 333
Postman, The, 333

- Pote, Joseph (1708?-1787), 341
 Powell, Stephen, 342
 Præd, Winthrop Mackworth, 160
 Pratt, Samuel Jackson (1749-1814), 395
 Price, Richard, 20, 21, 71
 — Sir Uvedale (1747-1829), 472
 Priestley, Joseph, 63, 64, 70
 Prior, Matthew, 88, 173, 174, 247, 248, 317, 327, 328; 'Noble lovely little Peggy,' 347
 Pritchard, Hannah, 261
 Probationary Odes, 34, 36, 40
 Progress of Man, The, 41
 Protesilaus, in Wordsworth's *Laodamia*, 107
 — *Public Register*, The, 324
 Puff, in Sheridan's *Critic*, 272
 Fulteney, Sir William. See Bath, earl of
 Rattenham, Richard, 248
 Quarll, Philip, 373, 389
 — *Quarterly Review*, The, 40, 157, 162, 166, 393
 'Queen of the Blues,' 346
 Queene Elizabeth's *Academy*, 368
 Queensberry, Charles Douglas, 3rd duke of, 317
 Quick, John, 262
 Quin, James, 258, 284
 Rabelais, François, 288
 Baby, earl, in Hannah More's *Percy*, 274
 Racedown, Dorsetshire, 99
 Radcliffe, Ann (1764-1822), 286, 300 ff.
 (main entry), 304, 306, 464
 Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne, 301
 Gaston de Blondeville, 301
 Hazel Tree, The, 301
 Italian, The, 302, 303
 Letters, 301
 Mysteries of Udolpho, 300, 302, 303
 Poems, 301
 River Dove, The, 301
 Romance of the Forest, 302
 St Albans Abbey, 301
 Sicilian Romance, 301
 Rae, W. F., 266
 Rahab, in Blake's *Four Zoas*, 196, 197
 Ramsay, Allan, 144, 205, 209, 211, 212, 215 ff., 221, 228, 231, 338
 Evergreen, 204, 217
 Gentle Shepherd, 224, 237
 Tea-Table Miscellany, 206, 218
 Vision, The, 217
 Rapids, the, in Morton's *Cure for the Heartache*, 281
 Reading, 376
 Red Riding Hood, 375
 Redding, Cyrus, 289
 Reeve, Clara (1729-1807), 464; *Champion of Virtue* (The Old English Baron), 300; *Charoba*, 300; *Progress of Romance*, 300
 Reform act, 50
 — bill, 58
 Regeln für Schauspieler, 284
 Regulus, 273
 Reid, Thomas, 76
 Religious Tract society, 362
 Rembrandt van Rijn, 12
 Renfrewshire, 237
 Repository Tracts, 362
 Resolution, ship, 145
 Reynard the Fox, 334
 Reynolds, Frederic (1764-1841), 458;
 The Dramatist, 281
 — Sir Joshua, 32, 143, 326, 350, 353, 360, 364; *Discourses*, 200
 Rhine, the, 302
 Rhodes, Hugh, *Boke of Nurture*, 368
 Ricardo, David, 75
 Rich, John, 258, 282
 Richard III, Garrick as, 257; W. H. W. Betty as, 283
 Richardson, Joseph (1755-1808), 35, 36, 391
 — Samuel, 327, 358, 365, 468;
 Clarissa, 265, 277, 356; *Pamela*, 325
 Richmond, 259, 364
 — Charles Lennox, 3rd duke of, 36
 Rickman, John, 167, 169
 Ritchie, Leitch (1800?-1865), *Schinderness*, 304
 Ritson, Joseph, *Northern Chorister*, 231
 Livingston, Charles (1688-1742), 323
 — Charles (1764-1831), 327
 — Francis (1745-1822), 327
 Roberts, James, 323
 Robertson, William, 76; *History of Charles V*, 326
 Robespierre, Maximilien M. I., 413
 Robin, in Mrs Trimmer's *Robins*, 379
 Robinson, Elizabeth. See Montagu, Mrs Elizabeth
 — George (1737-1801), 327
 — Henry Crabb, 122, 133, 192, 197 ff.
 Robson, Mary, 482
 Roche, Regina Maria (1764?-1845), 464;
 Children of the Abbey, 299
 Rockingham, Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd marquis of, 5, 7, 52
 Rogers, Samuel, 148, 149, 291
 Rolle, John, 34
 Rolliad. The, 34 ff., 39, 40, 42, 53, 391
 Rollo, Norman duke, in *The Rolliad*, 34
 Roman antiquities, 286
 — catholicism, 167, 295
 — law, 16
 — tragedy, 273
 Romans, 273, 352, 362
 Rome, 273
 Romeo, W. H. W. Betty as, 283
 Romilly, Sir Samuel, 59
 Ronksley, William, 482; *The Child's Week's Work*, 371
 Roscoe, the English, 282
 Roscoe, Robert, 385
 — William (1753-1831), 482; *The Butterfly's Ball*, 357, 385, 386
 Roses, wars of the, 280

Southey, Robert (*continued*).

- Metrical Tales*, 161
Minor Poems, 161
My days among the Dead are passed, 159
Ode to Horror, 158
Old Woman of Berkeley, 160
Oliver Newman, 166
Omniana, 162, 163
Palmerin, 162
Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo, 166
Queen Orraca, 160
Roderick, 159, 166
Sappho, 158
Story of the Three Bears, 168
Tale of Paraguay, 166
Thalaba, 160, 161, 164, 180
Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 167
Vision of Judgment, 166
Wat Tyler, 157 ff., 161
Well of St Keyne, 160

Southwell's *Notes and Illustrations on the Bible*, 326

Spain, 27, 72, 280

'Spanish Armada, The,' in Sheridan's *Critic*, 272

Spanish language and literature, 359

— (Peninsular) war, the, 103

Spectacle de la Nature, 382*Spectator, The*, 146, 280, 317

Spence, Joseph, 323

Spenser, Edmund, 157, 179, 182, 206, 247, 252, 255

Spenserian stanza, 241, 247, 250

Spinoza, Baruch (or Benedict), 100

Spy, The (Hogg's), 239

Staffordshire, 374

Stamp act, 5, 7, 10

Stanhope, Charles Stanhope, 3rd earl (1753-1816), 390

Star chamber, 311, 312

Starkey, John, 339

Stationers' company, 312, 313

— register, 314

Steele, Joshua (1700-1791), 250, 251 (main entry), 256

— Sir Richard, 261, 320; *The Lying Lover*, 322Steevens, George, 333; *Shakespeare*, 320

'Stella' (Esther Johnson), 332

Sterne, Laurence, 174, 289, 296, 347; *Tristram Shandy*, 206, 260, 341

Stevens, George Alexander (1710-1784), 472

Stevenson, John Hall (1718-1785), 172 ff., 428

Crazy Tales, 174, 175*Fables for Grown Gentlemen*, 174*Makaromy Tales*, 174*Pastoral Cordial*, 174— *Puke*, 174

Stevenson, Robert Louis, 387

Stewart, Dugald (1753-1828), 75, 76, 221, 222, 400

Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, 76*Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, 76*Philosophical Essays*, 76*Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers*, 76*Progress of...Philosophy*, 76

Stillingfleet, Benjamin (1702-1771), 344, 345

Stirling, 373

Stockport, 375

Stockwell, in Cumberland's *West Indian*, 264

Stothard, Thomas, 377

Stowey. *See* Nether Stowey

Strahan, William (1714-1785), 326

Strawberry hill, 341, 363

Streatham, 364

Streatham Letters, 365Strickland, Agnes (1796-1874), 482; *The Moss House*, 384

Stuart, James, of Dunearn, 236

— Lady Louisa, 348, 349

Styx, river, 352

Suard, Jean Baptiste Antoine, 354

Suckling, Sir John, 318

Suffolk, 140

Sulky, in Holcroft's *Road to Ruin*, 277

Sumatra, 278

Summerly, Felix, *pseud.* *See* Cole, Sir HenrySurface, Charles, in Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, 269 ff.— Joseph, in Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, 270, 271— Sir Oliver, in Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, 269 ff.

Surrey, 183

Sussex, Lord, in Glover's *Boadicea*, 258

Swalle, Abel, 319

Swedenborg, Emanuel, *Memorable Relations*, 188

Swedenborgianism, 181

Swift, Jonathan, 16, 18, 27, 30, 81, 173, 187, 247, 261, 286, 314, 320, 330, 332, 343; *Gulliver's Travels*, 373*Sym and his Brudir*, 215Tacitus, Cornelius, 2; *Agricola*, 165

Talbot, Catherine (1721-1770), 352, 356 ff., 475

— William Talbot, 1st earl, 29

Tam o' Shanter, 219

Tangent, in Morton's *Way to get Married*, 281

Tannahill, Robert (1774-1810), 237, 445

Bonnie Wood of Craigielea, 236*Braes o' Balquither*, 236*Gloomy Winter's neo Awa'*, 236*Jessie the Flower of Dunblane*, 236*Lass of Arrinteenie*, 236*Loudon's bonnie Woods and Braes*, 236*Poems and Songs*, 236*Rob Rorvson's Bonnet*, 236

Tartars, the, 17

Tasker, William (1740-1800), 429

Tasso, Torquato, 157

Tate, Nahum, *Brutus of Alba*, 319; *Lear*, 258Tatler, *The*, 317, 373

Taylor family, the, 384, 483

- Taylor, Mrs Ann, of Ongar (1757-1880), 384, 482
 — Ann, afterwards Mrs Gilbert (1782-1866), 384, 483; *My Mother*, 383
 — Ann and Jane, 483; *Hymns for Infant Minds*, 383; *Original Poems*, 383; *Rhymes for the Nursery*, 383
 — Isaac (1759-1829), 384, 483
 — Isaac (1787-1865), 384
 — Jane (1783-1824), 384, 483; *Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star*, 383
 — Jefferys (1792-1853), 384, 483
 — Jeremy, 2
 — Joseph, 483
 — Robert, 315
 — William (1765-1836), 179
 — William, bookseller, 323
 Teachum, Mrs, in Sarah Fielding's *Governess*, 380
 'Teachwell, Mrs,' 379
 Teazle, Lady, in Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, 269 ff.
 — Sir Peter, in Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, 269, 270
 'Temple of the Muses,' 337
 Tennant, William (1784-1848), 445
 Anster Fair, 243
 Cardinal Bethune, 243
 Dingin doon O The Cathedral, 243
 John Balliol, 243
 Tangier's Giant, 243
 Thane of Fife, 243
 Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, 77, 111, 158, 159; *Enoch Arden*, 148; *Maud*, 151
 Terence, 266; *Adelphi*, 265
 Term catalogues, 339
 Thackeray, William, bookseller, 335
 — William Makepeace, 306, 307, 385, 387; *Book of Snobs*, 297
 Thames, river, 362
 Tharmas, in Blake's *Vala*, 195
 Thel, in Blake's *Book of Thel*, 186
 Thelwall, John, 119
 Theobald, Lewis, 322; *Richard II*, 316; *Shakespeare*, 320
 Theocritus, 143
 Thom, William (1798?-1848), 445
 Thompson, Benjamin, 260
 Thompson, William, 172
 Thomson, George (1757-1851), 207, 230, 232, 445; *Irish Airs*, 236; *Scottish Airs*, 226, 227, 231, 236; *Welsh Airs*, 235
 — James, 86, 144, 206 ff., 218, 242, 244, 314; *Castle of Indolence*, 247; *Seasons*, 247, 315
 Thoresby, Ralph, 340
 Thornberry, Job, in Colman's *John Bull*, 280
 Thorpe, Isabella, in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, 299, 300
 Thrale, Hester Lynch (Mrs Piozzi), 350, 354, 364, 365
 Thumb, Tom, 373, 375
 Thunder, Harry, in O'Keefe's *Wild Oats*, 281
 Thurlow, Edward Thurlow, Lord, 78, 142, 148, 254
 Tickall, Richard (1751-1793), 35, 391
Times, The, 155
 Timur (Tamerlane), 18
 Tiriel, in Blake's poem, 187
 Tirzah, in Blake's *Four Zoas*, 196, 197
 Titania, 374
 Tobin, John (1770-1804), 458
 Toqueville, Alexis C. H. Clérel de, 26
Tom a Lincoln, 334
 Tofmy, in *The Little Pretty Pocket Book*, 376
Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book, 375
Tomy Lin, 231
 Tonson, Jacob (1656?-1736), 318 ff., 327, 332, 384; *Miscellany*, 319, 320
 — Jacob (d. 1785), 320
 — Jacob (d. 1767), 320, 323
 Tooke, John Horne (1780-1812), 400
Top Book of All, 375, 386, 490
 Townley, in Sheridan's *Trip to Scarborough*, 268
 Townsend, Joseph (1739-1816), 400; *Disertation on the Poor Laws*, 74
 Townshend, Charles, 10, 12
 — Lord John, 35
 Toynbee, Mrs P., 282
 Trade books, 325
 Traherne, Thomas, 384
 Tremor, Sir Luke, in Mrs Inchbald's *Such Things Are*, 278
 Trimmer, Mrs Sarah (1741-1810), 372, 374, 383, 483; *Fabulous Histories (The History of the Robins)*, 378 ff.; *Familiar Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature*, 382; *Guardian of Education*, 380
 'Trip, Tommy,' 377
 Tripoli, 72
 Trojan horse, 252
 Trollope, Anthony, 149
 Trowbridge, Wiltshire, 148, 149
 Trudge, in Colman's *Inkle and Yarico*, 279
 Tucker, Abraham, 250
 — Josiah, 73
 Tudor period, 367
 Tunbridge, 347
 Turner, Elizabeth, 483; *Cautionary Stories (The Daisy, The Cowslip)*, 384
 — Mr, and Hannah More, 380
 Tweddell, John (1769-1799), 429
Twelfth Day Gift, 376
 Twineall, in Mrs Inchbald's *Such Things Are*, 278
 Twyn, John, 313
 Tyke, in Morton's *School of Reform*, 281
 Tyler, Miss, 155
 Tyrol, the, 27
 Tyrwhitt, Thomas, 250, 251, 255, 333
 Tytler, James (1747?-1805), *Bonnie Bruckie Lassie*, 235; *has laid a Herring in Saut*, 235
 Tyton, Francis, 316
 Underhill, Thomas, 316
 Unwin, Mary, 80, 81, 83, 85, 88, 90
 — Morley, 80
 — William, 91

- Urie, Robert, 341
 Urizen, Blake's, 190, 193 ff.
 Urry, John, *Chaucer*, 322
 Urthona, in Blake's *Vala*, 195
 Uttoxeter, 340

 Vala, in Blake's poems, 196, 199
 Vanbrugh, Sir John, 257; *The Relapse*, 268
 Vapid, in Reynolds's *Dramatist*, 281
 Vathek, in Beckford's novel, 290, 291
 Vaughan, Henry, 185
 — Thomas (*A.*, 1772-1820), 281, 458
 Vaux, F. B., 490
 Venezuela, 72
 Venice, republic of, 114
 Ventum, Harriet, 490
 Vergil, 2; *Aeneid*, 84
 Verpey, Ralph Verney, 2nd earl, 5, 6
 Verres, Gaius, 17
 Versailles, 21, 189
 Vesey, Agmondesham, 344 ff.
 — Mrs Elizabeth (1715?-1791), 344 ff., 348, 362 ff.
 — Sir Thomas, 344
 Victoria, queen of Great Britain, 386
 Victorian humour, 281
 Vienna, 274
 Village Politics, 362
 Villanegas, Matilda de, in Lewis's *The Monk*, 803
 Vincent, Mrs, 260
 — William, 157
 Violetta, in Cumberland's *Brothers*, 264
 Virginia, 12
 Voltaire, F. M. A. de, 263, 265, 290, 291, 295, 296, 307, 309, 353
 La Henriade, 79
 Letter to the Academy, 354
 Mahomet, 352
 Semiramis, 352
 Tancréd, 352
 Zaire, 352
 Votes of Parliament, 333

 Wakefield, Mrs Priscilla (1751-1832), 378, 484
 Instinct Displayed, 383
 Introduction to Botany, 383
 Juvenile Anecdotes, 383
 Leisure Hours, 388
 Mental Improvement, 383
 Wales, 12
 Walker, Hugh, 221
 Wallace, Alfred Russel, 75
 — Robert (1697-1771), *Various prospects of Mankind*, 74
 Waller, Edmund, 246
 Walpole, Horace, earl of Orford, 91, 145, 154, 173 ff., 258 ff., 262, 273, 282, 341, 346, 350, 351, 355, 358, 364, 365, 465;
 Castle of Otranto, 300; *Letters*, 354, 363
 — Sir Robert. See Orford, earl of
 Waller, William, 250
 Walsingham, Mrs, 343

 Walton, Frank, *Complete Angler*, 318
 Wanderer, in Wordsworth's *Excursion*, 106
 Wanley, Humfrey, 336, 337
 Warburton, William, *Shakespeare*, 320
 Ward, Sir A. W., *George Crabbe*, 140, 141
 Wardlaw, Elizabeth; Lady, 231
 Warren, Mrs, in Holcroft's *Road to Ruin*, 277
 Warton, Thomas, the elder, 183
 — Thomas, the younger, 84, 183
 Washington, George, 190
 Watson, James (d. 1722), 342, 470
 — James, *Choice Collection*, 204, 217
 — Richard, bishop of Llandaff (1737-1816), 98, 400
 Watt, William, 445; *Kate Dalrymple*, 243; *Tinkler's Waddin*, 243
 Watts, Isaac (1674-1748), 373, 383;
 Divine and Moral Songs, 184, 372;
 'Hush! my dear, lie still and slumber', 186; *Sapphics*, 179; *The Sluggard*, 375
 Webb, Daniel, 250
 Weber, Henry William (1783-1818), 472
 Wedgwood, Josiah, 121
 Weimar, 259
 Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st duke of, 167
 Welsh, C., 376; *A Bookseller of the Last Century*, 377
 Wendover, 5
 Wesley, John, 79
 Wesleys, the, 259
 West Indies, 264
 Westbury, near Bristol, 159, 161
 Westminster Review, *The*, 60, 61
 Westminster scrutiny, 53
 Westmorland, 103, 109, 111
 Weston, 88
 — Thomas, 257
 Whalley, Thomas Sedgwick (1746-1828), 429
 Wharton, Thomas Wharton, 1st marquiss of, 30
 Whately, Thomas, 389
 Whitbread's brewery, 38
 White, Henry Kirke, 172
 — Thomas, 484; *A Little Book for Little Children*, 369, 370
 Whitefield, George, 79
 Whitehead, William, 84
 Wickhambrook, Suffolk, 140
 Wilberforce, William, 52, 259
 Wilford, John, *Monthly Catalogue*, 339
 Wilkes, John, 8
 William IV, king of Great Britain, 141
 Williams, Anna, 350
 — Caleb, in Godwin's novel, 46, 293
 — Sir Charles Hanbury (1708-1759), 172 ff., 429; *Works*, 173
 — Helen Maria (1762-1827), 177, 480
 — John (1761-1818), 472
 Wilson, Alexander (1766-1813), 237, 445;
 Watty and Meg, 236
 — John ('Christopher North'), 244
 Nectes Ambrosianae, 239
 — John, of Kilmarnock, 312

- Wilson, Rev. T., 481
 Wiltshire, 148, 178
 Wimpole, 347
 Windsor, 88
Winter Evening Entertainments, 370
 Winworth, Lord, in *Kelly's False Delicacy*, 263
 Wolcott, John, 'Peter Pindar' (1788-1819), 391
 Boszy and Piozzi, 38
 Instructions to a celebrated Laureat, 38
 Ode upon Ode, 27
 The Lousiad, 37
 Wollstonecraft, Mary. See Godwin, Mary
 Wood, Anthony, *Historia... Universitatis Oxoniensis*, 341
 Wood and Married and a', 231
 Woodbridge, 140
 Woodward, Henry, 257
 Worcester, 344
 Wordsworth, Christopher, 95
 — Dorothy, 95, 99, 102, 103
 — John, 95, 103, 105
 — Mary, 103
 — William (1770-1850), 26 ff., 31, 77, 83, 86, 93 ff. (main entry), 117, 120 ff., 126, 129, 131, 135, 149, 150, 152, 162, 198, 201, 202, 248, 309, 341, 405
 Affliction of Margaret, 110
 Apology for the French Revolution, 24
 Borderers, The, 98, 100
 Composed upon an Evening, 108
 Convention of Cintra, 27, 103
 Descriptive Sketches, 97
 Ecclesiastical Sonnets, 108
 Evening Walk, An, 97
 Excursion, The, 85, 99, 100, 102, 103, 105, 106, 113, 116
 Fountain, The, 110
 Goody Blake, 101
 Green Linnet, The, 110
 Guilt or Sorrow, 98
 Incidents on Salisbury Plain, 98, 100
 Laodamia, 107, 116
 Leech-Gatherer, 104
 Lucy, 110, 113
 Lyrical Ballads, 86, 101, 123, 150, 151
 Michael, 105, 113, 116
 Nutting, 112
 Ode on Immortality, 102
 Ode to Duty, 104, 105
 Peter Bell, 132
 Prelude, The, 85, 95 ff., 100, 102, 104, 113, 116, 123
 Recluse, The, 100 ff.
 River Duddon, 108
 Ruined Cottage, The, 99, 105, 109, 116
 Simon Lee, 101, 114
 Skating-scene, 113
 Story of Margaret, 99
 There was a Boy, 111
 Thorn, The, 132
 Tintern Abbey, 85, 101, 113
 Two April-Mornings, 110
 White Doe of Rylstone, 106
 Yew-trees, 110
World, The, 324
 Worthy, in *Vanbrugh's Relapse*, 268
 Woty, William (1721?-1791), 172, 431
 Wycherley, William, 319; *Country Wife*, 268; *Plain Dealer*, 269
Wyse of Auchtirmaychty, 243
 Wynn, Charles Watkin Williams, 154, 170
 Xenophon, 358
 Yarico, in *Colman's Inkle and Yarico*, 280
 Yarrow, 239
 Yates, Richard, 257
 Yonge, Charlotte Mary, 287, 484
 — Philip, bishop of Norwich, 143
 York, 312, 341, 347, 351, 366, 373
 — archbishop of. See Hay-Drummond
 Yorkshire dales, 168
 Young, Arthur (1741-1820), 400
 Annals of Agriculture, 72
 Political Arithmetic, 73
 Tour in Ireland, 73
 Travels in France, 73
 The War in North America, 72
 Young, Edward, 140, 250, 251; *Night Thoughts*, 323
 — Richard, *A short and sure way to Grace*, 334; *The Seduced Soul reduced*, 334
Young Man's Calling, 369
 Zoas, the, in *Blake's Valz*, 195
 Zola, Emile, 152
 Zulkais, in *Beckford's Episodes*, 292

